

# GESENIUS' HEBREW GRAMMAR

AS EDITED AND ENLARGED BY THE LATE.

E. KAUTZSCH

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE

SECOND ENGLISH EDITION

REVISED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TWENTY-EIGHTH GERMAN

EDITION (1909) BY

A. E. COWLEY

WITH A FACSIMILE OF THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION BY J. EUTING, AND

A TABLE OF ALPHABETS BY M. LIDZBARSKI

OXFORD  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1910

472125  
KIG

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.  
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD  
LONDON, EDINBURGH, NEW YORK  
TORONTO AND MELBOURNE

PRINTED IN ENGLAND.



## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE translation of the twenty-sixth German edition of this grammar, originally prepared by the Rev. G. W. Collins and revised by me, was published in 1898. Since that date a twenty-seventh German edition has appeared; and Prof. Kautzsch was already engaged on a twenty-eighth in 1908 when the English translation was becoming exhausted. He sent me the sheets as they were printed off, and I began revising the former translation in order to produce it as soon as possible after the completion of the German. The whole of the English has been carefully compared with the new edition, and, it is hoped, improved in many points, while Prof. Kautzsch's own corrections and additions have of course been incorporated. As before, the plan and arrangement of the original have been strictly followed, so that the references for sections and paragraphs correspond exactly in German and English. Dr. Driver has again most generously given up time, in the midst of other engagements, to reading the sheets, and has made numerous suggestions. To him also are chiefly due the enlargement of the index of subjects, some expansions in the new index of Hebrew words, and some additions to the index of passages, whereby we hope to have made the book more serviceable to students. I have also to thank my young friend, Mr. Godfrey R. Driver, of Winchester College, for some welcome help in correcting proofs of the Hebrew index and the index of passages. בן חכם ישמח אב. Many corrections have been sent to me by scholars who have used the former English edition, especially the Rev. W. E. Blomfield, the Rev. S. Holmes, Mr. P. Wilson, Prof. Witton Davies, Mr. G. H. Skipwith, and an unknown correspondent

at West Croydon. These, as well as suggestions in reviews, have all been considered, and where possible, utilized. I am also much indebted to the Press-readers for the great care which they have bestowed on the work.

Finally, I must pay an affectionate tribute to the memory of Prof. Kautzsch, who died in the spring of this year, shortly after finishing the last sheets of the twenty-eighth edition. For more than thirty years he was indefatigable in improving the successive editions of the Grammar. The German translation of the Old Testament first published by him in 1894, with the co-operation of other scholars, under the title *Die Heilige Schrift des ATs*, and now (1910) in the third and much enlarged edition, is a valuable work which has been widely appreciated: the *Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen des ATs*, edited by him in 1900, is another important work: besides which he published his *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* in 1884, two useful brochures *Bibelwissenschaft und Religionsunterricht* in 1900, and *Die bleibende Bedeutung des ATs* in 1903, six popular lectures on *Die Poesie und die poetischen Bücher des ATs* in 1902, his article 'Religion of Israel' in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, v. (1904), pp. 612-734, not to mention minor publications. His death is a serious loss to Biblical scholarship, while to me and to many others it is the loss of a most kindly friend, remarkable alike for his simple piety and his enthusiasm for learning.

A. C.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD,  
Sept. 1910.

## FROM THE GERMAN PREFACE

THE present (twenty-eighth) edition of this Grammar,<sup>1</sup> like the former ones, takes account as far as possible of all important new publications on the subject, especially J. Barth's *Sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Semitischen*, pt. i, Lpz. 1907; the important works of C. Brockelmann (for the titles see the heading of § 1; vol. i of the *Grundriss* was finished in 1908); P. Kahle's *Der masoretische Text des A T's nach der Überlieferung der babylonischen Juden*, Lpz. 1902 (giving on p. 51 ff. an outline of Hebrew accidence from a Babylonian MS. at Berlin); R. Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, Lpz. 1905 f., 2 vols. (discriminating between certain, probable, and proposed emendations; see § 3 g, end); Th. Nöldeke's *Beiträge zur semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg, 1904; Ed. Sievers' *Metrische Studien* (for the titles of these striking works see § 2 r). The important work of J. W. Rothstein, *Grundzüge des hebr. Rhythmus*, &c. (see also § 2 r), unfortunately appeared too late to be used. The two large commentaries edited by Nowack and Marti have been recently completed; and in P. Haupt's Polychrome Bible (*SBOT.*), part ix (Kings) by Stade and Schwally was published in 1904.

For full reviews of the twenty-seventh edition, which of course have been considered as carefully as possible, I have to thank Max Margolis (in *Hebraica*, 1902, p. 159 ff.), Mayer

<sup>1</sup> The first edition appeared at Halle in 1813 (202 pp. small 8vo); twelve more editions were published by W. Gesenius himself, the fourteenth to the twenty-first (1845-1872) by E. Rüdiger, the twenty-second to the twenty-eighth (1878-1910) by E. Kautzsch. The first abridged edition appeared in 1896, the second at the same time as the present (twenty-eighth) large edition. The first edition of the 'Übungsbuch' (Exercises) to Gesenius-Kautzsch's Hebrew Grammar appeared in 1881, the sixth in 1908.

Lambert (*REJ.* 1902, p. 307 ff.), and H. Oort (*Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1902, p. 373 ff.). For particular remarks and corrections I must thank Prof. J. Barth (Berlin), Dr. Gasser, pastor in Buchberg, Schaffhausen, B. Kirschner, of Charlottenburg, (contributions to the index of passages), Pastor Köhler, of Augst, Dr. Liebmann, of Kuczkow, Posen, Prof. Th. Nöldeke, of Strassburg, Pastor S. Preiswerk junior, of Bâle, Dr. Schwarz, of Leipzig, and Prof. B. Stade, of Giessen (died in 1906). Special mention must be made of the abundant help received from three old friends of this book, Prof. P. Haupt, of Baltimore, Prof. Knudtzon, of Kristiania, and Prof. H. Strack, of Berlin, and also, in connexion with the present edition, Prof. H. Hyvernât, of the University of Washington, who has rendered great service especially in the correction and enlargement of the indexes. I take this opportunity of thanking them all again sincerely. And I am no less grateful also to my dear colleague Prof. C. Steuernagel for the unwearying care with which he has helped me from beginning to end in correcting the proof-sheets.

Among material changes introduced into this edition may be mentioned the abolition of the term *šewâ medium* (§ 10 d). In this I have adopted, not without hesitation, the views of Sievers. I find it, however, quite impossible to follow him in rejecting all distinctions of quantity in the vowels. It is no doubt possible that such matters may in the *spoken* language have worn a very different appearance, and especially that in the period of nearly a thousand years, over which the Old Testament writings extend, very great variations may have taken place. Our duty, however, is to represent the language in the form in which it has been handed down to us by the Masoretes; and that this form involves a distinction between unchangeable, tone-long, and short vowels, admits in my opinion of no doubt. The discussion of any earlier stage of development belongs not to Hebrew grammar but to comparative Semitic philology.

The same answer may be made to Beer's desire (*ThLZ.* 1904,

col. 314 f.) for an 'historical Hebrew grammar describing the actual growth of the language on a basis of comparative philology, as it may still be traced within the narrow limits of the Old Testament'. Such material as is available for the purpose ought indeed to be honestly set forth in the new editions of Gesenius; but Beer seems to me to appraise such material much too highly when he refers to it as necessitating an 'historical grammar'. In my opinion these historical differences have for the most part been obliterated by the harmonizing activity of the Masoretes.

. . . . .

E. KAUTZSCH.

HALLE,  
July, 1909.

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 42, line 13 from below, *for* note 1 *read* note 3.

Page 63, § 15 *p.* [See also Wickes, *Prose Accentuation*, 130 f., § 7 *u.* (who, however, regards the superlinear, Babylonian system as the earlier); and Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, 76, 78. In Ginsburg's *Hebrew Bible*, ed. 2 (1908), pp. 108 f., 267 f., the two systems of division are printed *in extenso*, in parallel columns—the 10 verses of the superlinear (Babylonian) system consisting (in Exodus) of v. 2.3-6.7.8-11.12.13.14.15.16.17 (as numbered in ordinary texts), and the 12 verses of the sublinear (Palestinian) system, consisting of v. 2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.13-16.17.—S. R. D.]

Page 65, note 1, *for*  $\text{מִן־לְךָ}$  *read*  $\text{מִן־לְךָ}$  (as § 105 *a*).

[Editions often vary in individual passages, as regards the accentuation of the first syllable: but in the 7 occurrences of  $\text{מִן־לְךָ}$ , and the 6 of  $\text{מִן־לְךָ}$ , Baer, Ginsburg, and Kittel agree in having an accent on both syllables (as  $\text{מִן־לְךָ}$ ) in Gn 50<sup>17</sup>, Ex 32<sup>31</sup>,  $\psi$  116<sup>16</sup>, and Metheg on the first syllable and an accent on the second syllable (as  $\text{מִן־לְךָ}$ ) in 2 K 20<sup>8</sup>=Is 38<sup>8</sup>, Jon 1<sup>14</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  116<sup>4</sup>, 118<sup>25,25</sup>, Dn 9<sup>4</sup>, Ne 1<sup>2,11</sup>, except that in  $\psi$  116<sup>4</sup> Ginsburg has  $\text{מִן־לְךָ}$ .—S. R. D.]

Page 79, § 22 *s.* *before*  $\text{הַיְדִיּוֹתֵינוּ}$  *insert* exceptions to *b* are. *After* Jer 39<sup>12</sup> *add*  $\psi$  52<sup>5</sup>; *and for* Ez 9<sup>6</sup> *read* Ez 9<sup>6</sup>.

[So Baer (cf. his note on Jud 20<sup>13</sup>; also on Jer 39<sup>12</sup>, and several of the other passages in question): but Ginsburg only in 10 of the exceptions to *b*, and Jacob ben Hayyim and Kittel only in 5, viz. Jer 39<sup>12</sup>, Pr 11<sup>21</sup>, 15<sup>1</sup>,  $\psi$  52<sup>5</sup>, Ezr 9<sup>6</sup>.—S. R. D.]

Page 111, line 12, *for*  $\text{הַיְדִיּוֹתֵינוּ}$  *read*  $\text{הַיְדִיּוֹתֵינוּ}$ .

Page 123, § 45 *e.* *add*: cf. also  $\text{מִן־לְךָ}$  followed by  $\text{מִן־לְךָ}$ , Is 13<sup>19</sup>, Am 4<sup>11</sup> (§ 115 *d*).

Page 175, § 67. See B. Halper, 'The Participial formations of the Geminat Verbs' in *ZA W.* 1910, pp. 42 ff., 99 ff., 201 ff. (also dealing with the regular verb).

Page 177, at the end of § 67 *g* the following paragraph has been accidentally omitted:

Rem. According to the prevailing view, this strengthening of the first radical is merely intended to give the bi-literal stem at least

a tri-literal appearance. (Possibly aided by the analogy of verbs  $\text{יָצַב}$ , as P. Haupt has suggested to me in conversation.) But cf. Kautzsch, 'Die sog. aramaisierenden Formen der Verba  $\text{ע"ו}$  im Hebr.' in *Oriental. Studien zum 70. Geburtstag Th. Nöldekes*, 1906, p. 771 ff. It is there shown (1) that the sharpening of the 1st radical often serves to emphasize a particular meaning (cf.  $\text{יָצַר}$ , but  $\text{יָצַרְתִּי}$ ,  $\text{יָצַל}$  and  $\text{יָחַל}$ ,  $\text{יָסַב}$  and  $\text{יָסַב}$ ,  $\text{יָשַׁם}$  and  $\text{יָשַׁם}$ ), and elsewhere no doubt to dissimilate the vowels (as  $\text{יָצַר}$ ,  $\text{יָדַל}$ , never  $\text{יָצַר}$ ,  $\text{יָדַל}$ , &c.): (2) that the sharpening of the 1st radical often appears to be occasioned by the nature of the first letter of the stem, especially when it is a sibilant. Whether the masoretic pronunciation is based on an early tradition, or the Masora has arbitrarily adopted aramaizing forms to attain the above objects, must be left undecided.

Page 193, the second and third paragraphs should have the marginal letters *d* and *e* respectively.

Page 200, § 72 z, line 2, after Est 2<sup>18</sup> add 4<sup>14</sup>.

Page 232, § 84<sup>a</sup> s, add  $\text{שְׁמִימָה}$  2 S 13<sup>20</sup>.

Page 236, § 85 c, add  $\text{הַנִּזְקָה}$  Ezr 4<sup>22</sup>.

Page 273, § 93 qq end, add  $\text{מִלְּקָרֹחַ}$  Jer 5<sup>5</sup>,  $\text{רַבָּעִים}$ ,  $\text{שְׁלֹשִׁים}$  Ez 20<sup>5</sup>,  $\text{שְׁמִימָה}$  Is 49<sup>8</sup>,  $\text{שְׁמִימָה}$  La 1<sup>16</sup> (cf. König, ii. 109).

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

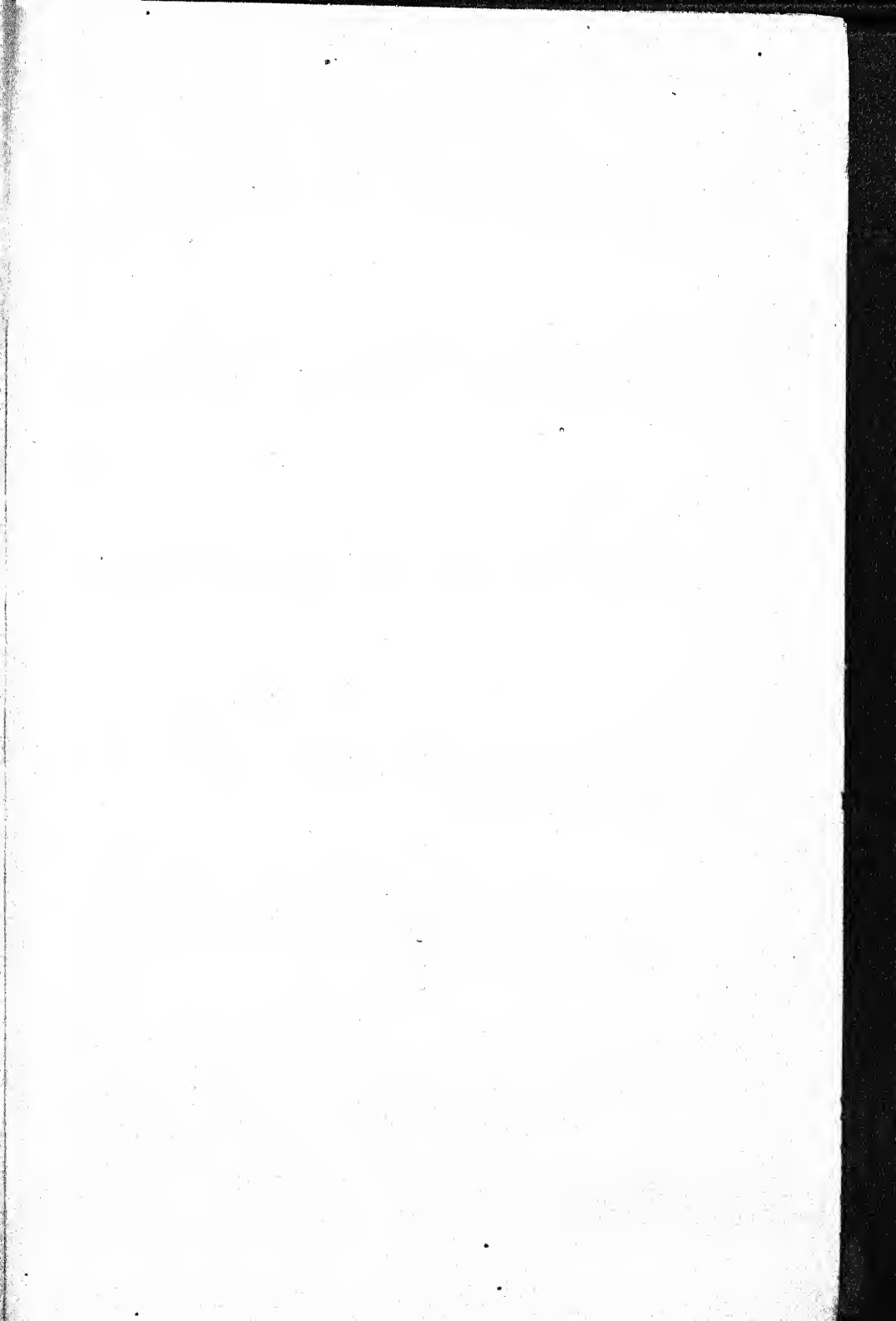
The following abbreviations have occasionally been used for works and periodicals frequently quoted:—

- AJSL.* = American Journal of Semitic Languages.  
*CIS.* = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.  
*Ed. Mant.* = Biblia Hebraica ex recensione Sal. Norzi edidit Raphael Hayyim Basila, Mantuae 1742-4.  
*Jabl.* = Biblia Hebraica ex recensione D. E. Jablonski, Berolini, 1699.  
*JQR.* = Jewish Quarterly Review.  
*KAT.*<sup>3</sup> = Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, 3rd ed. by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler, 2 vols., Berlin, 1902 f.  
*Lexicon* = A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, based on the Thesaurus and Lexicon of Gesenius, by F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, Oxford, 1906.  
*NB.* = J. Barth, Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen. Lpz. 1889-94.  
*NGGW.* = Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
*OLZ.* = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. Vienna, 1898 ff.  
*PRE.* = Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, 3rd ed. by A. Hauck. Lpz. 1896 ff.  
*PSBA* = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. London, 1879 ff.  
*REJ.* = Revue des Études Juives. Paris, 1880 ff.  
*Sam.* = The (Hebrew) Pentateuch of the Samaritans.  
*SBOT.* = Sacred Books of the Old Testament, ed. by P. Haupt. Lpz. and Baltimore, 1893 ff.  
*ThLZ.* = Theologische Literaturzeitung, ed. by E. Schürer. Lpz. 1876 ff.  
*VB.* = Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, ed. by A. Jeremias and H. Winckler. Lpz. 1907 ff.  
*ZA.* = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete, ed. by C. Bezold. Lpz. 1886 ff.  
*ZAW.* = Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, ed. by B. Stade, Giessen, 1881 ff., and since 1907 by K. Marti.  
*ZDMG.* = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Lpz. 1846 ff., since 1903 ed. by A. Fischer.  
*ZDPV.* = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins, Lpz. 1878 ff., since 1903 ed. by C. Steuernagel.



## NOTE ON TABLE OF ALPHABETS

1. The Inscription of Mesha, see § 2 d.
2. Old Hebrew seals and gems, see § 2 d.
3. Siloam inscription, see § 2 d.
- 4-6. Jewish Coins, see § 2 d.
7. From Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, plate xxi, 7, 8; and Ph. Berger, *Histoire de l'écriture*, ed. 2, p. 200.
8. From the Palaeographical Society's *Oriental Series*, plate xxviii.
9. From Ad. Neubauer, *Facsimiles of Hebr. MSS.*, Oxford, 1886, pl. xl.
10. Inscriptions of Zinjirli, see Lidzbarski, *ibid.* i, p. 440 ff., and plates xxii-xxiv; and Cooke, *Handbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions*.
11. Old Aramaic inscriptions on weights, seals, vessels, and tablets. See *C[orpus] I[nscriptionum] S[emiticarum]*, ii, pl. i ff., and Cooke, *ibid.*
12. Inscriptions of Teima, *CIS.* ii, pl. ix f.; and Cooke, *ibid.*
13. Papyri and Ostraka from Egypt, *CIS.* ii, pl. xii ff.; and Cooke, *ibid.*
14. Early Hebrew inscriptions in square character, from Lidzbarski, *ibid.*, pl. xliii; and *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, iv, plate to p. 203.
15. From the facsimile of the Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus (916 A.D.) in Chwolson, *Corpus Inscr. Hebr.*, no. 103.
16. From Neubauer, *Facsimiles*, pl. viii.
17. From the Palaeographical Society, pl. xli, completed from Neubauer, pl. xiv.
18. From a modern MS. on parchment.
19. From Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, *Palestinian Syriac Texts*, London, 1900, pl. iii.
20. From Neubauer, pl. ix. (Most like the printed 'Rashi' character.)
21. From the Palaeographical Society, pl. xli, completed from Neubauer, pl. xiv.
22. From Neubauer, plates xix and xx.
23. From Euting, *Table of Semitic Characters*, col. 49.
24. From Neubauer, pl. x.
25. From Neubauer, plates xxviii and xxx.
26. From a modern MS.



1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840.

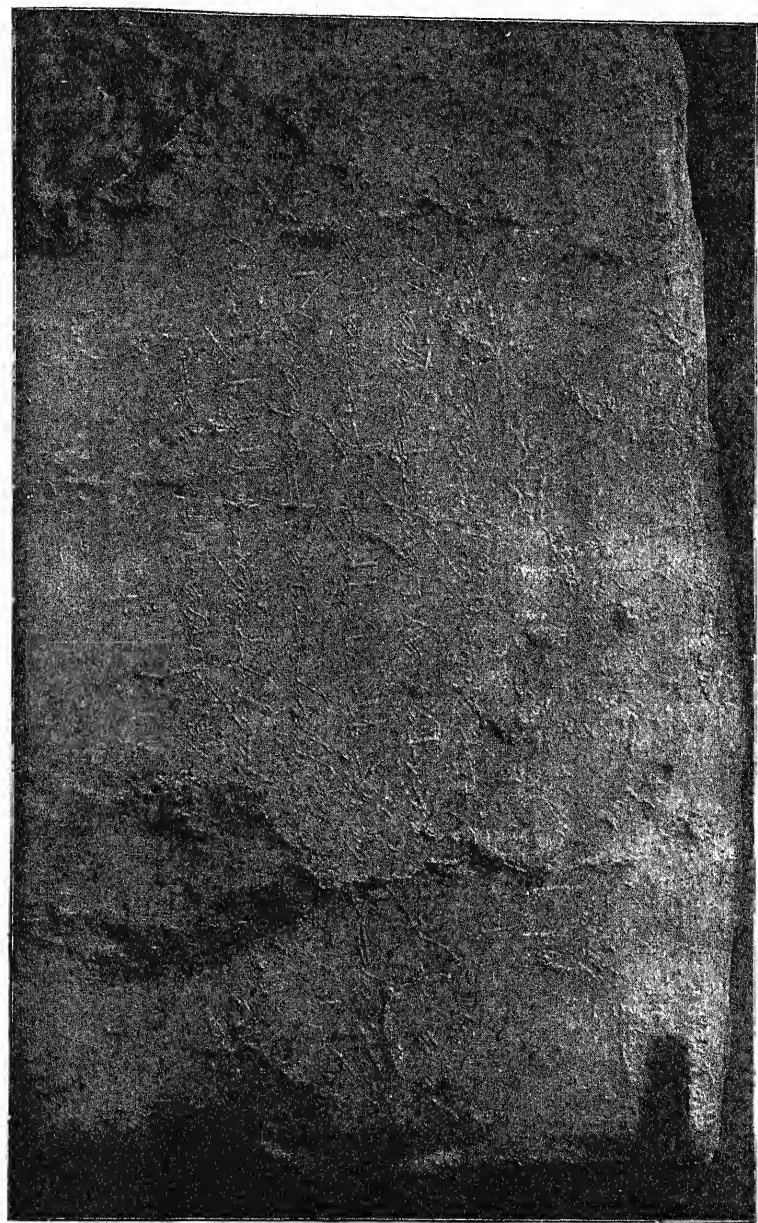
ת. אמה. היה. גבה. הציר. על. ראש. החצבון  
המים. מן. חמוצא. אל. הברכה. במאיתים. ואלף. אמה. ומ(א)  
נקבה. הכו. החצבם. אש. לקרת. רעו. גרון. על. גרון. וילכו  
הא. אל. רעו. כי. הית. וזה. בצד. מ'ימן. . . . . וב'ים. ה.  
הגרין. אש. אל. רעו. ובעוד. שלש. אמת. להנ[קב]. . קל. אש. ק.  
[תם]. הנקבה. וזה. היה. דבר. הנקבה. בעוד. . . .

*Rem.*—Line 1 probably began with  $\square n$ , cf. § 145 o, since there is hardly room for  $\eta \eta n$ .

Line 2. The reading 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎠 is supported by the fact that a trace of the top of the p is visible; cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 53. The next word was probably, as

P. Haupt suggests, *y22w*, the imperf. conseq. Qal or Niphal.

Line 3. חרר, not found in the Old Testament, most probably means a *chief, crack*, but the etymology and consequently the pronunciation of it [חרר] are still doubtful.



THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION. From Müller-Benzinger, *Landschaftsbildertibel* (H. Grund : Berlin).



# CONTENTS

|                                     |              |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS . . . . . | PAGE<br>viii |
| LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .     | x            |
| TABLE OF EARLY SEMITIC ALPHABETS    |              |
| SILOAM INSCRIPTION                  |              |

## INTRODUCTION

|   |   |    |
|---|---|----|
| § | 1. The Semitic Languages in General . . . . .             | 1  |
| § | 2. Sketch of the History of the Hebrew Language . . . . . | 8  |
| § | 3. Grammatical Treatment of the Hebrew Language . . . . . | 17 |
| § | 4. Division and Arrangement of the Grammar . . . . .      | 22 |

## FIRST PART

### ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES, OR THE SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

#### CHAPTER I. THE INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

|   |  |    |
|---|--|----|
| § | 5. The Consonants: their Forms and Names . . . . .                   | 24 |
| § | 6. Pronunciation and Division of Consonants . . . . .                | 31 |
| § | 7. The Vowels in General, Vowel Letters and Vowel Signs . . . . .    | 35 |
| § | 8. The Vowel Signs in particular . . . . .                           | 39 |
| § | 9. Character of the several Vowels . . . . .                         | 45 |
| § | 10. The Half Vowels and the Syllable Divider (Šewā) . . . . .        | 51 |
| § | 11. Other Signs which affect the Reading . . . . .                   | 54 |
| § | 12. Dageš in general, and Dageš forte in particular . . . . .        | 55 |
| § | 13. Dageš lene . . . . .   | 56 |
| § | 14. Mappiq and Rāphè . . . . .                                       | 56 |
| § | 15. The Accents . . . . .  | 57 |
| § | 16. Of Maqqēph and Mēthēg . . . . .                                  | 63 |
| § | 17. Of the Qerē and Kethībh. Masora marginalis and finalis . . . . . | 65 |

#### CHAPTER II. PECULIARITIES AND CHANGES OF LETTERS: THE SYLLABLE AND THE TONE

|   |  |    |
|---|--|----|
| § | 18. In general . . . . .                                   | 68 |
| § | 19. Changes of Consonants . . . . .                        | 68 |
| § | 20. The Strengthening (Sharpening) of Consonants . . . . . | 70 |

|  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| § 21. The Aspiration of the Tenuēs . . . . .                                   | 75   |
| § 22. Peculiarities of the Gutturals . . . . .                                 | 76   |
| § 23. The Feebleness of the Gutturals א and ן . . . . .                        | 79   |
| § 24. Changes of the Weak Letters י and ך . . . . .                            | 82   |
| § 25. Unchangeable Vowels . . . . .  | 84   |
| § 26. Syllable-formation and its Influence on the Quantity of Vowels . . . . . | 85   |
| § 27. The Change of the Vowels, especially as regards Quantity . . . . .       | 88   |
| § 28. The Rise of New Vowels and Syllables . . . . .                           | 92   |
| § 29. The Tone, its Changes, and the Pause . . . . .                           | 94   |

## SECOND PART

### ETYMOLOGY, OR THE PARTS OF SPEECH

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 30. Stems and Roots; Biliteral, Triliteral, and Quadriliteral . . . . . | 99  |
| 31. Grammatical Structure . . . . .                                     | 103 |

#### CHAPTER I. THE PRONOUN

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 32. The Personal Pronoun. The Separate Pronoun . . . . . | 105 |
| 33. Pronominal Suffices . . . . .                        | 108 |
| 34. The Demonstrative Pronoun . . . . .                  | 109 |
| 35. The Article . . . . .                                | 110 |
| 36. The Relative Pronoun . . . . .                       | 112 |
| 37. The Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns . . . . .  | 113 |

#### CHAPTER II. THE VERB

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 38. General View . . . . .   | 114 |
| 39. Ground-form and Derived Stems . . . . .                        | 114 |
| 40. Tenses. Moods. Flexion . . . . .                               | 117 |
| 41. Variations from the Ordinary Form of the Strong Verb . . . . . | 118 |

##### I. The Strong Verb.

|                        |     |
|------------------------|-----|
| 2. In general. . . . . | 118 |
|------------------------|-----|

##### A. The Pure Stem, or Qal.

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Its Form and Meaning . . . . .                                      | 118 |
| Flexion of the Perfect of Qal . . . . .                             | 119 |
| The Infinitive . . . . .  | 122 |
| The Imperative . . . . .  | 124 |
| The Imperfect and its Inflection . . . . .                          | 125 |
| Shortening and Lengthening of the Imperfect and Imperative. . . . . |     |
| The Jussive and Cohortative . . . . .                               | 129 |
| The Perfect and Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive . . . . .            | 132 |
| The Participle . . . . .  | 136 |

# Contents

xiii

## B. *Verba Derivativa, or Derived Conjugations.*

|  |      |
|--|------|
| § 51. Niph'al . . . . .                  | PAGE |
| § 52. Pi'el and Pu'al . . . . .          | 137  |
| § 53. Hiph'il and Hoph'al . . . . .      | 139  |
| § 54. Hithpa'el . . . . .                | 144  |
| § 55. Less Common Conjugations . . . . . | 149  |
| § 56. Quadrilaterals . . . . .           | 151  |
|  | 153  |

## C. *Strong Verb with Pronominal Suffixes.*

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| § 57. In general . . . . .   | 154 |
| § 58. The Pronominal Suffixes of the Verb . . . . .                            | 155 |
| § 59. The Perfect with Pronominal Suffixes . . . . .                           | 158 |
| § 60. Imperfect with Pronominal Suffixes . . . . .                             | 160 |
| § 61. Infinitive, Imperative and Participle with Pronominal Suffixes . . . . . | 162 |

## *Verbs with Gutturals.*

|                                       |     |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| § 62. In general . . . . .            | 164 |
| § 63. Verbs First Guttural . . . . .  | 165 |
| § 64. Verbs Middle Guttural . . . . . | 169 |
| § 65. Verbs Third Guttural . . . . .  | 171 |

## II. The Weak Verb.

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| § 66. Verbs Primæ Radicalis Nûn (י"נ) . . . . . | 173 |
| § 67. Verbs י"י . . . . .                       | 175 |

## *The Weakest Verbs (Verba Quiescentia).*

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| § 68. Verbs נ"נ . . . . .  | 184 |
| § 69. Verbs י"נ. First Class, or Verbs originally י"נ . . . . .        | 186 |
| § 70. Verbs י"נ. Second Class, or Verbs properly י"נ . . . . .         | 192 |
| § 71. Verbs י"נ. Third Class, or Verbs with Yôdh assimilated . . . . . | 193 |
| § 72. Verbs י"י . . . . .  | 194 |
| § 73. Verbs middle i (vulgo י"י) . . . . .                             | 202 |
| § 74. Verbs נ"י . . . . .  | 205 |
| § 75. Verbs נ"י . . . . .  | 207 |
| § 76. Verbs Doubly Weak . . . . .                                      | 217 |
| § 77. Relation of the Weak Verbs to one another . . . . .              | 219 |
| § 78. Verba Defectiva . . . . .  | 219 |

## CHAPTER III. THE NOUN

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| § 79. General View . . . . .                      | 221 |
| § 80. The Indication of Gender in Nouns . . . . . | 222 |
| § 81. Derivation of Nouns . . . . .               | 225 |
| § 82. Primitive Nouns . . . . .                   | 225 |



|  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| § 83. Verbal Nouns in General . . . . .                                  | 226  |
| § 84 <sup>a</sup> . Nouns derived from the Simple Stem . . . . .         | 227  |
| § 84 <sup>b</sup> . Formation of Nouns from the Intensive Stem . . . . . | 233  |
| § 85. Nouns with Preformatives and Affirmatives . . . . .                | 235  |
| § 86. Denominative Nouns . . . . .                                       | 239  |
| § 87. Of the Plural . . . . .  | 241  |
| § 88. Of the Dual . . . . .  | 244  |
| § 89. The Genitive and the Construct State . . . . .                     | 247  |
| § 90. Real and supposed Remains of Early Case-endings . . . . .          | 248  |
| § 91. The Noun with Pronominal Suffixes . . . . .                        | 254  |
| § 92. Vowel Changes in the Noun . . . . .                                | 260  |
| § 93. Paradigms of Masculine Nouns . . . . .                             | 262  |
| § 94. Formation of Feminine Nouns . . . . .                              | 275  |
| § 95. Paradigms of Feminine Nouns . . . . .                              | 276  |
| § 96. Nouns of Peculiar Formation . . . . .                              | 281  |
| § 97. Numerals. (a) Cardinal Numbers . . . . .                           | 286  |
| § 98. Numerals. (b) Ordinal Numbers . . . . .                            | 292  |

## CHAPTER IV. THE PARTICLES

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| § 99. General View . . . . .   | 293 |
| § 100. Adverbs . . . . .   | 294 |
| § 101. Prepositions . . . . .  | 297 |
| § 102. Prefixed Prepositions . . . . .   | 298 |
| § 103. Prepositions with Pronominal Suffixes and in the Plural<br>Form . . . . . | 300 |
| § 104. Conjunctions . . . . .  | 305 |
| § 105. Interjections . . . . .   | 307 |

## THIRD PART

## SYNTAX

## CHAPTER I. THE PARTS OF SPEECH

## I. Syntax of the Verb.

## A. Use of the Tenses and Moods.

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| § 106. Use of the Perfect . . . . .                 | 309 |
| § 107. Use of the Imperfect . . . . .               | 313 |
| § 108. Use of the Cohortative . . . . .             | 319 |
| § 109. Use of the Jussive . . . . .                 | 321 |
| § 110. The Imperative . . . . .                     | 324 |
| § 111. The Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive . . . . . | 326 |
| § 112. The Perfect with Wāw Consecutive . . . . .   | 330 |

*B. The Infinitive and Participle.*

|  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| § 113. The Infinitive Absolute . . . . .   | 339  |
| § 114. The Infinitive Construct . . . . .  | 347  |
| § 115. Construction of the Infinitive Construct with Subject and<br>Object . . . . . | 352  |
| § 116. The Participles . . . . .   | 355  |

*C. The Government of the Verb.*

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| § 117. The Direct Subordination of the Noun to the Verb as<br>Accusative of the Object. The Double Accusative . . . | 362 |
| § 118. The Looser Subordination of the Accusative to the Verb . . .   | 372 |
| § 119. The Subordination of Nouns to the Verb by means of<br>Prepositions . . . . .                                 | 377 |
| § 120. Verbal Ideas under the Government of a Verb. Co-ordination<br>of Complementary Verbal Ideas . . . . .        | 385 |
| § 121. Construction of Passive Verbs . . . . .  | 387 |

**II. Syntax of the Noun.**

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| § 122. Indication of the Gender of the Noun . . . . .  | 389 |
| § 123. The Representation of Plural Ideas by means of Collectives,<br>and by the Repetition of Words . . . . . | 394 |
| § 124. The Various Uses of the Plural-Form . . . . .   | 396 |
| § 125. Determination of Nouns in general. Determination of<br>Proper Names . . . . .                           | 401 |
| § 126. Determination by means of the Article . . . . .   | 404 |
| § 127. The Noun determined by a following Determinate Genitive . . .   | 410 |
| § 128. The Indication of the Genitive Relation by means of the<br>Construct State . . . . .                    | 414 |
| § 129. Expression of the Genitive by Circumlocution . . . . .  | 419 |
| § 130. Wider Use of the Construct State . . . . .  | 421 |
| § 131. Apposition . . . . .  | 423 |
| § 132. Connexion of the Substantive with the Adjective . . . . .   | 427 |
| § 133. The Comparison of Adjectives. (Periphrastic expression of<br>the Comparative and Superlative) . . . . . | 429 |
| § 134. Syntax of the Numerals . . . . .  | 432 |

**III. Syntax of the Pronoun.**

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| § 135. The Personal Pronoun . . . . .                                | 437 |
| § 136. The Demonstrative Pronoun . . . . .                           | 442 |
| § 137. The Interrogative Pronoun . . . . .                           | 443 |
| § 138. The Relative Pronoun . . . . .                                | 444 |
| § 139. Expression of Pronominal Ideas by means of Substantives . . . | 447 |

## CHAPTER II. THE SENTENCE

## I. The Sentence in General.

|   | PAGE |
|---|------|
| § 140. Noun clauses, Verbal-clauses, and the Compound Sentence . . . . .  | 450  |
| § 141. The Noun-clause . . . . .  | 451  |
| § 142. The Verbal-clause . . . . .  | 455  |
| § 143. The Compound Sentence . . . . .  | 457  |
| § 144. Peculiarities in the Representation of the Subject (especially<br>in the Verbal-clause) . . . . .                                      | 459  |
| § 145. Agreement between the Members of a Sentence, especially<br>between Subject and Predicate, in respect of Gender and<br>Number . . . . . | 462  |
| § 146. Construction of Compound Subjects . . . . .  | 467  |
| § 147. Incomplete Sentences . . . . .   | 469  |

## II. Special Kinds of Sentences.

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| § 148. Exclamations . . . . .   | 471 |
| § 149. Sentences which express an Oath or Asseveration . . . . .        | 471 |
| § 150. Interrogative Sentences . . . . .                                | 473 |
| § 151. Desiderative Sentences . . . . .                                 | 476 |
| § 152. Negative Sentences . . . . .                                     | 478 |
| § 153. Restrictive and Intensive Clauses . . . . .                      | 483 |
| § 154. Sentences connected by Wāw . . . . .                             | 484 |
| § 155. Relative Clauses . . . . .                                       | 485 |
| § 156. Circumstantial Clauses . . . . .                                 | 489 |
| § 157. Object-clauses (Oratio Obliqua) . . . . .                        | 491 |
| § 158. Causal Clauses . . . . .   | 492 |
| § 159. Conditional Sentences . . . . .                                  | 493 |
| § 160. Concessive Clauses . . . . .                                     | 498 |
| § 161. Comparative Clauses . . . . .                                    | 499 |
| § 162. Disjunctive Sentences . . . . .                                  | 500 |
| § 163. Adversative and Exceptive Clauses . . . . .                      | 500 |
| § 164. Temporal Clauses . . . . .                                       | 501 |
| § 165. Final Clauses . . . . .  | 503 |
| § 166. Consecutive Clauses . . . . .                                    | 504 |
| § 167. Aposiopesis, Anacoluthon, Involved Series of Sentences . . . . . | 505 |
| PARADIGMS . . . . .   | 507 |
| INDEX OF SUBJECTS . . . . .   | 533 |
| INDEX OF HEBREW WORDS . . . . .   | 544 |
| INDEX OF PASSAGES . . . . .   | 565 |

# HEBREW GRAMMAR

## INTRODUCTION

### § 1. *The Semitic Languages in General.*

B. Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gramm.*, Lpz. 1879, § 2 ff.; E. König, *Hist.-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Spr.*, i. Lpz. 1881, § 3; H. Strack, *Ehrl. in das A. T.*, 6th ed., Munich, 1906, p. 231 ff. (a good bibliography of all the Semitic dialects); Th. Nöldeke, article 'Semitic Languages', in the 9th ed. of the *Encycl. Brit.* (*Die semit. Sprachen*, 2nd ed., Lpz. 1899), and *Beitr. zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb., Cambr. 1890; H. Reckendorf, 'Zur Charakteristik der sem. Sprachen,' in the *Actes du 1<sup>re</sup> Congrès internat. des Orientalistes* (at Geneva in 1894), iii. 1 ff., Leiden, 1896; O. E. Lindberg, *Vergl. Gramm. der sem. Sprachen*, i A: Konsonantismus, Gothenburg, 1897; H. Zimmern, *Vergl. Gramm. der sem. Sprachen*, Berlin, 1898; E. König, *Hebräisch und Semitisch: Prolegomena und Grundlinien einer Gesch. der sem. Sprachen*, &c., Berlin, 1901; C. Brockelmann, *Semitische Sprachwissenschaft*, Lpz. 1906, *Grundriss der vergl. Gramm. der sem. Sprachen*, vol. i (Laut- und Formenlehre), parts 1-5, Berlin, 1907 f. and his *Kurzgef. vergleichende Gramm.* (Porta Ling. Or.) Berlin, 1908.—The material contained in inscriptions has been in process of collection since 1881 in the *Paris Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. To this the best introductions are M. Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der Nordsem. Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898, in 2 parts (text and plates), and his *Ephemeris zur sem. Epigraphik* (5 parts published), Giessen, 1900 f. [G. A. Cooke, *Handbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1903].

1. The Hebrew language is one branch of a great family of languages in Western Asia which was indigenous in Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria, and Arabia, that is to say, in the countries extending from the Mediterranean to the other side of the Euphrates and Tigris, and from the mountains of Armenia to the southern coast of Arabia. In early times, however, it spread from Arabia over Abyssinia, and by means of Phoenician colonies over many islands and sea-boards of the Mediterranean, as for instance to the Carthaginian coast. No comprehensive designation is found in early times for the languages and nations of this family; the name *Semites* or *Semitic*<sup>1</sup> languages (based upon the fact that according to Gn 10<sup>21</sup> almost all nations speaking these languages are descended from Shem) is, however, now generally accepted, and has accordingly been retained here.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> First used by Schlözer in Eichhorn's *Repertorium für bibl. u. morgenl. Literatur*, 1781, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> From Shem are derived (Gn 10<sup>21</sup>) the Aramaean and Arab families as well as the Hebrews, but not the Canaanites (Phoenicians), who are traced back to Ham (vv. 6<sup>15</sup>), although their language belongs decidedly to what is now called Semitic. The language of the Babylonians and Assyrians also was long ago shown to be Semitic, just as Aššur (Gn 10<sup>22</sup>) is included among the sons of Shem.

b 2. The better known Semitic languages may be subdivided<sup>1</sup> as follows:—

I. The South Semitic or Arabic branch. To this belong, besides the classical literary language of the Arabs and the modern vulgar Arabic, the older southern Arabic preserved in the Sabaeen inscriptions (less correctly called Himyaritic), and its offshoot, the Ge'ez or Ethiopic, in Abyssinia.

II. The Middle Semitic or Canaanitish branch. To this belongs the Hebrew of the Old Testament with its descendants, the New Hebrew, as found especially in the Mishna (see below, § 3 a), and Rabbinic; also Phoenician, with Punic (in Carthage and its colonies), and the various remains of Canaanitish dialects preserved in names of places and persons, and in the inscription of Mēša', king of Moab.

c III. The North Semitic or Aramaic branch. The subdivisions of this are—(1) The Eastern Aramaic or Syriac, the literary language of the Christian Syrians. The religious books of the Mandaeans (Nasoraeanes, Sabians, also called the disciples of St. John) represent a very debased offshoot of this. A Jewish modification of Syriac is to be seen in the language of the Babylonian Talmud. (2) The Western or Palestinian Aramaic, incorrectly called also 'Chaldee'.<sup>2</sup> This latter dialect is represented in the Old Testament by two words in Gn 31<sup>47</sup>, by the verse Jer 10<sup>11</sup>, and the sections Dn 2<sup>4</sup> to 7<sup>28</sup>; Ezr 4<sup>8</sup> to 6<sup>18</sup>, and 7<sup>12-26</sup>, as well as by a number of non-Jewish inscriptions and Jewish papyri (see below, under *m*), but especially by a considerable section of Jewish literature (Targums, Palestinian Gemara, &c.). To the same branch belongs also the Samaritan, with its admixture of Hebrew forms, and, except for the rather Arabic colouring of the proper names, the idiom of the Nabataean inscriptions in the Sinaitic peninsula, in the East of Palestine, &c.

For further particulars about the remains of Western Aramaic (including those in the New Test., in the Palmyrene and Egyptian Aramaic inscriptions) see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, Lpz. 1884, p. 6 ff.

d IV. The East Semitic branch, the language of the Assyrio-Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions, the third line of the Achaemenian inscriptions.

On the importance of Assyrian for Hebrew philology especially from a lexicographical point of view cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen*

<sup>1</sup> For conjectures as to the gradual divergence of the dialects (first the Babylonian, then Canaanite, including Hebrew, lastly Aramaic and Arabic) from primitive Semitic, see Zimmermann, *KAT.*<sup>3</sup>, ii. p. 644 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In a wider sense all Jewish Aramaic is sometimes called 'Chaldee'.

hebr.-aram. Wörterbuchs zum A. T., Lpz. 1886; P. Haupt, 'Assyrian Phonology, &c.', in *Hebraica*, Chicago, Jan. 1885, vol. i. 3; Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1906.

If the above division into four branches be reduced to two principal groups, No. I, as South Semitic, will be contrasted with the three North Semitic branches.<sup>1</sup>

All these languages stand to one another in much the same relation as those of the Germanic family (Gothic, Old Norse, Danish, Swedish; High and Low German in their earlier and later dialects), or as the Slavonic languages (Lithuanian, Lettish; Old Slavonic, Serbian, Russian; Polish, Bohemian). They are now either wholly extinct, as the Phœnician and Assyrian, or preserved only in a debased form, as Neo-Syriac among Syrian Christians and Jews in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, Ethiopic (Ge'ez) in the later Abyssinian dialects (Tigrè, Tigrīña, Amharic), and Hebrew among some modern Jews, except in so far as they attempt a purely literary reproduction of the language of the Old Testament. Arabic alone has not only occupied to this day its original abode in Arabia proper, but has also forced its way in all directions into the domain of other languages.

The Semitic family of languages is bounded on the East and North by another of still wider extent, which reaches from India to the western limits of Europe, and is called Indo-Germanic<sup>2</sup> since it comprises, in the most varied ramifications, the Indian (Sanskrit), Old and New Persian, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, as well as Gothic and the other Germanic languages. With the Old Egyptian language, of which Coptic is a descendant, as well as with the languages of north-western Africa, the Semitic had from the earliest times much in common, especially in grammatical structure; but on the other hand there are fundamental differences between them, especially from a lexicographical point of view; see Erman, 'Das Verhältnis des Aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen,' in the *ZDMG.* xli, 1892, p. 93 ff., and Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 3.

3. The *grammatical structure* of the Semitic family of languages, *f* as compared with that of other languages, especially the Indo-Germanic, exhibits numerous peculiarities which collectively constitute its distinctive character, although many of them are found singly in other languages. These are—(a) among the consonants, which in fact form the substance of these languages, occur peculiar gutturals of different grades; the vowels are subject, within the same consonantal framework, to great changes in order to express various modifications of the same stem-meaning; (b) the word-stems are almost invariably trilateral, i.e. composed of three consonants; (c) the verb is restricted to two tense-forms, with a peculiarly regulated use; (d) the noun has only two genders (masc. and fem.); and peculiar expedients are adopted for the purpose of indicating the case-relations; (e) the

<sup>1</sup> Hommel, *Grundriss der Geogr. und Gesch. des alten Orients*, Munich, 1904, p. 75 ff., prefers to distinguish them as Eastern and Western Semitic branches. Their geographical position, however, is of less importance than the genealogical relation of the various groups of dialects, as rightly pointed out by A. Jeremias in *Th.LZ.* 1906, col. 291.

<sup>2</sup> First by Klaproth in *Asia Polyglotta*, Paris, 1823; cf. Leo Meyer in *Nachrichten d. Gött. Gesellschaft*, 1901, p. 454.



oblique cases of the personal pronoun, as well as all the possessive pronouns and the pronominal object of the verb, are denoted by forms appended directly to the governing word (suffixes); (f) the almost complete absence of compounds both in the noun (with the exception of many proper names) and in the verb; (g) great simplicity in the expression of syntactical relations, e.g. the small number of particles, and the prevalence of simple co-ordination of clauses without periodic structure. Classical Arabic and Syriac, however, form a not unimportant exception as regards the last-mentioned point.

g 4. From a lexicographical point of view also the vocabulary of the Semites differs essentially from that of the Indo-Germanic languages, although there is apparently more agreement here than in the grammar. A considerable number of Semitic roots and stems agree in sound with synonyms in the Indo-Germanic family. But apart from expressions actually borrowed (see below, under i), the real similarity may be reduced to imitative words (onomatopoeica), and to these in which one and the same idea is represented by similar sounds in consequence of a formative instinct common to the most varied families of language. Neither of these proves any *historic* or *generic* relation, for which an agreement in grammatical structure would also be necessary.

Comp. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Studien über indogermanisch-semitische Wurzelverwandtschaft*, Lpz. 1873; Nöldechen, *Semit. Glossen zu Fick und Curtius*, Magdeb. 1876 f.; McCurdy, *Aryo Semitic Speech*, Andover, U. S. A., 1881. The phonetic relations have been thoroughly investigated by H. Möller in *Semitisch und Indogermanisch*, Teil i, *Konsonanten*, Copenhagen and Lpz. 1907, a work which has evoked considerable criticism.

h As onomatopoeic words, or as stem-sounds of a similar character, we may compare, e.g. לָקַח, לָחַץ, λέλω, *lingo*, Skt. *lih*, Eng. *to lick*, Fr. *lécher*, Germ. *lecken*; גָּלַל (cf. אָגַל, אָגַל) κυλίω, *volvo*, Germ. *quellen, wallen*, Eng. *to well*; גָּרַר, גָּרַר, γάρρω, Pers. *khāridan*, Ital. *grattare*, Fr. *gratter*, Eng. *to grate, to scratch*, Germ. *kratzen*; פָּרַק, *frango*, Germ. *brechen*, &c.; Reuss, *Gesch. der hl. Schriften A.T.'s*, Braunschv. 1881, p. 38, draws attention moreover to the Semitic equivalents for *earth, six, seven, horn, to sound, to measure, to mix, to smell, to place, clear, to kneel, raven, goat, ox, &c.* An example of a somewhat different kind is *am, ham (sam), gam, ham*, in the sense of the German *samt, zusammen, together*; in Hebrew אִמָּם (whence אִמָּה *people, properly assembly*), עַם (with) *samt*, מִן also, moreover, Arab. جَمَعَ *to collect*; Pers. *ham, hamah* (at the same time); Skt. *samā* (with), Gk. ἅμα (*ἄμφω*), ὁμός, ὁμοῦ (*ὅμιλος, ὁμαδος*), and harder κοινός, Lat. *cum, cumulus, cunctus*; with the corresponding sibilant Skt. *sam*, Gk. σύν, ξύν, ξυνός = κοινός, Goth. *sama*, Germ. *samt, sammeln*; but many of these instances are doubtful.

i Essentially different from this internal connexion is the occurrence of the same words in different languages, where one language has borrowed directly from the other. Such *loan-words* are—

(a) In Hebrew: some names of objects which were originally indigenous in Babylonia and Assyria (see a comprehensive list of Assyrio-Babylonian loan-words in the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Old Testament in Zimmern and Winckler, *KAT.*<sup>2</sup>, ii. p. 648 ff.), in Egypt, Persia, or India, e. g. יָרֵךְ (also in the plural) *river*, from Egyptian *yoor*, generally as the name of the Nile (late Egypt. *yaro*, Assy. *yarū'u*), although it is possible that a pure Semitic יָרֵךְ has been confounded with the Egyptian name of the Nile (so Zimmern); אֲרָז (Egyptian) Nile-reed (see Lieblein, 'Mots égyptiens dans la Bible,' in *PSBA.* 1898, p. 202 f.); פָּרֶדֶס (in Zend *pairidaēza*, circumvallation = *parádeisos*) *pleasure-garden, park*; אֲדָרְפֵּן *daric*, Persian gold coin; תְּפִיִּים *peacocks*, perhaps from the Malabar *tōgai* or *tōghai*. Some of these words are also found in Greek, as כֶּרְפָּס (Pers. *karbās*, Skt. *karpāsa*) *cotton*, κάπρασος, *carbasus*. On the other hand it is doubtful if קֶרֶךְ corresponds to the Greek κήπος, κήβος, Skt. *kapi*, *ape*.

(b) In Greek, &c.: some originally Semitic names of Asiatic products and articles of commerce, e. g. בּוּיִן *byssos*, *byssus*; לְבָנָה *líbanos*, *libanotós*, *incense*; קָנָה *kánē*, *kánna*, *canna*, *cane*; כִּמְוֹן *kúmonon*, *cuminum*, *cumin*; קַצִּיעָה *kassíā*, *cassia*; קָמֶל *kámēlos*, *camelus*; עֶרְבֹן *ērabbón*, *arrhabo*, *arrha*, *pledge*. Such transitions have perhaps been brought about chiefly by Phoenician trade. Cf. A. Müller, 'Semitische Lehnworte im älteren Griechisch,' in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der Indo-germ. Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1877, vol. i. p. 273 ff.; E. Ries, *Quae res et vocabula a gentibus semiticis in Graeciam pervenerint*, Breslau, 1890; Muss-Arnolt, 'Semitic words in Greek and Latin,' in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, xxiii. p. 35 ff.; H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griech.*, Berlin, 1895; J. H. Bondi, *Dem hebr.-phöniz. Sprachzweige angehör. Lehnwörter in hieroglyph. u. hieratischen Texten*, Lpz. 1886.

5. No system of writing is ever so perfect as to be able to reproduce *k* the sounds of a language in all their various shades, and the *writing of the Semites* has one striking fundamental defect, viz. that only the consonants (which indeed form the substance of the language) are written as real letters,<sup>1</sup> whilst of the vowels only the longer are indicated by certain representative consonants (see below, § 7). It was only later that special small marks (points or strokes below or above the consonants) were invented to represent to the eye all the vowel-sounds (see § 8). These are, however, superfluous for the practised reader, and are therefore often wholly omitted in Semitic manuscripts and printed texts. Semitic writing, moreover, almost invariably proceeds from right to left.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So also originally the Ethiopic writing, which afterwards represented the vowels by small appendages to the consonants, or by some other change in their form. On the Assyrio-Babylonian cuneiform writing, which likewise indicates the vowels, see the next note, ad fin.

<sup>2</sup> The Sabaeen (Himyaritic) writing runs occasionally from left to right, and even alternately in both directions (*boustrophedon*), but as a rule from right to left. In Ethiopic writing the direction from left to right has become the rule; some few old inscriptions exhibit, however, the opposite direction. The cuneiform writing also runs from left to right, but this is undoubtedly borrowed from a non-Semitic people. Cf. § 5 d, note 3.



With the exception of the Assyrio-Babylonian (cuneiform), all varieties of Semitic writing, although differing widely in some respects, are derived from one and the same original alphabet, represented on extant monuments most faithfully by the characters used on the stele of Mēša', king of Moab (see below, § 2 d), and in the old Phoenician inscriptions, of which the bronze bowls from a temple of Baal (CIS. i. 22 ff. and Plate IV) are somewhat earlier than Mēša'. The old Hebrew writing, as it appears on the oldest monument, the Siloam inscription (see below, § 2 d), exhibits essentially the same character. The old Greek, and indirectly all European alphabets, are descended from the old Phoenician writing (see § 5 i).

See the Table of Alphabets at the beginning of the Grammar, which shows the relations of the older varieties of Semitic writing to one another and especially the origin of the present Hebrew characters from their primitive forms. For a more complete view, see Gesenius' *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta*, Lips. 1837, 4to, pt. i. p. 15 ff., and pt. iii. tab. 1-5. From numerous monuments since discovered, our knowledge of the Semitic characters, especially the Phoenician, has become considerably enlarged and more accurate. Cf. the all but exhaustive bibliography (from 1616 to 1896) in Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, i. p. 4 ff., and on the origin of the Semitic alphabet, *ibid.*, p. 173 ff., and *Ephemeris* (see the heading of § 1 a above), i. pp. 109 ff., 142, 261 ff., and his 'Altsemitische Texte', pt. i, *Kanaanitische Inschriften* (Moabite, Old-Hebrew, Phoenician, Punic), Giessen, 1907.—On the origin and development of the Hebrew characters and the best tables of alphabets, see § 5 a, last note, and especially § 5 a.

iii 6. As regards the relative age of the Semitic languages, the oldest literary remains of them are to be found in the Assyrio-Babylonian (cuneiform) inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> with which are to be classed the earliest Hebrew fragments occurring in the old Testament (see § 2).

The earliest non-Jewish Aramaic inscriptions known to us are that of King of Hamath (early eighth cent. B.C.), on which see Nöldeke, *Zf.* 1908, p. 376, and that found at Teima, in N. Arabia, in 1880, probably of the fifth cent. B.C., cf. E. Littmann in the *Monist.* xiv. 4 [and O. Ke, *op. cit.*, p. 195]. The monuments of Kalammus of Sam'al, in the reign of Shalmanezar II, 859-829 B.C. (cf. A. Šanda, *Die Aramäer*, Lpz. 1902, p. 26), and those found in 1888-1891 at Zenjirli in N. Syria, including the Hadad inscription of thirty-four lines (early eighth cent. B.C.) and the Panammu inscription (740 B.C.), are not in pure Aramaic. The Jewish-Aramaic writings begin about the time of Cyrus (cf. *Ezr* 6<sup>th</sup>), specially important being the papyri from Assuan (ed. by Sayce and Cowley, London, 1906 (and in a cheaper form by Smelik, Bonn, 1907), which are precisely dated from 471 to 411 B.C., and three others of 407 B.C. ed. by Sachau, Berlin, 1907.

<sup>1</sup> According to Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, i. p. 11 ff., the inscriptions found at Nippur embrace the period from about 400 to 450 B.C.

Monuments of the *Arabic* branch first appear in the earliest centuries A. D. (Sabæan inscriptions, Ethiopic translation of the Bible in the fourth or fifth century, North-Arabic literature from the sixth century A. D.).

It is, however, another question which of these languages has adhered longest and most faithfully to the original character of the Semitic, and which consequently represents to us the earliest phase of its development. For the more or less rapid transformation of the sounds and forms of a language, as spoken by nations and races, is dependent on causes quite distinct from the growth of a literature, and the organic structure of a language is often considerably impaired even before it has developed a literature, especially by early contact with people of a different language. Thus in the Semitic group, the Aramaic dialects exhibit the earliest and greatest decay, next to them the Hebrew-Canaanitish, and in its own way the Assyrian. Arabic, owing to the seclusion of the desert tribes, was the longest to retain the original fullness and purity of the sounds and forms of words.<sup>1</sup> Even here, however, there appeared, through the revolutionary influence of Islam, an ever-increasing decay, until Arabic at length reached the stage at which we find Hebrew in the Old Testament.

Hence the phenomenon, that in its grammatical structure the ancient Hebrew agrees more with the modern than with the ancient Arabic, and that the latter, although it only appears as a written language at a later period, has yet in many respects preserved a more complete structure and a more original vowel system than the other Semitic languages, cf. Nöldeke, 'Das klassische Arabisch und die arabischen Dialekte,' in *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 1 ff. It thus occupies amongst them a position similar to that which Sanskrit holds among the Indo-Germanic languages, or Gothic in the narrower circle of the Germanic. But even the toughest organism of a language often deteriorates, at least in single forms and derivatives, while on the contrary, in the midst of what is otherwise universal decay, there still remains here and there something original and archaic; and this is the case with the Semitic languages.

Fuller proof of the above statements belongs to the comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages. It follows, however, from what has been said: (1) that the Hebrew language, as found in the sacred literature of the Jews, has, in respect

<sup>1</sup> Even now the language of some of the Bédawi is much purer and more archaic than that of the town Arabs. It must, however, be admitted that the former exalted estimate of the primitiveness of Arabic has been moderated in many respects by the most recent school of Semitic philology. Much apparently original is to be regarded with Nöldeke (*Die semit. Spr.*, p. 5 [= *Encycl. Brit.*, ed. 9, art. SEMITIC LANGUAGES, p. 642]) only as a modification of the original. The assertion that the Arabs exhibit Semitic characteristics in their purest form, should, according to Nöldeke, be rather that 'the inhabitants of the desert lands of Arabia, under the influence of the extraordinarily monotonous scenery and of a life continually the same amid continual change, have developed most exclusively some of the principal traits of the Semitic race'.

to its organic structure, already suffered more considerable losses than the Arabic, which appears much later on the historical horizon; (2) that, notwithstanding this fact, we cannot at once and in all points concede priority to the latter; (3) that it is a mistake to consider with some that the Aramaic, on account of its simplicity (which is only due to the decay of its organic structure), is the oldest form of Semitic speech.

## § 2. *Sketch of the History of the Hebrew Language.*

See Gesenius, *Gesch. der hebr. Sprache u. Schrift*, Lpz. 1815, §§ 5-18; Th. Nöldeke's art., 'Sprache, hebräische,' in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, Bd. v, Lpz. 1875; F. Buhl, 'Hebräische Sprache,' in Hauck's *Realencycl. für prot. Theol. und Kirche*, vii (1899), p. 506 ff.; A. Cowley, 'Hebrew Language and Literature,' in the forthcoming ed. of the *Encycl. Brit.*; W. R. Smith in the *Encycl. Bibl.*, ii, London, 1901, p. 1984 ff.; A. Lukyn Williams, 'Hebrew,' in *Hastings' Dict. of the Bible*, ii, p. 325 ff., Edinb. 1899.

a 1. The name *Hebrew Language* usually denotes the language of the sacred writings of the Israelites which form the canon of the *Old Testament*. It is also called *Ancient Hebrew* in contradistinction to the New Hebrew of Jewish writings of the post-biblical period (§ 3a). The name Hebrew language (לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית) Ἑβραϊσμός, Ἑβραϊστί) does not occur in the Old Testament itself. Instead of it we find in Is 19<sup>18</sup> the term *language of Canaan*,<sup>1</sup> and יְהוּדִית in the *Jews' language* 2 K 18<sup>26,28</sup> (cf. Is 36<sup>11,13</sup>) Neh 13<sup>21</sup>. In the last-cited passage it already agrees with the later (post-exilic) usage, which gradually extended the name *Jews*, *Jewish* to the whole nation, as in Haggai, Nehemiah, and the book of Esther.

b The distinction between the names *Hebrew* (עִבְרִית) Ἑβραϊσμός and *Israelites* (יִשְׂרָאֵלִי) is that the latter was rather a national name of honour, with also a religious significance, employed by the people themselves, while the former appears as the less significant name by which the nation was known amongst foreigners. Hence in the Old Testament *Hebrews* are only spoken of either when the name is employed by themselves as contrasted with foreigners (Gn 40<sup>15</sup>, Ex 2<sup>6 f.</sup> 3<sup>18</sup> &c., Jon 1<sup>9</sup>) or when it is put in the mouth of those who are not Israelites (Gn 39<sup>14,17</sup> 41<sup>12</sup> &c.) or, finally, when it is used in opposition to other nations (Gn 14<sup>13</sup> 43<sup>31</sup>, Ex 21<sup>12,13</sup> 21<sup>2</sup>). In 1 S 13<sup>3,7</sup> and 14<sup>21</sup> the text is clearly corrupt. In the Greek and Latin authors, as well as in Josephus, the name Ἑβραῖοι, Hebraei, &c., alone occurs. Of the many explanations of the gentile עִבְרִי, the derivation from עֵבֶר a country on the other side with the derivative suffix י (86 h) appears to be the only one philologically possible. The name accordingly denoted the Israelites as being those who inhabited the 'eber, i. e. the district on the other side of the Jordan (or according to others the Euphrates), and would therefore originally be only appropriate when used by the nations on this side of the Jordan or Euphrates. We must, then, suppose that after the crossing of the river in question it had been retained by the Abrahamidae as an old-established name, and within certain limits

<sup>1</sup> That Hebrew in its present form was actually developed in Canaan appears from such facts as the use of *yām* (sea) for the west, *nēgeb* (properly *dryness*, afterwards as a proper name for the south of Palestine) for the south.

<sup>2</sup> The Graeco-Roman form of the name is not directly derived from the Hebrew עִבְרִי, but from the Palestinian Aramaic *ebryā*, 'the Hebrew.'

(see above) had become naturalized among them. In referring this name to the patronymic Eber, the Hebrew genealogists have assigned to it a much more comprehensive signification. For since in Gn 10<sup>21</sup> (Nu 24<sup>24</sup> does not apply) Shem is called the *father of all the children of Eber*, and to the latter there also belonged according to Gn 11<sup>14</sup> ff. and 10<sup>25</sup> ff. Aramean and Arab races, the name, afterwards restricted in the form of the gentile 'ibri exclusively to the Israelites, must have originally included a considerably larger group of countries and nations. The etymological significance of the name must in that case not be insisted upon.<sup>1</sup>

The term Ἑβραϊστί is first used, to denote the old Hebrew, in the prologue C to Jesus the son of Sirach (about 130 B.C.), and in the New Testament, Rv 9<sup>11</sup>. On the other hand it serves in Jn 5<sup>2</sup>, 19<sup>13-17</sup> perhaps also in 19<sup>20</sup> and Rv 16<sup>16</sup> to denote what was then the (Aramaic) vernacular of Palestine as opposed to the Greek. The meaning of the expression Ἑβραῖς διάλεκτος in Acts 21<sup>13</sup>, 22<sup>2</sup>, and 26<sup>14</sup> is doubtful (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 19 f.). Josephus also uses the term *Hebrew* both of the old Hebrew and of the Aramaic vernacular of his time.

The Hebrew language is first called the *sacred language* in the Jewish-Aramaic versions of the Old Testament, as being the language of the sacred books in opposition to the *lingua profana*, i. e. the Aramaic vulgar tongue.

2. With the exception of the Old Testament (and apart from the *d* Phoenician inscriptions; see below, *f-h*), only very few remains of old Hebrew or old Canaanitish literature have been preserved. Of the latter—(1) an inscription, unfortunately much injured, of thirty-four lines, which was found in the ancient territory of the tribe of Reuben, about twelve miles to the east of the Dead Sea, among the ruins of the city of Dibón (now Dibān), inhabited in earlier times by the Gadites, afterwards by the Moabites. In it the Moabite king Méša' (about 850 B.C.) recounts his battles with Israel (cf. 2 K 3<sup>4</sup> ff.), his buildings, and other matters.<sup>2</sup> Of old Hebrew: (2) an inscription

<sup>1</sup> We may also leave out of account the linguistically possible identification of the 'Ibriyīm with the Ḥabiri who appear in the Tell-el-Amarna letters (about 1400 B.C.) as freebooters and mercenaries in Palestine and its neighbourhood.

<sup>2</sup> This monument, unique of its kind, was first seen in August, 1868, on the spot, by the German missionary F. A. Klein. It was afterwards broken into pieces by the Arabs, so that only an incomplete copy of the inscription could be made. Most of the fragments are now in the Louvre in Paris. For the history of the discovery and for the earlier literature relating to the stone, see Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, i. pp. 103 f., 415 f., and in the bibliography (under Me), p. 39 ff. The useful reproduction and translation of the inscription by Smend and Socin (Freiburg in Baden, 1886) was afterwards revised and improved by Nordlander, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, Lpz. 1896; by Socin and Holzinger, 'Zur Mesainschrift' (*Berichte der K. Sächsischen Gesell. d. Wiss.*, Dec. 1897); and by Lidzbarski, 'Eine Nachprüfung der Mesainschrift' (*Ephemeris*, i. 1, p. 1 ff.; text in his *Altsemitische Texte*, pt. 1, Giessen, 1907); J. Halévy, *Revue Sémitique*, 1900, pp. 236 ff., 289 ff., 1901, p. 297 ff.; M. J. Lagrange, *Revue biblique internationale*, 1901, p. 522 ff.; F. Prätorius in *ZDMG.* 1905, p. 33 ff., 1906, p. 402. Its genuineness was attacked by A. Löwy, *Die Echtheit der Moabit. Inschr. im Louvre* (Wien, 1903), and G. Jahn in *Das Buch Daniel*, Lpz. 1904, p. 122 ff. (also in *ZDMG.* 1905, p. 723 ff.), but without justification, as shown by E. König in *ZDMG.* 1905, pp. 233 ff. and 743 ff. [Cf. also Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, Oxford, 1890, p. lxxv ff.; Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 1 ff.]

of six lines (probably of the eighth century B.C.<sup>1</sup>) discovered in June, 1880, in the tunnel between the Virgin's Spring and the Pool of Siloam at Jerusalem; (3) about forty engraved seal-stones, some of them pre-exilic but bearing little except proper names<sup>2</sup>; (4) coins of the Maccabæan prince Simon (from 'the 2nd year of deliverance', 140 and 139 B.C.) and his successors,<sup>3</sup> and the coinage of the revolts in the times of Vespasian and Hadrian.

c 3. In the whole series of the ancient Hebrew writings, as found in the Old Testament and also in non-biblical monuments (see above, d), the language (to judge from its consonantal formation) remains, as regards its general character, and apart from slight changes in form and differences of style (see *k* to *w*), at about the same stage of development. In this form, it may at an early time have been fixed as a literary language, and the fact that the books contained in the Old Testament were handed down as *sacred* writings, must have contributed to this constant uniformity.

f To this old Hebrew, the language of the Canaanitish or Phœnician<sup>4</sup> stocks came the nearest of all the Semitic languages, as is evident partly from the many Canaanitish names of persons and places with a Hebrew form and meaning which occur in the Old Testament (e.g. כְּרִית סֶפֶר, כְּרִית סֶפֶר, &c. ;

<sup>1</sup> Of this inscription—unfortunately not dated, but linguistically and palaeographically very important—referring to the boring of the tunnel, a facsimile is given at the beginning of this grammar. See also Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, i. 105, 163, 439 (bibliography, p. 56 ff.; facsimile, vol. ii, plate xxi, 1); on the new drawing of it by Socin (*ZDPV*, xxii. p. 61 ff. and separately published at Freiburg i. B. 1899), see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 53 ff. and 310 f. (text in *Altsemit. Texte*, p. 9 f.). Against the view of A. Fischer (*ZDMG*, 1902, p. 800 f.) that the six lines are the continuation of an inscription which was never executed, see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii. 71. The inscription was removed in 1890, and broken into six or seven pieces in the process. It has since been well restored, and is now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. If, as can hardly be doubted, the name עֶלְיָה (i. e. *emissio*) is <sup>86</sup> refers to the discharge of water from the Virgin's Spring, through the tunnel (so Stade, *Gesch. Isr.* i. 594), then the latter, and consequently the inscription, was already in existence about 736 B.C. [Cf. Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ff.]

<sup>2</sup> M. A. Levy, *Siegel u. Gemmen*, &c., Bresl. 1869, p. 33 ff.; Stade, *ZAW*, 1897, p. 501 ff. (four old-Semitic seals published in 1896); Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, i. 169 f.; *Ephemeris*, i. 10 ff.; W. Nowack, *Lehrb. d. hebr. Archäol.* (Freib. 1894), i. 262 f.; I. Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäol.*<sup>3</sup> (Tübingen, 1907), pp. 80, 223 ff., which includes the beautiful seal inscribed לשמע עבד ירבעם from the castle-hill of Megiddo, found in 1904; [Cooke, p. 362].

<sup>3</sup> De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, Par. 1874; M. A. Levy, *Gesch. der jüd. Münzen*, Breslau, 1862; Madden, *The Coins of the Jews*, Lond. 1881; Reinach, *Les monnaies juives*, Paris, 1888.—Cf. the literature in Schürer's *Gesch. des jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter J. C.*<sup>3</sup>, Lpz. 1901, i. p. 20 ff.; [Cooke, p. 352 ff.].

<sup>4</sup> כְּנַעֲנִי, כְּנַעֲנִי is the native name, common both to the Canaanitish tribes in Palestine and to those which dwelt at the foot of the Lebanon and on the Syrian coast, whom we call Phœnicians, while they called themselves כְּנַעֲנִי on their coins. The people of Carthage also called themselves so.



on 'Canaanite glosses'<sup>1</sup> to Assyrian words in the cuneiform tablets of Tell-el-Amarna [about 1400 B.C.] cf. H. Winckler, 'Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna,' in *Keilinschr. Bibliothek*, vol. v, Berlin, 1896 f. [transcription and translation]; J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, Lpz. 1907 f.; H. Zimmern, *ZA.* 1891, p. 154 ff. and *KAT.*, p. 651 ff.), and partly from the numerous remains of the Phœnician and Punic languages.

The latter we find in their peculiar writing (§ 1 k, l) in a great number of inscriptions and on coins, copies of which have been collected by Gesenius, Judas, Bourgade, Davis, de Vogüé, Levy, P. Schröder, v. Maltzan, Euting, but especially in Part I of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, 1881 ff. Among the inscriptions but few public documents are found, e.g. two lists of fees for sacrifices; by far the most are epitaphs or votive tablets. Of special importance is the inscription on the sarcophagus of King Esmûnazar of Sidon, found in 1855, now in the Louvre; see the bibliography in Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.*, i. 23 ff.; on the inscription, i. 97 ff., 141 f., 417, ii. plate iv, 2; [Cooke, p. 30 ff.]. To these may be added isolated words in Greek and Latin authors, and the Punic texts in Plautus, *Pœnulus* 5, 1-3 (best treated by Gildemeister in Ritschl's edition of Plautus, Lips. 1884, tom. ii, fasc. 5). From the monuments we learn the native orthography, from the Greek and Latin transcriptions the pronunciation and vocalization; the two together give a tolerably distinct idea of the language and its relation to Hebrew.

Phœnician (Punic) words occurring in inscriptions are, e.g. אל God, *g* אדם *man*, בן *son*, בת *daughter*, מלך *king*, עבד *servant*, כהן *priest*, זבח *sacrifice*, בעל *lord*, שמש *sun*, ארץ *land*, ים *sea*, אבן *stone*, כסף *silver*, ברזל *iron*, שמן *oil*, עת *time*, קבר *grave*, מצבת *monument*, מקום *place*, משכב *bed*, כל *all*, אחד *one*, שנים *two*, שלש *three*, ארבע *four*, חמש *five*, שש *six*, שבע *seven*, עשר *ten*, בן (= Hebr. היה) *to be*, שמע *to hear*, פתח *to open*, נדר *to vow*, ברך *to bless*, חנבעל *Hannibal*, &c. Proper names: צידן *Sidon*, צר *Tyre*, חנא *Hanno*, הנבעל *Hannibal*, &c. See the complete vocabulary in Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.*, i. 204 ff.

Variations from Hebrew in Phœnician orthography and inflection are, *h* e.g. the almost invariable omission of the vowel letters (§ 7 b), as בת for בית *house*, קל for קול *voice*, צידן for צידון *house*, אלנם for אלהים *gods*, the fem., even in the absolute state, ending in ת (*ath*) (§ 80 b) as well as נ (6), the relative אש (Hebr. אשר), &c. The differences in pronunciation are more remarkable, especially in Punic, where the *h* was regularly pronounced as *u*, e.g. שפט *sûfet* (judge), שלש *sûls* (three), ראש *rûs* = ראש *head*; *i* and *e* often as the obscure dull sound of *y*, e.g. חננני *hannynnu* (ecce eum), אה (*ait*) *yth*; the *u* as *o*, e.g. מוער *Mocar* (cf. מערה LXX, Gn 22<sup>24</sup> *Maçâd*). See the collection of the grammatical peculiarities in Gesenius, *Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 430 ff.; Paul Schröder, *Die phœniz. Sprache*, Halle, 1869; B. Stade, 'Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phœnic. und Hebr. bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades,' in the *Morgenländ. Forschungen*, Lpz. 1875, p. 169 ff.

4. As the Hebrew writing on monuments and coins mentioned *z* in *d* consists only of consonants, so also the writers of the Old

<sup>1</sup> Cf. inter alia: *aparu*, also *hāparu* (Assyr. *epu*, *ipru*) = עפר; *hullu* = על (with hard *u*; cf. § 6 c, and Assyr. *hūmri* = עמרי, *hazzatu* = עזה); *iazkur* = יזכר, *zuruḥu* = זרוע, *abadat* = אבדה, *ṣahri* = שער, gate; *baṭnu* = בطن, belly; *kilābi* = כלב, net; *saduk* = צדק (צדיק), &c. [Cf. Böhl, *Die Sprache d. Amarnabriefe*, Lpz. 1909.]

Testament books used merely the consonant-signs (§ 1 *k*), and even now the written scrolls of the Law used in the synagogues must not, according to ancient custom, contain anything more. The present pronunciation of this consonantal text, its vocalization and accentuation, rest on the tradition of the Jewish schools, as it was finally fixed by the system of punctuation (§ 7 *k*) introduced by Jewish scholars about the seventh century A.D.; cf. § 3 *b*.

- k* An earlier stage in the development of the Canaanitish-Hebrew language, i.e. a form of it anterior to the written documents now extant, when it must have stood nearer to the common language of the united Semitic family, can still be discerned in its principal features:—(1) from many archaisms preserved in the traditional texts, especially in the names of persons and places dating from earlier times, as well as in isolated forms chiefly occurring in poetic style; (2) in general by an *a posteriori* conclusion from traditional forms, so far as according to the laws and analogies of phonetic change they clearly point to an older phase of the language; and (3) by comparison with the kindred languages, especially Arabic, in which this earlier stage of the language has been frequently preserved even down to later times (§ 1 *m, n*). In numerous instances in examining linguistic phenomena, the same—and consequently so much the more certain—result is attained by each of these three methods.

Although the systematic investigation of the linguistic development indicated above belongs to comparative Semitic philology, it is nevertheless indispensable for the scientific treatment of Hebrew to refer to the ground-forms<sup>1</sup> so far as they can be ascertained and to compare the corresponding forms in Arabic. Even elementary grammar which treats of the forms of the language occurring in the Old Testament frequently requires, for their explanation, a reference to these ground-forms.

- l* 5. Even in the language of the Old Testament, notwithstanding its general uniformity, there is noticeable a certain progress from an earlier to a later stage. Two periods, though with some reservations, may be distinguished: the *first*, down to the end of the Babylonian exile; and the *second*, after the exile.
- m* To the former belongs, apart from isolated traces of a later revision, the larger half of the Old Testament books, viz. (*a*) of the prose and historical writings, a large part of the Pentateuch and of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings; (*b*) of the poetical, perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Whether these can be described simply as 'primitive Semitic' is a question which may be left undecided here.

a part of the Psalms and Proverbs; (c) the writings of the earlier prophets (apart from various later additions) in the following chronological order: Amos, Hosea, Isaiah I, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Obadiah (?), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah II (ch. 40-55).

The beginning of this period, and consequently of Hebrew literature <sup>72</sup> generally, is undoubtedly to be placed as early as the time of Moses, although the Pentateuch in its present form, in which very different strata may be still clearly recognized, is to be regarded as a gradual production of the centuries after Moses. Certain linguistic peculiarities of the Pentateuch, which it was once customary to regard as archaisms, such as the epicene use of נַעַר *boy, youth*, for נַעֲרָה *girl*, and הוּא for הִיא, are merely to be attributed to a later redactor; cf. § 17 c.

The linguistic character of the various strata of the Pentateuch has been <sup>Q</sup> examined by Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchici sermone*, Lpz. 1878; König, *De criticae sacrae argumento e linguae legibus repetito*, Lpz. 1879 (analysis of Gn 1-11); F. Giesebrecht, 'Der Sprachgebr. des hexateuchischen Elohisten,' in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 177 ff., partly modified by Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. xi. p. 201 ff.; Kräutlein, *Die sprachl. Verschiedenheiten in den Hexateuchquellen*, Lpz. 1908.—Abundant matter is afforded also by Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, Freib. 1893; Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*<sup>3</sup>, Edinburgh, 1908; Strack, *Einleitung ins A. T.*<sup>6</sup>, Munich, 1906; König, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, Bonn, 1893.

6. Even in the writings of this first period, which embraces <sup>p</sup> about 600 years, we meet, as might be expected, with considerable differences in linguistic form and style, which are due partly to differences in the time and place of composition, and partly to the individuality and talent of the authors. Thus Isaiah, for example, writes quite differently from the later Jeremiah, but also differently from his contemporary Micah. Amongst the historical books of this period, the texts borrowed from earlier sources have a linguistic colouring perceptibly different from those derived from later sources, or passages which belong to the latest redactor himself. Yet the structure of the language, and, apart from isolated cases, even the vocabulary and phraseology, are on the whole the same, especially in the prose books.

But the *poetic language* is in many ways distinguished from <sup>q</sup> prose, not only by a *rhythm* due to more strictly balanced (parallel) members and definite metres (see *r*), but also by peculiar *words* and *meanings*, *inflections* and *syntactical constructions* which it uses in addition to those usual in prose. This distinction, however, does not go far as, for example, in Greek. Many of these poetic peculiarities occur in the kindred languages, especially in Aramaic, as the ordinary modes of expression, and probably are to be regarded largely as archaisms which poetry retained. Some perhaps, also, are



embellishments which the Hebrew poets who knew Aramaic adopted into their language.<sup>1</sup>

The prophets, at least the earlier, in language and rhythm are to be regarded almost entirely as poets, except that with them the sentences are often more extended, and the parallelism is less regular and balanced than is the case with the poets properly so called. The language of the later prophets, on the contrary, approaches nearer to prose.

<sup>r</sup> On the *rhythm* of Hebrew poetry, see besides the Commentaries on the poetical books and Introductions to the O. T., J. Ley, *Grundsätze des Rhythmus*, &c., Halle, 1875; *Leitfaden der Metrik der hebr. Poesie*, Halle, 1887; 'Die metr. Beschaffenheit des B. Hiob,' in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1895, iv, 1897, i; Grimme, 'Abriss der bibl.-hebr. Metrik,' *ZDMG.* 1896, p. 529 ff., 1897, p. 683 ff.; *Psalmprobleme*, &c., Freiburg (Switzerland), 1902 (on which see Beer in *ThLZ.* 1903, no. 11); 'Gedanken über hebr. Metrik,' in *Altschüler's Vierteljahrsschrift*, i (1903), 1 ff.; Düller, *Rhythmus, Metrik u. Strophik in d. bibl.-hebr. Poesie*, Paderborn, 1899; Schloegl, *De re metrica veterum Hebraeorum disputatio*, Vindobonae, 1899 (on the same lines as Grimme); but especially Ed. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*: i *Studien zur hebr. Metrik*, pt. 1 *Untersuchungen*, pt. 2 *Textmchen*, Lpz. 1901: ii *Die hebr. Genesis*, 1 *Texte*, 2 *Zur Quellenscheidung u. Textkritik*, Lpz. 1904 f.: iii *Samuel*, Lpz. 1907; *Amos metrisch bearbeitet* (with H. Guthe), Lpz. 1907; and his *Alttest. Miscellen* (1 *Is 24-27*, 2 *Jona*, 3 *Deutero-Zechariah*, 4 *Malachi*, 5 *Hosea*, 6 *Joel*, 7 *Obadiah*, 8 *Zephaniah*, 9 *Haggai*, 10 *Micah*), Lpz. 1904-7.—As a guide to Sievers' system (with some criticism of his principles see Baumann, 'Die Metrik u. das A. T.', in the *Theol. Rundschau*, viii (1905), 41 ff.; W. H. Cobb, *A criticism of systems of Hebrew Metre*, Oxford, 1905; Cornill, *Einleitung ins A. T.*, Tübingen, 1905, p. 11 ff.; Rothstein, *Zeitschr. für d. ev. Rel.-Unterricht*, 1907, p. 188 ff. and his *Grundsätze des hebr. Rhythmus*, Lpz. 1909 (also separately *Psalmtexte u. der Text des Hohen Liedes*, Lpz. 1909); W. R. Arnold, 'The rhythms of the ancient Heb.' in *O. T. and Semitic Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, i. 165 ff., Chicago, 1907, according to whom the number of syllables between the beats is only limited by the physiological possibilities of phonetics; C. v. Orelli, 'Zur Metrik der alttest. Prophetenschriften,' in his *Kommentar zu den kl. Propheten*, p. 236 ff., Munich, 1908.—In full agreement with Sievers is Baethgen, *Psalmen*, p. xxvi ff., Göttingen, 1904. [Cf. Budde in *DB.* iv. 3 ff.; Duhm in *EB.* iii. 3793 ff.]

Of all views of this matter, the only one generally accepted as sound was at first Ley's and Budde's discovery of the Qina- or Lamentation-Verse (*ZAW.* 1882, 5 ff.; 1891, 234 ff.; 1892, 31 ff.). On their predecessors, Lowth, de Wette, Ewald, see Löhr, *Klagelied*, p. 9. This verse, called by Duhm 'long verse', by Sievers simply 'five-syllabled' (Fünfer), consists of two members, the second at least one beat shorter than the other. That a regular repetition of an equal number of syllables in *arsis* and *thesis* was observed by other poets, had been established by Ley, Duhm, Gunkel, Grimme, and others, especially Zimmermann, who cites a Babylonian hymn in which the members are actually marked (*ZA.* x. 1 ff., xii. 38a ff.; cf. also Delitzsch, *Das babyl. Welschbüchgen*, Lpz. 1896, pp. 60 ff.). Recently, however, E. Sievers, the recognized authority on metre in other branches of literature, has indicated, in the works mentioned above, a number of fresh facts and views, which have frequently been confirmed by the conclusions of Ley and others. The most important are as follows:—

Hebrew poetry, as distinguished from the quantitative Classical and Arabic

<sup>1</sup> That already in Isaiah's time (second half of the eighth century B. C.) educated Hebrews, or at least officers of state, understood Aramaic, while the common people in Jerusalem did not, is evident from 2 K 18<sup>26</sup> (Is 36<sup>11</sup>).

and the syllabic Syriac verse, is *accentual*. The number of unstressed syllables between the beats (*ictus*) is, however, not arbitrary, but the scheme of the verse is based on an irregular anapaest which may undergo rhythmical modifications (e.g. resolving the ictus into two syllables, or lengthening the arsis so as to give a double accent) and contraction, e.g. of the first two syllables. The foot always concludes with the ictus, so that toneless endings, due to change of pronunciation or corruption of the text, are to be disregarded, although as a rule the ictus coincides with the Hebrew word-accent. The metrical scheme consists of combinations of feet in *series* (of 2, 3 or 4), and of these again in *periods*—double threes, very frequently, double fours in narrative, fives in Lamentations (see above) and very often elsewhere, and sevens. Sievers regards the last two metres as catalectic double threes and fours. Connected sections do not always maintain the same metre throughout, but often exhibit a mixture of metres.

It can no longer be doubted that in the analysis of purely poetical passages, this system often finds ready confirmation and leads to textual and literary results, such as the elimination of glosses. There are, however, various difficulties in carrying out the scheme consistently and extending it to the prophetic writings and still more to narrative: (1) not infrequently the required number of feet is only obtained by sacrificing the clearly marked parallelism, or the grammatical connexion (e.g. of the construct state with its genitive), and sometimes even by means of doubtful emendations; (2) the whole system assumes a correct transmission of the text and its pronunciation, for neither of which is there the least guarantee. To sum up, our conclusion at present is that for poetry proper some assured and final results have been already obtained, and others may be expected, from the principles laid down by Sievers, although, considering the way in which the text has been transmitted, a *faultless* arrangement of metres cannot be expected. Convincing proof of the *consistent* use of the same metrical schemes in the prophets, and *a fortiori* in narrative, can hardly be brought forward.

The great work of D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprüngl. Form* (2 vols., Vienna, 1896; cf. his *Strophenbau u. Responsion*, *ibid.* 1898, and *Komposition u. Strophenbau*, *ibid.* 1907), is a study of the most important monuments of early Semitic poetry from the point of view of strophic structure and the use of the refrain, i. e. the repetition of the same or similar phrases or words in corresponding positions in different strophes.

The arrangement of certain poetical passages in verse-form required by early scribal rules (Ex 15<sup>1-19</sup>; Dt 32<sup>1-43</sup>; Ju 5; 1 S 2<sup>1-10</sup>; 2 S 22, 23<sup>1-7</sup>; ψ 18, 136; Pr. 31<sup>10-31</sup>; 1 Ch 16<sup>8-35</sup>; cf. also Jo 12<sup>5-24</sup>; Ec 3<sup>2-8</sup>; Est 9<sup>7-10</sup>) has nothing to do with the question of metre in the above sense.

Words are used in poetry, for which others are customary in prose, e. g. שָׁמַח *man* = אָדָם; פָּתַח *path* = דֶּרֶךְ; מִלָּה *word* = דְּבָר; הָוָה *to see* = רָאָה; אֵתָה *to come* = בֹּא.

To the poetic meanings of words belongs the use of certain poetic *epithets* as substantives; thus, for example, אֲבִיר (only in constr. st. אֲבִירִי) *the strong one* for God; אֲבִירִי *the strong one* for bull, horse; לְבָנָה *alba* for luna; אֹיֵב *enemy* for אֵיב.

Of word-forms, we may note, e.g. the longer forms of prepositions of place (§ 103 n) עַל = עָלַי, אֶל = אֵלַי, עַד = עָדַי; the endings וֹ, י in the noun (§ 90); the pronominal suffixes מוֹ, מִי, מִי, מִי for ד, ד, ד, ד (§ 58); the plural ending יָן for דִּים (§ 87 e). To the *syntax* belongs the far more sparing use of the article, of the relative pronoun, of the accusative particle אֵת; the construct state even before prepositions; the shortened imperfect with the same meaning as the ordinary form (§ 109 f); the wider governing power of prepositions; and in general a forcible brevity of expression.

t 7. The *second* period of the Hebrew language and literature, after the return from the exile until the Maccabees (about 160 B.C.), is chiefly distinguished by a constantly closer approximation of the language to the kindred western Aramaic dialect. This is due to the influence of the Aramaeans, who lived in close contact with the recent and thinly-populated colony in Jerusalem, and whose dialect was already of importance as being the official language of the western half of the Persian empire. Nevertheless the supplanting of Hebrew by Aramaic proceeded only very gradually. Writings intended for popular use, such as the Hebrew original of Jesus the son of Sirach and the book of Daniel, not only show that Hebrew about 170 B.C. was still in use as a literary language, but also that it was still at least understood by the people.<sup>1</sup> When it had finally ceased to exist as a living language, it was still preserved as the *language of the Schools*—not to mention the numerous Hebraisms introduced into the Aramaic spoken by the Jews.

For particulars, see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, pp. 1-6. We may conveniently regard the relation of the languages which co-existed in this later period as similar to that of the High and Low German in North Germany, or to that of the High German and the common dialects in the south and in Switzerland. Even amongst the more educated, the common dialect prevails orally, whilst the High German serves essentially as the literary and cultured language, and is at least understood by all classes of the people. Wholly untenable is the notion, based on an erroneous interpretation of Neh 8<sup>8</sup>, that the Jews immediately after the exile had completely forgotten the Hebrew language, and therefore needed a translation of the Holy Scriptures.

u The Old Testament writings belonging to this second period, in all of which the Aramaic colouring appears in various degrees, are: certain parts of the Pentateuch and of Joshua, Ruth, the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther; the prophetic books of Haggai, Zechariah, Isaiah III (56-66), Malachi, Joel, Jonah, Daniel; of the poetical books, a large part of Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and most of the Psalms. As literary compositions, these books are sometimes far inferior to those of the first period, although work was still produced which in purity of language and aesthetic value falls little short of the writings of the golden age.

v *Later words* (Aramaisms) are, e.g. אָהָרָה declaration, אָנִים compel, בֶּר son, יִיד chalk, זָמַן = עֵת time, זָמַר raise up, חָסַד Pi. reproach, טָלַל Pi. roof over,

<sup>1</sup> The extensive use of Hebrew in the popular religious literature which is partly preserved to us in the Midrašim, the Mišna, and the Liturgy, indicates, moreover, that Hebrew was widely understood much later than this. Cf. M. H. Segal, 'Mišnaic Hebrew and its relations to Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic,' in *J. Q. R.*, 1908, p. 647 ff. (also separately).

מָצָה *stray*, רֶכֶּשׁ *rock*, מַלְךְ *advise*, סוֹף = עֵץ *end*, לָקַח = קָבַל *take*, רָעַע *break*, מְאֵד *be many*, מִלְכָּה = שְׁלֹט *rule*, תַּקַּח = אָמַץ *be strong*.—Later meanings are, e.g. אָמַר (to say) to command; עָנָה (to answer) to begin speaking.—Orthographical and grammatical peculiarities are, the frequent *scriptio plena* of י and י־, e.g. דְּוִיָּה<sup>1</sup> (elsewhere דְּוִי), even קֹדֶשׁ for קָדֶשׁ, רֹב for רֵב; the interchange of ה־ and נ־ final; the more frequent use of substantives in וְ, וְ, וְ, &c. Cf. Dav. Strauss, *Sprachl. Studien zu d. hebr. Sirachfragmenten*, Zürich, 1900, p. 19 ff.; for the Psalms Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 461 ff., and especially Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 276 ff.; in general, Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im A. T.* (i, Lexikal. Teil), Halle, 1902.

But all the peculiarities of these later writers are not Aramaisms. Several do not occur in Aramaic and must have belonged at an earlier period to the Hebrew vernacular, especially it would seem in northern Palestine. There certain parts of Judges, amongst others, may have originated, as is indicated, e.g. by שֹׁ, a common form in Phoenician (as well as שֵׁן), for שֶׁן (§ 36), which afterwards recurs in Jonah, Lamentations, the Song of Songs, the later Psalms, and Ecclesiastes.

Rem. 1. Of dialectal varieties in the old Hebrew language, only one <sup>20</sup> express mention occurs in the O. T. (Ju 12<sup>a</sup>), according to which the Ephraimites in certain cases pronounced the ש as ד. (Cf. Marquart in *ZAW.* 1888, p. 151 ff.) Whether in Neh 13<sup>24</sup> by the speech of Ashdod a Hebrew, or a (wholly different) Philistine dialect is intended, cannot be determined. On the other hand, many peculiarities in the North Palestinian books (Judges and Hosea) are probably to be regarded as differences in dialect, and so also some anomalies in the Moabite inscription of Méša' (see above, d). On later developments see L. Metman, *Die hebr. Sprache, ihre Geschichte u. lexikal. Entwicklung seit Abschluss des Kanons u. ihr Bau in d. Gegenwart*, Jerusalem, 1906.

2. It is evident that, in the extant remains of old Hebrew literature,<sup>2</sup> the entire store of the ancient language is not preserved. The canonical books of the Old Testament formed certainly only a fraction of the whole Hebrew national literature.

### § 3. *Grammatical Treatment of the Hebrew Language.*

Gesenius, *Gesch. der hebr. Sprache*, §§ 19–39; Oehler's article, 'Hebr. Sprache,' in Schmid's *Encycl. des ges. Erziehungs- u. Unterrichtswesens*, vol. iii. p. 346 ff. (in the 2nd ed. revised by Nestle, p. 314 ff.). Cf. also the literature cited above in the headings of §§ 1 and 2; also Böttcher, *Lehrb. der hebr. Spr.*, i. Lpz. 1866, p. 30 ff.; L. Geiger, *Das Studium der Hebr. Spr. in Deutschl. vom Ende des XV. bis zur Mitte des XVI. Jahrh.*, Breslau, 1870; B. Pick, 'The Study of the Hebrew Language among Jews and Christians,' in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1884, p. 450 ff., and 1885, p. 470 ff.; W. Bacher, article 'Grammar' in the *Jew. Encyclopaedia*, vol. vi, New York and London, 1904. Cf. also the note on d.

1. At the time when the old Hebrew language was gradually *a* becoming extinct, and the formation of the O. T. canon was

<sup>1</sup> דְּוִיָּה in the Minor Prophets throughout (Ho 3<sup>a</sup>, &c.) is due merely to a caprice of the Masoretes.

<sup>2</sup> According to the calculation of the Dutch scholar Leusden, the O. T. contains 5,642 different Hebrew and Aramaic words; according to rabbinical calculations, 79,856 altogether in the Pentateuch. Cf. also E. Nestle, *ZAW.* 1906, p. 283; H. Strack, *ZAW.* 1907, p. 69 ff.; Blau, 'Neue masoret. Studien,' in *JQR.* xvi. 357 ff., treats of the number of letters and words, and the verse-division in the O. T.

approaching completion, the Jews began to explain and critically revise their sacred text, and sometimes to translate it into the vernacular languages which in various countries had become current among them. The oldest *translation* is the Greek of the *Seventy* (more correctly *Seventy-two*) Interpreters (LXX), which was begun with the Pentateuch at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, but only completed later. It was the work of various authors, some of whom had a living knowledge of the original, and was intended for the use of Greek-speaking Jews, especially in Alexandria. Somewhat later the Aramaic translations, or Targums (תרגומים i.e. *interpretations*), were formed by successive recensions made in Palestine and Babylonia. The *explanations*, derived in part from alleged tradition, refer almost exclusively to civil and ritual law and dogmatic theology, and are no more scientific in character than much of the textual tradition of that period. Both kinds of tradition are preserved in the *Talmud*, the first part of which, the *Mišna*, was finally brought to its present form towards the end of the second century; of the remainder, the *Gemāra*, one recension (the *Jerusalem* or *Palestinian Gem.*) about the middle of the fourth century, the other (the *Babylonian Gem.*) about the middle of the sixth century A.D. The *Mišna* forms the beginning of the New-Hebrew literature; the language of the *Gemaras* is for the most part Aramaic.

b 2. To the interval between the completion of the Talmud and the earliest grammatical writers, belong mainly the vocalization and accentuation of the hitherto unpointed text of the O. T., according to the pronunciation traditional in the Synagogues and Schools (§ 7 h, i), as well as the greater part of the collection of critical notes which bears the name of Masōra (מסורה *traditio*?).<sup>1</sup> From this the text which has since been transmitted with rigid uniformity by the MSS.,

<sup>1</sup> On the name Masora (or Massora, as e.g. E. König, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, p. 38 ff.; *Lehrgeb. d. hebr. Sprache*, ii. 358 ff.), and the great difficulty of satisfactorily explaining it, cf. De Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, i. 91 ff. W. Bacher's derivation of the expression (in *JQR.* 1891, p. 785 ff.; so also C. Levias in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati, 1904, p. 147 ff.) from Ez 20<sup>37</sup> (מסרת הברית; מסרה, i.e. מוסרה, being an equally legitimate form) is rightly rejected by König, l. c. The correctness of the form מסרה (by the side of the equally well-attested form מסרת) does not seem to us to be invalidated by his arguments, nor by Blau's proposal to read מסורת (JQR. xii. 241). The remark of Levias (l.c.) deserves notice, that with the earlier Masoretes מסורה is equivalent to orthography, i.e. *plene*- and *defective* writing, and only later came to mean *traditio*.—G. Wildboer, in *ZAW.* 1909, p. 74, contends that as מסר to *hand on* is not found in the O. T., it must be a late denominative in this sense.



and is still the received text of the O. T., has obtained the name of the Masoretic Text.

E. F. K. Rosenmüller already (*Handbuch für d. Liter. der bibl. Kritik u. C. Exegese*, 1797, i. 247; *Vorrede zur Stereotyp-Ausg. des A. T.*, Lpz. 1834) maintained that our O. T. text was derived from Codices belonging to a single recension. J. G. Sommer (cf. Cornill, *ZAW.* 1892, p. 309), Olshausen (since 1853), and especially De Lagarde (*Proverbes*, 1863, p. 1 ff.), have even made it probable that the original Masoretic text was derived from a single standard manuscript. Cf., however, E. König in *Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wiss.*, 1887, p. 279 f., and especially his *Einführung ins A. T.*, p. 88 ff. Moreover a great many facts, which will be noticed in their proper places, indicate that the Masora itself is by no means uniform but shows clear traces of different schools and opinions; cf. H. Strack in *Semitic Studies in memory of . . . Kohut*, Berlin, 1897, p. 563 ff. An excellent foundation for the history of the Masora and the settlement of the masoretic tradition was laid by Joh. Buxtorf in his *Tibertas seu Commentarius Masorethicus*, first published at Basel in 1620 as an appendix to the Rabbinical Bible of 1618 f. For more recent work see Geiger, *Jüdische Ztschr.*, iii. 78 ff., followed by Harris in *JQR.* i. 128 ff., 243 ff.; S. Frensdorff, *Ochla W'ochla*, Hanover, 1864; and his *Massor. Wörterb.*, part 1, Hanover and Lpz. 1876; and Ch. D. Ginsburg, *The Massora compiled from Manuscripts, &c.*, 3 vols., Lond. 1880 ff., and *Introduction to the Massoretico-critical edition of the Hebr. Bible*, Lond. 1897 (his text, reprinted from that of Jacob b. Hayyim [Venice, 1524-5] with variants from MSS. and the earliest editions, was published in 2 vols. at London in 1894, 2nd ed. 1906; a revised edition is in progress); H. Hyvernat, 'La langue et le langage de la Massore' (as a mixture of New-Hebrew and Aramaic), in the *Revue biblique*, Oct. 1903, p. 529 ff. and B: 'Lexique massorétique,' *ibid.*, Oct. 1904, p. 521 ff., 1905, p. 481 ff., and p. 515 ff. In the use of the Massora for the critical construction of the Text, useful work has been done especially by S. Baer, in the editions of the several books (only Exod.-Deut. have still to appear), edited from 1869 conjointly with Fr. Delitzsch, and since 1891 by Baer alone. Cf. also § 7 h.

The various readings of the Q<sup>r</sup>e (see § 17) form one of the oldest and most important parts of the Masora. The punctuation of the Text, however, is not to be confounded with the compilation of the Masora. The former was settled at an earlier period, and is the result of a much more exhaustive labour than the Masora, which was not completed till a considerably later time.

3. It was not until about the beginning of the tenth century that *d* the Jews, following the example of the Arabs, began their grammatical compilations. Of the numerous grammatical and lexicographical works of R. Sa'adya,<sup>1</sup> beyond fragments in the commentary on the Sepher Yesira (ed. Mayer-Lambert, pp. 42, 47, 75, &c.), only the explanation in Arabic of the seventy (more correctly ninety) *hapax legomena* in the O. T. has been preserved. Written likewise in Arabic, but frequently translated into Hebrew, were the still extant works of the grammarians R. Yehuda Hayyûg (also called Abu Zakarya Yahya, about the year 1000) and R. Yona (Abu 'l-Walid Merwân ibn Ganâh, about 1030). By the aid of these earlier labours, Abraham ben Ezra (commonly called Aben Ezra, ob. 1167) and R. David Qimhi (ob. c. 1235) especially gained a classical reputation by their Hebrew grammatical writings.

<sup>1</sup> On his independent attitude towards the Masoretic punctuation, see Delitzsch, *Comm. zu den Psalmen*<sup>4</sup>, p. 39.

From these earliest grammarians are derived many principles of arrangement and technical terms, some of which are still retained, e. g. the naming of the conjugations and weak verbs according to the paradigm of פִּעַל, certain *roces memoriales*, as פִּתְּחָהּ and the like.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>c</sup> 4. The father of Hebrew philology among Christians was John Reuchlin (ob. 1522),<sup>2</sup> to whom Greek literature also is so much indebted. Like the grammarians who succeeded him, till the time of John Buxtorf the elder (ob. 1629), he still adhered almost entirely to Jewish tradition. From the middle of the seventeenth century the field of investigation gradually widened, and the study of the kindred languages, chiefly through the leaders of the Dutch school, Albert Schultens (ob. 1750) and N. W. Schröder (ob. 1798), became of fruitful service to Hebrew grammar.

<sup>f</sup> 5. In the nineteenth century<sup>3</sup> the advances in Hebrew philology are especially connected with the names of W. Gesenius (born at Nordhausen, Feb. 3, 1786; from the year 1810 Professor at Halle, where he died Oct. 23, 1842), who above all things aimed at the comprehensive observation and lucid presentation of the actually occurring linguistic phenomena; H. Ewald (ob. 1875, at Göttingen; *Krit. Gramm. der Hebr. Spr.*, Lpz. 1827; *Ausführl. Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.*, 8th ed., Gött. 1870), who chiefly aimed at referring linguistic forms to general laws and rationally explaining the latter; J. Olshausen (ob. 1882, at Berlin; *Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache*, Brunswick, 1861) who attempted a consistent explanation of the existing condition of the language, from the presupposed primitive Semitic forms, preserved according to him notably in old Arabic. F. Böttcher (*Ausführl. Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.* ed. by F. Mühlau, 2 vols., Lpz. 1866–8) endeavoured to present an exhaustive synopsis of the linguistic phenomena, as well as to give an explanation of them from the sphere of Hebrew

<sup>1</sup> On the oldest Hebrew grammarians, see Strack and Siegfried, *Lehrb. d. neuhebr. Spr. u. Liter.*, Carlsr. 1884, p. 107 ff., and the prefaces to the Hebrew Lexicons of Gesenius and Fürst; Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gramm. im Talmud u. Midrasch*, Berlin, 1879; Baer and Strack, *Die Dikduke ha-ʿamim des Ahron ben Moscheh ben Ascher u. andere alte grammatisch-massorethische Lehrstücke*, Lpz. 1879, and P. Kahle's criticisms in *ZDMG.* lv. 170, n. 2; Ewald and Dukes, *Beiträge z. Gesch. der ältesten Auslegung u. Spracherklärung des A. T.*, Stuttg. 1844, 3 vols.; Hupfeld, *De rei grammaticae apud Judaeos initiis antiquissimisque scriptoribus*, Hal. 1846; W. Bacher, 'Die Anfänge der hebr. Gr.', in *ZDMG.* 1895, i ff. and 335 ff.; and *Die hebr. Sprachwissenschaft vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrh.*, Trier, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> A strong impulse was naturally given to these studies by the introduction of printing—the Psalter in 1477, the Bologna Pentateuch in 1482, the Soncino O. T. complete in 1488: see the description of the twenty-four earliest editions (down to 1528) in Ginsburg's *Introduction*, p. 779 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Of the literature of the subject down to the year 1850, see a tolerably full account in Stein Schneider's *Bibliogr. Handb. f. hebr. Sprachkunde*, Lpz. 1859.



alone. B. Stade, on the other hand (*Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, pt. i. Lpz. 1879), adopted a strictly scientific method in endeavouring to reduce the systems of Ewald and Olshausen to a more fundamental unity. E. König<sup>1</sup> in his very thorough researches into the phonology and accidence starts generally from the position reached by the early Jewish grammarians (in his second part 'with comparative reference to the Semitic languages in general') and instead of adopting the usual dogmatic method, takes pains to re-open the discussion of disputed grammatical questions. The syntax König has 'endeavoured to treat in several respects in such a way as to show its affinity to the common Semitic syntax'.—Among the works of Jewish scholars, special attention may be called to the grammar by S. D. Luzzatto written in Italian (Padua, 1853-69).

The chief requirements for one who is treating the grammar of an ancient language are—(1) that he should *observe* as fully and accurately as possible the existing linguistic phenomena and *describe* them, after showing their organic connexion (the empirical and historico-critical element); (2) that he should try to *explain* these facts, partly by comparing them with one another and by the analogy of the sister languages, partly from the general laws of philology (the logical element).

Such observation has more and more led to the belief that the original text of the O. T. has suffered to a much greater extent than former scholars were inclined to admit, in spite of the number of variants in parallel passages: Is 2<sup>2n</sup>=Mi 4<sup>1n</sup>, Is 36-39=2 K 18<sup>13</sup>-20<sup>10</sup>, Jer 52=2 K 24<sup>18</sup>-25<sup>30</sup>, 2 S 22=ψ 18, ψ 14=ψ 53, ψ 40<sup>14n</sup>=ψ 70, ψ 108=ψ 57<sup>8n</sup> and 60<sup>7n</sup>. Cf. also the parallels between the Chronicles and the older historical books, and F. Vodel, *Die konsonant. Varianten in den doppelt überlief. poet. Stücken d. masoret. Textes*, Lpz. 1905. As to the extent and causes of the corruption of the Masoretic text, the newly discovered fragments of the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus are very instructive; cf. Smend, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1906, p. 763.

The causes of *unintentional* corruption in the great majority of cases are:—Interchange of similar letters, which has sometimes taken place in the early 'Phoenician' writing; transposition or omission of

<sup>1</sup> *Historisch-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Sprache mit steter Beziehung auf Qimchi und die anderen Autoritäten*: I, 'Lehre von der Schrift, der Aussprache, dem Pron. u. dem Verbum,' Lpz. 1881; II 1, 'Abschluss der speziellen Formenlehre u. generelle Formenl.,' 1895; ii. 2, 'Historisch-kompar. Syntax d. hebr. Spr.,' 1897.

single letters, words, or even whole sentences, which are then often added in the margin and thence brought back into the text in the wrong place; such omission is generally due to homoioteleuton (cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 171 ff.), i.e. the scribe's eye wanders from the place to a subsequent word of the same or similar form. Other causes are dittography, i.e. erroneous repetition of letters, words, and even sentences; its opposite, haplography; and lastly wrong division of words (cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 158 ff.), since at a certain period in the transmission of the text the words were not separated.<sup>1</sup>—*Intentional* changes are due to corrections for the sake of decency or of dogma, and to the insertion of glosses, some of them very early.

Advance in grammar is therefore closely dependent on progress in *textual criticism*. The systematic pursuit of the latter has only begun in recent years: cf. especially Doorninck on Ju 1-16, Leid. 1879; Wellhausen, *Text der Bb. Sam.*, Gött. 1871; Cornill, *Ezechiel*, Lpz. 1886; Klostermann, *Bb. Sam. u. d. Kön.*, Nürdl. 1887; Driver, *Notes on the Hebr. text of the Books of Sam.*, Oxf. 1890; Klostermann, *Deuteronomium*, Munich, 1893; Oort, *Textus hebr. emendationes*, Lugd. 1900; Burney on *Kings*, Oxf. 1903; the commentaries of Marti and Nowack; the *Internat. Crit. Comm.*; Kautzsch, *Die heil. Schriften des A.T.*<sup>2</sup>, 1909-10. A critical edition of the O.T. with full textual notes, and indicating the different documents by colours, is being published in a handsome form by P. Haupt in *The Sacred Books of the Old Test.*, Lpz. and Baltimore, 1893 ff. (sixteen parts have appeared: Exod., Deut., Minor Prophets, and Megilloth are still to come); Kittel, *Biblia hebraica*<sup>2</sup>, 1909, Masoretic text from Jacob b. Hayyim (see c), with a valuable selection of variants from the versions, and emendations.

#### § 4. Division and Arrangement of the Grammar.

The division and arrangement of Hebrew grammar follow the three constituent parts of every language, viz. (1) articulate *sounds* represented by *letters*, and united to form *syllables*, (2) *words*, and (3) *sentences*.

The first part (the elements) comprises accordingly the treatment of *sounds* and their representation in writing. It describes the nature and relations of the sounds of the language, teaches the pronunciation

<sup>1</sup> This *scriptio continua* is also found in Phoenician inscriptions. The inscription of Mē'a' always divides the words by a point (and so the Siloam inscription; see the facsimile at the beginning of this grammar), and frequently marks the close of a sentence by a stroke.

of the written signs (orthoepy), and the established mode of writing (orthography). It then treats of the sounds as combined in syllables and words, and specifies the laws and conditions under which this combination takes place.

The second part (etymology) treats of words in their character as parts of speech, and comprises: (1) the principles of the *formation of words*, or of the derivation of the different parts of speech from the roots or from one another; (2) the principles of *inflexion*, i. e. of the various forms which the words assume according to their relation to other words and to the sentence.

The third part (syntax, or the arrangement of words): (1) shows how the word-formations and inflexions occurring in the language are used to express different shades of ideas, and how other ideas, for which the language has not coined any forms, are expressed by periphrasis; (2) states the laws according to which the parts of speech are combined in sentences (the principles of the sentence, or syntax in the stricter sense of the term).

# FIRST PART

## ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OR THE SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

### CHAPTER I

#### THE INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

##### § 5. *The Consonants: their Forms and Names.*

(Cf. the Table of Alphabets.)

Among the abundant literature on the subject, special attention is directed to: A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gramm.*, Berlin, 1879, p. 15 ff., on the names, forms, and pronunciation of the consonants in Talmud and Midrash; H. Strack, *Schreibkunst u. Schrift bei d. Hebräern*, *PRE.*<sup>2</sup>, Lpz. 1906, p. 766 ff.; Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*<sup>2</sup>, Tübingen, 1907, p. 172 ff.; Nowack, *Lehrbuch d. hebr. Archäol.*, Freiburg, 1894, i. 279 ff.; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d. nordsem. Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898, i. 173 ff.; also his art. 'Hebrew Alphabet,' in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, i, 1901, p. 439 ff. (cf. his *Ephemeris*, i. 316 ff.); and 'Die Namen der Alphabetbuchstaben', in *Ephemeris*, ii. 125 ff.; Kenyon, art. 'Writing,' in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. Edinb. 1902, p. 944 ff.; Nöldeke, 'Die semit. Buchstabennamen,' in *Beitr. zur semit. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb. 1904, p. 124 ff.; F. Praetorius, *Ueber den Ursprung des kanaan. Alphabets*, Berlin, 1906; H. Grimme, 'Zur Genesis des semit. Alphabets,' in *ZA.* xx. 1907, p. 49 ff.; R. Stübe, *Grundlinien zu einer Entwicklungsgesch. d. Schrift*, Munich, 1907; Jermain, *In the path of the Alphabet*, Fort Wayne, 1907.—L. Blau, *Studien zum althebr. Buchwesen*, etc., Strassb. 1902; and his 'Ueber d. Einfluss d. althebr. Buchwesens auf d. Originale', etc., in *Festschr. zu Ehren A. Berliners*, Frkf. 1903.

The best tables of alphabets are those of J. Euting in G. Bickell's *Outlines of Heb. Gram.* transl. by S. I. Curtiss, Lpz. 1877; in Pt. vii of the *Oriental Series* of the Palaeographical Soc., London, 1882; and, the fullest of all, in Chwolson's *Corpus inscr. Hebr.*, Petersburg, 1882; also Lidzbarski's in the *Jewish Encycl.*, see above.

- a 1. The Hebrew letters now in use, in which both the manuscripts of the O. T. are written and our editions of the Bible are printed, commonly called the *square character* (כְּתָב מְרֻבָּע), also the *Assyrian character* (כְּתָב אַשּׁוּרִי),<sup>1</sup> are not those originally employed.

*Old Hebrew* (or *Old Canaanitish*<sup>2</sup>) writing, as it was used on

<sup>1</sup> The name אַשּׁוּרִי (Assyria) is here used in the widest sense, to include the countries on the Mediterranean inhabited by Aramaeans; cf. Stade in *ZAW.* 1882, p. 292 f. On some other names for Old Hebrew writing. cf. G. Hoffmann, *ibid.* 1881, p. 334 ff.; Buhl, *Canon and Text of the O. T.* (transl. by J. Macpherson), Edinb. 1892, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> It is tacitly assumed here that this was the mother of all Semitic alphabets. In *ZDMG.* 1909, p. 189 ff., however, Prätorius has shown good

public monuments in the beginning of the ninth and in the second half of the eighth century B.C., is to be seen in the inscription of Mēša', as well as in that of Siloam. The characters on the Macca-baeen coins of the second century B.C., and also on ancient gems, still bear much resemblance to this (cf. § 2 d). With the Old Hebrew writing the Phoenician is nearly identical (see § 1 k, § 2 f, and the Table of Alphabets). From the analogy of the history of other kinds of writing, it may be assumed that out of and along with this monumental character, a less antique and in some ways more convenient, rounded style was early developed, for use on softer materials, skins, bark, papyrus, and the like. This the Samaritans retained after their separation from the Jews, while the Jews gradually<sup>1</sup> (between the sixth and the fourth century) exchanged it for an Aramaic character. From this gradually arose (from about the fourth to the middle of the third century) what is called the *square character*, which consequently bears great resemblance to the extant forms of Aramaic writing, such as the Egyptian-Aramaic, the Nabatean and especially the Palmyrene. Of Hebrew inscriptions in the older square character, that of 'Arāq al-Emir (15½ miles north-east of the mouth of the Jordan) probably belongs to 183 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

The Jewish sarcophagus-inscriptions of the time of Christ, found in Jerusalem in 1905, almost without exception exhibit a pure square character. This altered little in the course of centuries, so that the age of a Hebrew MS. cannot easily be determined from the style of the writing. The oldest known biblical fragment is the Nash papyrus (found in 1902), containing the ten commandments and the beginning of Dt 6<sup>4</sup>\*, of the end of the first or beginning of the second century A.D.; cf. N. Peters, *Die älteste Abschr. der 10 Gebote*, Freibg. i. B. 1905. Of actual MSS. of the Bible the oldest is probably one of 820-850 A.D. described by Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 469 ff., at the head of his sixty principal MSS.; next in age is the codex of Moses ben Asher at Cairo (897 A.D., cf. the art. 'Scribes' in the *Jew. Encycl.* xi and Gottheil in *JQR.* 1905, p. 32). The date (916 A.D.) of the Codex prophetarum Babylon. Petropol. (see § 8 g, note) is quite certain.—In the synagogue-rolls a distinction is drawn between the Tam-character (said to be so called from Rabbi Tam, grandson of R. Yishāqī, in the twelfth century) with its straight strokes, square corners and 'titles' (tägin), in German and Polish MSS., and the *foreign* character with rounded letters and titles in Spanish MSS. See further E. König, *Einkl. in das A. T.*, Bonn, 1893, p. 16 ff.

---

grounds for believing that the South Semitic alphabet is derived not from the Mēša' character, or from some kindred and hardly older script, but from some unknown and much earlier form of writing.

<sup>1</sup> On the effect of the transitional mixture of earlier and later forms on the constitution of the text, see R. Kittel, *Ueber d. Nothwendigk. d. Herausg. einer neuen hebr. Bibel*, Lpz. 1901, p. 20 ff.—L. Blau, 'Wie lange stand die altehebr. Schrift bei den Juden im Gebrauch?' in *Kaufmannsgedenkbuch*, Breslau, 1900, p. 44 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Not 176, as formerly held. Driver and Lidzbarski now read ערביה, correctly, not מוציאה.

- b 2. The Alphabet consists, like all Semitic alphabets, solely of consonants, twenty-two in number, some of which, however, have also a kind of vocalic power (§ 7 b). The following Table shows their form, names, pronunciation, and numerical value (see *k*):—

| FORM.      | NAME.                        | PRONUNCIATION.   | NUMERICAL<br>VALUE. |
|------------|------------------------------|--|---------------------|
| א          | ' <i>Ālēph</i>               | ' <i>spiritus lenis</i>  | 1                   |
| ב          | <i>Bēth</i>                  | <i>b</i> ( <i>bh</i> , but see § 6 <i>n</i> )                              | 2                   |
| ג          | <i>Gimēl</i> ( <i>Giml</i> ) | <i>g</i> ( <i>gh</i> , " " " )   | 3                   |
| ד          | <i>Dālēth</i>                | <i>d</i> ( <i>dh</i> , " " " )   | 4                   |
| ה          | <i>Hē</i>                    | <i>h</i>   | 5                   |
| ו          | <i>Wāw</i> ( <i>Wāu</i> )    | <i>w</i> ( <i>u</i> ) <sup>1</sup>   | 6                   |
| ז          | <i>Zāyīn</i>                 | <i>z</i> , as in English (soft <i>s</i> )                                  | 7                   |
| ח          | <i>Hēth</i>                  | <i>h</i> , a strong guttural   | 8                   |
| ט          | <i>Tēth</i>                  | <i>t</i> , emphatic <i>t</i>   | 9                   |
| י          | <i>Yōd</i>                   | <i>y</i> ( <i>i</i> ) <sup>1</sup>   | 10                  |
| כ, final ך | <i>Kaph</i>                  | <i>k</i> ( <i>kh</i> , but see § 6 <i>n</i> )                              | 20                  |
| ל          | <i>Lāmēd</i>                 | <i>l</i>   | 30                  |
| מ, final ם | <i>Mēm</i>                   | <i>m</i>   | 40                  |
| נ, final ן | <i>Nūn</i>                   | <i>n</i>   | 50                  |
| ס          | <i>Sāmēkh</i>                | <i>s</i>   | 60                  |
| ע          | ' <i>Āyīn</i>                | ' a peculiar guttural (see below)  | 70                  |
| פ, final ף | <i>Pē</i>                    | <i>p</i> ( <i>f</i> , see § 6 <i>n</i> )                                   | 80                  |
| צ, final ץ | <i>Sādē</i>                  | <i>s</i> , emphatic <i>s</i>   | 90                  |
| ק          | <i>Qōf</i>                   | <i>q</i> , a strong <i>k</i> <sup>2</sup> formed at the back of the palate | 100                 |
| ר          | <i>Rēš</i>                   | <i>r</i>   | 200                 |
| שׁ         | <i>Šīn</i>                   | <i>š</i>   | 300                 |
| שׂ         | <i>Šīn</i> <sup>3</sup>      | <i>š</i> , pronounced <i>sh</i>  |                     |
| ת          | <i>Tāw</i> ( <i>Tāu</i> )    | <i>t</i> ( <i>th</i> , but see § 6 <i>n</i> )                              | 400                 |

<sup>1</sup> Philippi, 'Die Aussprache der semit. Consonanten י und י', in *ZDMG.* 1886, p. 639 ff., 1897, p. 66 ff., adduces reasons in detail for the opinion that 'the Semitic י and י' are certainly by usage consonants, although by nature they are vowels, viz. *u* and *i*, and consequently are consonantal vowels'; cf. § 8 *m*.

<sup>2</sup> As a representation of this sound the Latin *q* is very suitable, since it occupies in the alphabet the place of the Semitic ק (Greek κόμμα).

<sup>3</sup> Nestle (*Actes du onzième Congrès . . . des Orientalistes*, 1897, iv. 113 ff.) has shown that the original order was שׁ, שׂ.

3. As the Table shows, five letters have a special form at the end *C* of the word. They are called final letters, and were combined by the Jewish grammarians in the mnemonic word *קמנפז* *Kamnēphās*, or better, with A. Müller and Stade, *קמנפז* i. e. *as the breaker in pieces*.<sup>1</sup> Of these, *ק*, *מ*, *נ*, *פ* are distinguished from the common form by the shaft being drawn straight down, while in the usual form it is bent round towards the left.<sup>2</sup> In the case of *ז* the letter is completely closed.

4. Hebrew is read and written from right to left.<sup>3</sup> Words must *d* not be divided at the end of the lines;<sup>4</sup> but, in order that no empty space may be left, in MSS. and printed texts, certain letters suitable for the purpose are dilated at the end or in the middle of the line. In our printed texts these *literae dilatabiles* are the five following: *ם ת ל ה נ* (mnemonic word *חלום* 'ahali'um). In MSS. other letters suitable for the purpose are also employed in this way, as *ב, כ, ג*; cf. Strack in the *Theol. Lehrb.*, 1882, No. 22; Nestle, *ZAW.* 1906, p. 170 f.

Rem. 1. The forms of the letters originally represent the rude outlines of *C* perceptible objects, the names of which, respectively, begin with the consonant represented (akrophony). Thus *Yōd*, in the earlier alphabets the rude picture of a hand, properly denotes *hand* (Heb. *י*), but as a letter simply the sound 'y', with which this word begins; *ʿAyin*, originally a circle, properly an *eye* (*ע*), stands for the consonant *ʿ*. In the Phoenician alphabet, especially, the resemblance of the forms to the objects denoted by the name is still for the most part recognizable (see the Table). In some letters (*א, ב, ג, ד, ה*) the similarity is still preserved in the square character.

It is another question whether the present names are all original. They may be merely due to a later, and not always accurate, interpretation of the forms. Moreover, it is possible that in the period from about 1500 to 1000 B.C. the original forms underwent considerable change.

The usual explanation of the present names of the letters<sup>5</sup> is: *א* *or, f*

<sup>1</sup> In the Talmud, disregarding the alphabetical order, *קמנפז* of *thy watcher*, i. e. *prophet*. See the discussions of this mnemonic word by Nestle, *ZAW.* 1907, p. 119 ff., König, Bacher (who would read *קמנפז* = *proceeding from thy prophets*, *Is* 52<sup>8</sup>), Krauss, Marmorstein, *ibid.* p. 278 ff. All the twenty-two letters, together with the five final forms, occur in *Zp* 3<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Chwolson, *Corpus Inscr. Hebr.*, col. 68, rightly observes that the more original forms of these letters are preserved in the *literae finales*. Instances of them go back to the time of Christ.

<sup>3</sup> The same was originally the practice in Greek, which only adopted the opposite direction exclusively about 400 B.C. On the *boustrophædon* writing (alternately in each direction) in early Greek, early Sabæan, and in the Safa-inscriptions of the first three centuries A.D., cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 116 f.

<sup>4</sup> This does not apply to early inscriptions or seals. Cf. *Méss*, II. 1-5, 7, 8, &c., Siloam 2, 3, 5, where the division of words appears to be customary.

<sup>5</sup> We possess Greek transcriptions of the Hebrew names, dating from the fifth century B.C. The LXX give them (in almost the same form as Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 10. 5) in *La* 1-4, as do also many Codices of the Vulgate (e.g. the



בֵּית *house*, גָּמֶל *camel* (according to Lidzbarski, see below, perhaps originally  
 אֵרֶן *axe or pick-axe*, דֶּלֶת *door* (properly *folding-door*; according to Lidzbarski,  
 perhaps דֶּד *the female breast*), חַלּוֹן *air-hole* (?), לַחֲמֹשׁ *lattice-window* (?), וַיֵּן *hook, nail*, זֶיֶן  
*weapon* (according to Nestle, comparing the Greek ὤφρα, rather זֶיֶן *olive-tree*),  
 חֵיט *sence, barrier* (but perhaps only differentiated from ח by the left-hand  
 stroke), מֵית *a winding* (?), according to others a *leather bottle* or a *snake* (but  
 perhaps only differentiated from ח by a circle round it), יָד *hand*, בָּת *bent*  
*hand*, לָמֶד *ox-goad*, מַיִם *water*, נֶחֱשׁ *fish* (Lidzbarski, 'perhaps originally נֶחֱשׁ  
*snake*, as in Ethiopic), קָמָה *prop* (perhaps a modification of קו), עֵיִן *eye*, פֶּה  
 (also פִּי) *mouth*, צֶהַר *fish-hook* (?), קוֹר *eye of a needle*, according to others *back of*  
*the head* (Lidzb., 'perhaps קֶשֶׁת *bow*'), רִישׁ *head*, שֵׁן *tooth*, קֶץ *sign, cross*.

g With regard to the origin of this alphabet, it may be taken as proved that it is not earlier (or very little earlier) than the fifteenth century B. C., since otherwise the el-Amarna tablets (§ 2 f) would not have been written exclusively in cuneiform.<sup>1</sup> It seems equally certain on various grounds, that it originated on Canaanitish soil. It is, however, still an open question whether the inventors of it borrowed

(a) From the Egyptian system—not, as was formerly supposed, by direct adoption of hieroglyphic signs (an explanation of twelve or thirteen characters was revived by J. Halévy in *Rev. Sémit.* 1901, p. 356 ff., 1902, p. 331 ff., and in the *Verhandlungen des xiii. . . Orient.-Kongr. zu Hamb.*, Leiden, 1904, p. 199 ff.; but cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 261 ff.), or of hieratic characters derived from them (so E. de Rougé), but by the adoption of the acrophonic principle (see e) by which e.g. the hand, in Egyptian *tot*, represents the letter t, the lion = *labot*, the letter l. This view still seems the most probable. It is now accepted by Lidzbarski ('Der Ursprung d. nord- u. südsemit. Schrift' in *Ephemeris*, i (1900), 109 ff., cf. pp. 134 and 261 ff.), though in his *Nordsem. Epigr.* (1898) p. 173 ff. he was still undecided.

(b) From the Babylonian (cuneiform) system. Wuttke's and W. Deecke's derivation of the old-Semitic alphabet from new-Assyrian cuneiform is impossible for chronological reasons. More recently Peters and Hommel have sought to derive it from the old-Babylonian, and Ball from the archaic Assyrian cuneiform. A vigorous discussion has been aroused by the theory of Frdr. Delitzsch (in *Die Entstehung des ält. Schriftsystems od. der Urspr. der Keilschriftzeichen dargelegt*, Lpz. 1897; and with the same title 'Ein Nachwort', Lpz. 1898, preceded by a very clear outline of the theory) that the old-Semitic alphabet arose in Canaan under the influence both of the Egyptian system (whence the acrophonic principle) and of the old-Babylonian, whence the principle of the graphic representation of objects and ideas by means of simple, and mostly rectilinear, signs. He holds that the choice of the objects was probably (in about fifteen cases) influenced by the Babylonian system. The correspondence of names had all the more effect since, according to Zimmern (*ZDMG.* 1896, p. 667 ff.), out of twelve names which are certainly identical, eight appear in the same order in the Babylonian arrangement of signs. But it must first be shown that the present names of the

Cod. Amiatinus) in ψψ III, III, III, but with many variations from the customary forms, which rest on the traditional Jewish pronunciation. The forms *Deleth* (and *delth*), *Zai*, *Sen* (LXX also χσεν, cf. Hebr. שֵׁן *tooth*) are to be noticed, amongst others, for *Daleth*, *Zain*, *Sin*. Cf. the tables in Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 126 f. In his opinion (and so Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 134) the form and meaning of the names point to Phoenicia as the original home of the alphabet, since *alf*, *bit*, *dait*, *wāw*, *tāw*, *pei* = *pē*, *nī*, *mouth*, and the vowel of *pō* = *rōš*, *head*, are all Hebraeo-Phoenician.

<sup>1</sup> In the excavations at Jericho in April, 1907, E. Sellin found a jar-handle with the Canaanite characters חן, which he dates (probably too early) about 1500 B. C.

'Phoenician' letters really denote the original picture. The identity of the objects may perhaps be due simply to the choice of the commonest things (animals, implements, limbs) in both systems.

The derivation of the Semitic alphabet from the signs of the Zodiac and their names, first attempted by Seyffarth in 1834, has been revived by Winckler, who refers twelve fundamental sounds to the Babylonian Zodiac. Hommel connects the original alphabet with the moon and its phases, and certain constellations; cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 269 ff., and in complete agreement with him, Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 173 ff. This theory is by no means convincing.

(c) From the hieroglyphic system of writing discovered in 1894 by A. J. Evans in inscriptions in Crete (esp. at Cnossus) and elsewhere. According to Kluge (1897) and others, this represents the 'Mycenaean script' used about 3000-1000 B.C., and according to Fries ('Die neuesten Forschungen über d. Urspr. des phöniz. Alph.' in *ZDPV*. xxii. 118 ff.) really supplies the original forms of the Phoenician alphabet as brought to Palestine by the Philistines about 1100 B.C., but 'the Phoenician-Canaanite-Hebrews gave to the Mycenaean signs names derived from the earlier cuneiform signs'. The hypothesis of Fries is thus connected with that of Delitzsch. But although the derivation of the Phoenician forms from 'Mycenaean' types appears in some cases very plausible, in others there are grave difficulties, and moreover the date, 1100 B.C., assigned for the introduction of the alphabet is clearly too late. [See Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, Oxf. 1909, p. 80 ff.]

(d) From a system, derived from Asia Minor, closely related to the Cypriote syllabary (Praetorius, *Der Urspr. des kanaan. Alphabets*, Berlin, 1906). On this theory the Canaanites transformed the syllabic into an apparently alphabetic writing. In reality, however, they merely retained a single sign for the various syllables, so that e.g.  $\text{p}$  is not really  $\text{q}$ , but  $\text{qa}$ ,  $\text{qe}$ ,  $\text{qi}$ , &c. Of the five Cypriote vowels also they retained only the star (in Cypriote =  $\alpha$ ) simplified into an 'alef' (see alphabetical table) to express the vowels at the beginning of syllables, and  $\text{i}$  and  $\text{u}$  as Yod and Waw. Praetorius claims to explain about half the twenty-two Canaanite letters in this way, but there are various objections to his ingenious hypothesis.

2. As to the order of the letters, we possess early evidence in the alphabetic<sup>1</sup> poems:  $\psi$  9 ( $\aleph$ - $\beth$ , cf.  $\psi$  10<sup>1</sup>  $\beth$ , and  $\psi$  12-17  $\text{p}$ - $\text{t}$ ; cf. Gray in the *Expositor*, 1906, p. 233 ff., and Rosenthal, *ZAW*. 1896, p. 40, who shows that  $\psi$  9<sup>2-15.17</sup>  $\beth$ ,  $\daleth$ ,  $\text{z}$  exactly fit in between  $\text{m}$ ,  $\text{d}$ ,  $\text{l}$ , and that  $\psi$  10<sup>1-3.5</sup> therefore has the reverse order  $\beth$ ,  $\daleth$ ,  $\text{l}$ ); also  $\psi$  25 and 34 (both without a separate  $\text{y}$ -verse and with  $\text{d}$  repeated at the end<sup>2</sup>); 37, 111, 112, 119 (in which every eight verses begin with the same letter, each strophe, as discovered by D. H. Müller of Vienna, containing the eight leading words of  $\psi$  19<sup>8</sup> ff., *tōrā*, *'edūth*, &c.); La 1-4 (in 2-4  $\text{d}$  before  $\text{y}$ <sup>3</sup>, in chap. 3 every three verses with the same initial, see Löhr, *ZAW*. 1904, p. 1 ff., in chap. 5 at any rate as many verses as letters in the alphabet); Pr 24<sup>1-3.5</sup>, 31<sup>19-21</sup> (in the LXX with  $\text{d}$  before  $\text{y}$ <sup>3</sup>); also in Na 1<sup>2-10</sup> Pastor Frohnmeier of Württemberg (ob. 1880) detected traces of an alphabetic arrangement, but the attempt of Gunkel, Bickell, Arnold (*ZAW*. 1901,

<sup>1</sup> On the supposed connexion of this artificial arrangement with magical formulae ('the order of the letters was believed to have a sort of magic power') cf. Löhr, *ZAW*. 1905, p. 173 ff., and *Klagelieder*<sup>2</sup>, Gött. 1907, p. vii ff.

<sup>2</sup> On this superfluous  $\text{d}$  cf. Grimme, *Euphemistic liturgical appendices*, Lpz. 1901, p. 8 ff., and Nestle, *ZAW*. 1903, p. 340 ff., who considers it an appendage to the Greek alphabet.

<sup>3</sup> [Perhaps also originally in  $\psi$  34.]  $\text{d}$  before  $\text{y}$  is probably due to a magic alphabet, see above, n. 1. According to Böhmer, *ZAW*. 1908, p. 53 ff., the combinations  $\text{zn}$ ,  $\text{tl}$ ,  $\text{yl}$ , &c., were used in magical texts;  $\text{dy}$  was excluded, but by a rearrangement we get  $\text{yd}$  and  $\text{y'}$ .

p. 225 ff.), Happel (*Der Ps. Nah.*, Würzb. 1900) to discover further traces, has not been successful. [Cf. Gray in *Expositor*, 1898, p. 207 ff.; Driver, in the *Century Bible*, *Nahum*, p. 26.]—Bickell, *Ztschr. f. Kath. Theol.*, 1882, p. 319 ff., had already deduced from the versions the alphabetical character of Ecclus 51<sup>13-30</sup>, with the omission of the 1-verse and with  $\text{D}^1$  at the end. His conjectures have been brilliantly confirmed by the discovery of the Hebrew original, although the order from  $\text{L}$  to  $\text{L}$  is partly disturbed or obscured. If  $\text{L}$  before  $\text{Y}$  is deleted, ten letters are in their right positions, and seven can be restored to their places with certainty. Cf. N. Schlögl, *ZDMG.* 53, 669 ff.; C. Taylor in the appendix to Schechter and Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, Camb. 1899, p. lxxvi ff., and in the *Journ. of Philol.*, xxx (1906), p. 95 ff.; *JQR.* 1905, p. 238 ff.; Löhr, *ZAW.* 1905, p. 183 ff.; I. Lévy, *REJ.* 1907, p. 62 ff.

The sequence of the three softest labial, palatal, and dental sounds  $\text{ב}$ ,  $\text{ג}$ ,  $\text{ד}$ , and of the three liquids  $\text{ל}$ ,  $\text{מ}$ ,  $\text{נ}$ , indicates an attempt at classification. At the same time other considerations also appear to have had influence. Thus it is certainly not accidental, that two letters, representing a hand (*Yad*, *Kaph*), as also two (if *Qôph* = back of the head) which represent the head, and in general several forms denoting objects naturally connected (*Mēm* and *Nūn*, *‘Ayin* and *Pē*), stand next to one another.

<sup>2</sup> The order, names, and numerical values of the letters have passed over from the Phoenicians to the Greeks, in whose alphabet the letters A to T are borrowed from the Old Semitic. So also the Old Italic alphabets as well as the Roman, and consequently all alphabets derived either from this or from the Greek, are directly or indirectly dependent on the Phoenician.

<sup>3</sup> *k* 3. *a*. In default of special arithmetical figures, the consonants were used also as numerical signs; cf. G. Gundermann, *Die Zahlzeichen*, Giessen, 1899, p. 6 f., and Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 106 ff. The earliest traces of this usage are, however, first found on the Maccabean coins (see above, § 2 d, end). These numerical letters were afterwards commonly employed, e.g. for marking the numbers of chapters and verses in the editions of the Bible. The units are denoted by  $\text{א}$ - $\text{ט}$ , the tens by  $\text{י}$ - $\text{צ}$ , 100-400 by  $\text{ק}$ - $\text{ת}$ , the numbers from 500-900 by  $\text{ת}$  (= 400), with the addition of the remaining hundreds, e.g.  $\text{תק}$  500. In compound numbers the greater precedes (on the right), thus  $\text{יא}$  11,  $\text{קכא}$  121. But 15 is expressed by  $\text{טו}$  9+6, not  $\text{יה}$  (which is a form of the divine name, being the first two consonants of *יהוה*).<sup>2</sup> For a similar reason  $\text{טז}$  is also mostly written for 16, instead of  $\text{יז}$ , which in compound proper names, like  $\text{יהואל}$ , also represents the name of God, *יהוה*.

The thousands are sometimes denoted by the units with two dots placed above, e.g.  $\text{קכ}$  1000.

<sup>4</sup> *l* *b*. The reckoning of the years in Jewish writings (generally *ליצירה* after the creation) follows either the *full chronology* ( $\text{לפנינו}$  or  $\text{לפנינו}$ ), with the addition of the thousands, or the *abridged chronology* ( $\text{לפנינו}$ ), in which they are omitted. In the dates of the first thousand years after Christ, the Christian era is obtained by the addition of 240, in the second thousand years by the addition of 1240 (i.e. if the date falls between Jan. 1 and the Jewish new year; otherwise add 1239), the thousands of the Creation era being omitted.

<sup>5</sup> *m* 4. Abbreviations of words are not found in the text of the O.T., but they occur on coins, and their use is extremely frequent amongst the later Jews.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See note 3 on p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> On the rise of this custom ( $\text{יה}$  having been originally used and afterwards  $\text{יה}$ ), cf. Nestle in *ZAW.* 1884, p. 250, where a trace of this method of writing occurring as early as Origen is noted.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jo. Buxtorf, *De abbreviaturis Hebr.*, Basel, 1613, &c.; Pietro Perreau,

A point, or later an oblique stroke, serves as the sign of abridgement in old MSS. and editions, e.g. יִשְׂרָאֵל for יִשְׂרָאֵל, פִּלְגִּי for פִּלְגִּי *aliquis*, דָּבָר for דָּבָר *aliquid*, וְנִמְכָּר for וְנִמְכָּר *et complens*, i.e. *and so on*. Also in the middle of what is apparently a word, such strokes indicate that it is an abbreviation or a *vox memorialis* (cf. e.g. § 15 d תָּמָר). Two such strokes are employed, from § 41 d onward, to mark the different classes of weak verbs.—Note also יִ or יִ (also הִ) for יִהְיֶה.

5. Peculiarities in the tradition of the O.T. text, which are already 72 mentioned in the Talmud, are—(1) The 15 *puncta extraordinaria*, about which the tradition (from Siphri on Nu 9<sup>10</sup> onwards) differs considerably, even as to their number; on particular consonants, Gn 16<sup>5</sup>, 18<sup>9</sup>, 19<sup>35,36</sup>, Nu 9<sup>10</sup>; or on whole words, Gn 33<sup>4</sup>, 37<sup>12</sup>, Nu 3<sup>39</sup>, 21<sup>30</sup>, 29<sup>15</sup>, Dt 29<sup>28</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>30</sup>, Is 44<sup>9</sup>, Ez 41<sup>20</sup>, 46<sup>22</sup>, ψ 27<sup>18</sup>—all no doubt critical marks; cf. Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, p. 88 ff.; L. Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, Strassburg, 1891, p. 6 ff., and *Einführung in die hl. Schrift*, Budapest, 1894; Königsberger, *Jüd. Lit.-Blatt*, 1891, nos. 29-31, and *Aus Masorah u. Talmudkritik*, Berlin, 1892, p. 6 ff.; Mayer-Lambert, *REJ.* 30 (1895), no. 59; and especially Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 318 ff.; also on the ten points found in the Pentateuch, see Butin (Baltimore, 1906), who considers that they are as old as the Christian era and probably mark a letter, &c., to be deleted. (2) The *litterae majusculae* (e.g. ג Gn 1<sup>1</sup>, ל Lv 11<sup>42</sup> as the middle consonant of the Pentateuch, י Nu 14<sup>17</sup>), and *minusculae* (e.g. ה Gn 2<sup>4</sup>). (3) The *litterae suspensae* (Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 334 ff.) נ Ju 18<sup>30</sup> (which points to the reading מִשָּׁה for מִשָּׁה), ע ψ 8<sup>14</sup> (the middle of the Psalms<sup>1</sup>) and Jb 38<sup>13,16</sup>. (4) The 'mutilated' Wāw in שָׁלוֹם Nu 25<sup>12</sup>, and ק Ex 32<sup>25</sup> (בְּקִמְיָה), and Nu 7<sup>2</sup> (הַפְּקוּדִים). (5) *Mēm clausum* in לְמַרְבָּה Is 9<sup>6</sup>, and *Mēm apertum* in הַמִּפְרֹזִים Neh 2<sup>12</sup>. (6) *Nūn inversum* before Nu 10<sup>35</sup>, and after ver. 36, as also before ψ 107<sup>23-28</sup> and 49; according to Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 341 ff., a sort of bracket to indicate that the verses are out of place; cf. Krauss, *ZAW.* 1902, p. 57 ff., who regards the inverted Nūns as an imitation of the Greek obelus.

## § 6. Pronunciation and Division of Consonants.

P. Haupt, 'Die Semit. Sprachlaute u. ihre Umschrift,' in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. vergleich. semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, by Delitzsch and Haupt, i, Lpz. 1889, 249 ff.; E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i, Lpz. 1901, p. 14 ff.

1. An accurate knowledge of the original phonetic value of each *a* consonant is of the greatest importance, since very many grammatical peculiarities and changes (§ 18 ff.) only become intelligible from the nature and pronunciation of the sounds. This knowledge is obtained partly from the pronunciation of the kindred dialects, especially the still living Arabic, partly by observing the affinity and interchange

*Oceano delle abbreviature e sigle*<sup>2</sup>, Parma, 1883 (appendix, 1884); Ph. Lederer, *Hebr. u. Chald. Abbreviaturen*, Frankf. 1893; Händler, *Lexicon d. Abbreviaturen* (annexed to G. Dalman's *Aram.-neuhebr. WB.*, Frankf. 1897); Levias, art. 'Abbreviations,' in the *Jew. Encycl.*, i. 39 ff.; F. Perles, 'Zur Gesch. der Abbrev. im Hebr.' (*Archiv f. Stenogr.*, 1902, p. 41 ff.). On abbreviations in biblical MSS. see Ginsburg, *Introd.*, 165 ff.

<sup>1</sup> According to Blau, *Studien zum althebr. Buchwesen*, Strassburg, 1902, p. 167, properly a large *ץ*, called *Ṭūyā* because suspended between the two halves of the Psalter, and then incorrectly taken for a *littera suspensa*.

of sounds on Hebrew itself (§ 19), and partly from the tradition of the Jews.<sup>1</sup>

The pronunciation of Hebrew by the modern German Jews, which partly resembles the Syriac and is generally called 'Polish', differs considerably from that of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, which approaches nearer to the Arabic. The pronunciation of Hebrew by Christians follows the latter (after the example of Reuchlin), in almost all cases.

*b* The oldest tradition is presented in the transcription of Hebrew names in Assyrian cuneiform; a later, but yet in its way very important system is seen in the manner in which the LXX transcribe Hebrew names with Greek letters.<sup>2</sup> As, however, corresponding signs for several sounds (א, ב, ג, ד, ה) are wanting in the Greek alphabet, only an approximate representation was possible in these cases. The same applies to the Latin transcription of Hebrew words by Jerome, according to the Jewish pronunciation of his time.<sup>3</sup>

On the pronunciation of the modern Jews in North Africa, see Bargès in the *Journ. Asiat.*, Nov. 1848; on that of the South Arabian Jews, J. Dérenbourg, *Manuel du lecteur*, &c. (from a Yemen MS. of the year 1390), Paris, 1871 (extrait 6 du *Journ. Asiat.* 1870).

*c* 2. With regard to the pronunciation of the several gutturals and sibilants, and of א and פ, it may be remarked:—

1. Among the gutturals, the glottal stop א is the lightest, corresponding to the *spiritus lenis* of the Greeks. It may stand either at the beginning or end of a syllable, e. g. אָמַר 'āmār, יִשְׂרָאֵל yī'srā'el. Even before a vowel א is almost lost to our ear, like the *h* in *hour* and in the French *habit, homme*. After a vowel א generally (and at the end of a word, always) coalesces with it, e. g. קָרָא qārā for an original qārā', Arab. qārā'ā; see further, § 23 a, 27 g.

*d* ה before a vowel corresponds exactly to our *h* (*spiritus asper*); after a vowel it is either a guttural (so always at the end of a syllable which is not final, e. g. נָהַק nāhakh; at the end of a word the consonantal ה has a point — Mappiq—in it, see § 14), or it stands inaudible at the end of a word, generally as a mere orthographic indication of a preceding vowel, e. g. גָּלָה gālā; cf. §§ 7 b and 75 a.

*e* ו is related to א, but is a much stronger guttural. Its strongest sound is a rattled, guttural *g*, cf. e. g. עָרָב LXX Γάρα, עֵרָב Γόμοβα; elsewhere, a weaker sound of the same kind, which the LXX reproduce by a *spiritus* (*lenis* or *asper*), e. g. עָלַי 'HAI, עֵלַי 'Amalén.<sup>4</sup> In the mouth of the Arabs one hears in the former case a sort of guttural *r*, in the latter a sound peculiar to themselves formed in the back of the throat.—It is as incorrect to omit the ו

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. Meinhof, 'Die Aussprache des Hebr.', in *Neue Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.*, 1885, Bd. 132, p. 146 ff.; M. Schreiner, 'Zur Gesch. der Ausspr. des Hebr.', in *ZAW.* 1886, p. 213 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuag.*, Lpz. 1841, p. 90 ff.; C. Könneke, 'Gymn.-Progr.', Stargard, 1885. On the transcription of eleven Psalms in a palimpsest fragment of the Hexapla at Milan, see Mercati, *Atti della R. Accad.*, xxxi, Turin, 1896. [Cf. Burkitt, *Fragments of . . . Aquila*, Camb. 1897, p. 13.]

<sup>3</sup> Numerous examples occur in *Hieronimi quaestiones hebraicae in libro geneseos*, edited by P. de Lagarde, Lpz. 1868; cf. the exhaustive and systematic discussion by Siegfried, 'Die Aussprache des Hebr. bei Hieronymus,' in *ZAW.* 1884, pp. 34-83.

<sup>4</sup> It is, however, doubtful if the LXX always consciously aimed at reproducing the actual differences of sound.

entirely, in reading and transcribing words (עֲלִי *Eli*, אֲמֶלֶךְ *Amalek*), as to pronounce it exactly like *g* or like a nasal *ng*. The stronger sound might be approximately transcribed by *gh* or '*g*'; but since in Hebrew the softer sound was the more common, it is sufficient to represent it by the sign '*g*', as אֲרָבָה '*arba*', עֵד '*ad*'.

ך is the strongest guttural sound, a deep guttural *ch*, as heard generally *f* in Swiss German, somewhat as in the German *Achat*, *Macht*, *Sache*, *Docht*, *Zucht* (not as in *Licht*, *Knecht*), and similar to the Spanish *j*. Like י it was, however, pronounced in many words feebly, in others strongly.

As regards ך, its pronunciation as a palatal (with a vibrating uvula) seems *g* to have been the prevailing one. Hence in some respects it is also classed with the gutturals (§ 22 q, r). On the *lingual* ך, cf. § 6 o.

2. The Hebrew language is unusually rich in sibilants. These have, at any *h* rate in some cases, arisen from dentals which are retained as such in Aramaic and Arabic (see in the *Lexicon* the letters ט, צ and ש).

ש and ש were originally represented (as is still the case in the unpointed *i* texts) by only one form ש; but that the use of this one form to express two different sounds (at least in Hebrew) was due only to the poverty of the alphabet, is clear from the fact that they are differentiated in Arabic and Ethiopic (cf. Nöldeke in *Ztschr. f. wissenschaft. Theol.*, 1873, p. 121; Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 133). In the Masoretic punctuation they were distinguished by means of the diacritical point as ש (sh) and ש (s).<sup>1</sup>

The original difference between the sounds ש and ש sometimes marks *k* a distinction in meaning, e. g. סָכַר to *close*, שָׁכַר to *hire*, כָּבַל to *be foolish*, שָׁכַל to *be prudent*, to *be wise*. Syriac always represents both sounds by ס, and in Hebrew also they are sometimes interchanged; as סָכַר for שָׁכַר to *hire*, Ezr 4<sup>5</sup>; שָׁכְלוּ for כָּכְלוּ *folly*, Ec 1<sup>17</sup>.

ז (transcribed ζ by the LXX) is a soft whizzings, the French and English *z*, *l* altogether different from the German *z* (*ts*).

3. ט, פ, and probably צ are pronounced with a strong articulation and *m* with a compression of the larynx. The first two are thus essentially different from ת and כ, which correspond to our *t* and *k* and also are often aspirated (see below, נ). צ is distinguished from every other *s* by its peculiar articulation, and in no way corresponds to the German *z* or *ts*; we transcribe it by *z*; cf. G. Hüsing, 'Zum Lautwerte des צ,' in *OLZ*. x. 467 ff.

3. Six consonants, the weak and middle hard Palatals, Dentals, *n* and Labials

בְּנִדְכָּת (בְּנִדְכָּת)

have a twofold pronunciation, (1) a harder sound, as mutes, like

<sup>1</sup> The modern Samaritans, however, in reading their Hebrew Pentateuch pronounce ש invariably as ש.

<sup>2</sup> The original value of ט, and its relation to the original value of ש and ש, is still undetermined, despite the valuable investigations of P. Haupt, *ZDMG*. 1880, p. 762 f.; D. H. Müller, 'Zur Geschichte der semit. Zischlaute,' in the *Verhandlungen des Wiener Orient. Congresses*, Vienna, 1888, Semitic section, p. 229 ff.; De Lagarde, 'Samech,' in the *NGGW*. 1891, no. 5, esp. p. 173; Aug. Müller, *ZAW*. 1891, p. 267 ff.; Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. 1893, p. 100 f.; E. Glaser, *Zwei Wiener Publicationen über Habaschitisch-punische Dialekte in Südarabien*, Munich, 1902, pp. 19 ff.—On the phonetic value of צ see G. Hüsing, *OLZ*. 1907, p. 467 ff.



*k*, *p*, *t*, or initial *b*, *g* (hard), *d*; and (2) a softer sound as *spirantes*.<sup>1</sup> The harder sound is the original. It is retained at the beginning of syllables, when there is no vowel immediately preceding to influence the pronunciation, and is denoted by a point, *Dageš lene* (§ 13), placed in the consonants, viz. ב *b*, ג *g*, ד *d*, כ *k*, פ *p*, ת *t*. The weaker pronunciation appears as soon as a vowel sound immediately precedes. It is occasionally denoted, esp. in MSS., by *Rāphē* (§ 14 e), but in printed texts usually by the mere absence of the *Dageš*. In the case of ב, כ, פ, ת, the two sounds are clearly distinguishable even to our ear as *b* and *v*, *k* and German (weak) *ch*, *p* and *ph*, *t* and *th* (in *thin*). The Greeks too express this twofold pronunciation by special characters: ב *κ*, כ *χ*; פ *π*, פ *φ*; ת *τ*, ת *θ*. In the same way ג should be pronounced like the North German *g* in *Tage*, *Wagen*, and ד like *th* in *the*, as distinguished from ג and ד.

For more precise information on the cases in which the one or the other pronunciation takes place, see § 21. The modern Jews pronounce the aspirated ב as *v*, the aspirated ת as *s*, e.g. רב *rav* (or even *raf*), בית *bais*. The customary transcription (used also in this Grammar) of the spirants ב, כ, ת by *bh*, *kh*, *th* is only an unsatisfactory makeshift, since it may lead (esp. in the case of *bh* and *kh*) to an erroneous conception of the sounds as real aspirates, *b-h*, *k-h*.

o 4. According to their special character the consonants are divided into—

|               |             |
|---------------|-------------|
| (a) Gutturals | א ה ע ח;    |
| (b) Palatals  | ק נ ב;      |
| (c) Dentals   | ד ט ת;      |
| (d) Labials   | ב פ;        |
| (e) Sibilants | ז ש ס צ;    |
| (f) Sonants   | גמ, דל, וי. |

In the case of ד its hardest pronunciation as a *palatal* (see above, *g*, end) is to be distinguished from its more unusual sound as a lingual, pronounced in the front of the mouth.

On the twofold pronunciation of *r* in Tiberias, cf. Delitzsch, *Phyiol. und Musik*, Lpz. 1868, p. 10 ff.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-f'amim*, Lpz. 1879, p. 5, note a, and § 7 of the Hebrew text, as well as p. 82.

p In accordance with E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 14, the following scheme of the Hebrew phonetic system is substituted for the table formerly given in this grammar:—

i. Throat sounds (Gutturals): א ה ע ח.

<sup>1</sup> So at any rate at the time when the present punctuation arose.



ii. Mouth-sounds:

|                           | w.        | m.   | e.  | w. | m. |
|---------------------------|-----------|------|-----|----|----|
| 1. Mutes and<br>Spirants: | Palatal א | ב    | ק   | ג  | כ  |
|                           | Dental ד  | ה    | ט   | ך  | ת  |
|                           | Labial ב  | פ    | —   | ב  | פ  |
| 2. Sibilants:             | ... ז     | ש שם | צ   |    |    |
| 3. Sonants:               | ... וי    | ל ר  | נ מ |    |    |

Rem. 1. The meaning of the letters at the top is, w.=weak, m.=middle (hard, e.=emphatic. Consonants which are produced by the same organ of speech are called *homorganic* (e.g. א and ב as palatals), consonants whose sound is of the same nature *homogeneous* (e.g. א and י as semi-vowels). On their homorganic character and homogeneity depends the possibility of interchange, whether within Hebrew itself or with the kindred dialects. In such cases the soft sound generally interchanges with the soft, the hard with the hard, &c. (e.g. א=י, ה=ו, ט=צ). Further transitions are not, however, excluded, as e.g. the interchange of ה and פ (ה=ב=פ). Here it is of importance to observe whether the change takes place in an initial, medial, or final letter; since e.g. the change in a letter when medial does not always prove the possibility of the change when initial. That in certain cases the character of the consonantal sound also influences the preceding or following vowel will be noticed in the accidence as the instances occur.

Rem. 2. Very probably in course of time certain nicer distinctions of *r* pronunciation became more and more neglected and finally were lost. Thus e.g. the stronger ר'g, which was known to the LXX (see above, e), became in many cases altogether lost to the later Jews; by the Samaritans and Galileans ר and ר' were pronounced merely as ר, and so in Ethiopic, ר like ר, ר like ר, ש like ש.

Rem. 3. The consonants which it is usual to describe especially as *weak*, *s* are those which readily coalesce with a preceding vowel to form a long vowel, viz. א, י, ו (as to א, cf. § 23 k), or those which are most frequently affected by the changes described in § 19 b-l, as again א, י, ו, and א, and in certain cases ה and ל; finally the gutturals and ר for the reason given in § 22 b and g.

§ 7. *The Vowels in General, Vowel Letters and Vowel Signs.*

1. The original vowels in Hebrew, as in the other Semitic tongues, *a* are *a*, *i*, *u*. *E* and *o* always arise from an obscuring or contraction of these three pure sounds, viz. *e* by modification from *ā* or *ā*; short *ö* from *ā*; *ê* by contraction from *ai* (properly *ay*); and *ô* sometimes by modification (obscuring) from *ā*, sometimes by contraction from *au* (properly *aw*).<sup>1</sup>

In Arabic writing there are vowel signs only for *a*, *i*, *u*; the combined sounds *ay* and *aw* are therefore retained uncontracted and pronounced as diphthongs (*ai* and *au*), e.g. سأف Arab. *sawf*, and أعائن Arab. *'a'ainn*. It was

<sup>1</sup> In proper names the LXX often use the diphthongs *ai* and *au* where the Hebrew form has *ê* or *ô*. It is, however, very doubtful whether the *ai* and *au* of the LXX really represent the true pronunciation of Hebrew of that time; see the instructive statistics given by Kittel in Haupt's *SBOT*, on i Ch. 1<sup>2-20</sup>.

only in later Arabic that they became in pronunciation  $\varepsilon$  and  $\delta$ , at least after weaker or softer consonants; cf. בֵּין Arab. *bain*, *bén*, יום Arab. *yaum*, *yóm*. The same contraction appears also in other languages, e.g. in Greek and Latin (*θαύμα*, Ionic *θῶμα*; *plaustrum* = *plostrum*), in the French pronunciation of *ai* and *au*, and likewise in the German popular dialects (*Oge* for *Auge*, &c.). Similarly, the obscuring of the vowels plays a part in various languages (cf. e.g. the *a* in modern Persian, Swedish, English, &c.).<sup>1</sup>

*b* 2. The partial expression of the vowels by certain consonants ( $\eta$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\epsilon$ ;  $\kappa$ ), which sufficed during the lifetime of the language, and for a still longer period afterwards (cf. § 1 *k*), must in the main have passed through the following stages<sup>2</sup>:—

(a) The need of a written indication of the vowel first made itself felt in cases where, after the rejection of a consonant, or of an entire syllable, a long vowel formed the final sound of the word. The first step in such a case was to retain the original final consonant, at least as a vowel letter, i. e. merely as an indication of a final vowel. In point of fact we find even in the Old Testament, as already in the Mēša' inscription, a  $\eta$  employed in this way (see below) as an indication of a final *o*. From this it was only a step to the employment of the same consonant to indicate also other vowels when final (thus, e.g. in the inflection of the verbs  $\eta\lambda$ , the vowels  $\bar{a}$ ,<sup>3</sup>  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ). After the employment of  $\iota$  as a vowel letter for  $\delta$  and  $\phi$ , and of  $\epsilon$  for  $\acute{e}$  and  $\acute{i}$ , had been established (see below, *c*) these consonants were also employed—although not consistently—for the same vowels at the end of a word.

*c* According to § 91 *b* and *d*, the suffix of the 3rd sing. masc. in the noun (as in the verb) was originally pronounced  $\eta$ . But in the places where this  $\eta$  with a preceding *a* is contracted into  $\delta$  (after the rejection of the  $\eta$ ), we find the  $\eta$  still frequently retained as a vowel letter, e.g.  $\text{סִנְתָּה עִירָה}$  Gn 49<sup>11</sup>, cf. § 91 *e*; so throughout the Mēša' inscription  $\text{בֵּיתָה אֶרְצָה}$  (also  $\text{בֵּיתָה}$ ),  $\text{בְּנָה בָּה לָה הִלְתָּמָה}$ ; on the other hand already in the Siloam inscription  $\text{רִאשֵׁיו יָמָה}$  Mēša', l. 8 =  $\text{יָמָיו}$  *his days* is unusual, as also  $\text{רִשָּׁה}$  l. 20 if it is for  $\text{רִאשֵׁיו}$  *his chiefs*. The verbal forms with  $\eta$  suffixed are to be read  $\text{וַיִּהְיֶה}$  (l. 6),  $\text{וַיִּהְיֶה}$  (l. 12 f.) and  $\text{וַיִּהְיֶה}$  (l. 19).

*d* As an example of the original consonant being retained, we might also include the  $\iota$  of the constr. state plur. masc. if its  $\delta$  (according to § 89 *d*) is

<sup>1</sup> In Sanskrit, in the Old Persian cuneiform, and in Ethiopic, short *a* alone of all the vowels is not represented, but the consonant by itself is pronounced with short *a*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. especially Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, p. 34 ff.

<sup>3</sup> According to Stade, the employment of  $\eta$  for  $\bar{a}$  probably took place first in the case of the locative accusatives which originally ended in  $\text{מָה}$ , as  $\text{בְּמָה}$ ,  $\text{בְּמָה}$ .

<sup>4</sup> The form  $\text{וַיִּהְיֶה}$  contradicts the view of Oort, *Theol. Tijds.*, 1902, p. 374, that the above instances from the Mēša'-inscription are to be read *benhu*, *bahu*, *lahu*, which were afterwards vocalized as *beno*, *bo*, *lo*.

contracted from an original *ay*. Against this, however, it may be urged that the Phoenician inscriptions do not usually express this *ê*, nor any other final vowel.<sup>1</sup>

(b) The employment of *י* to denote *ô*, *u*, and of *י* to denote *ê*, *î*, may *e* have resulted from those cases in which a *י* with a preceding *a* was contracted into *au* and further to *ô*, or with a preceding *u* coalesced into *u*, and where *י* with *a* has been contracted into *ai* and further to *ê*, or with a preceding *i* into *î* (cf. § 24). In this case the previously existing consonants were retained as vowel letters and were further applied at the end of the word to denote the respective long vowels. Finally *ס* also will in the first instance have established itself as a vowel letter only where a consonantal *ס* with a preceding *a* had coalesced into *â* or *ā*.

The orthography of the Siloam inscription corresponds almost exactly with the above assumptions. Here (as in the Mēša' inscr.) we find all the long vowels, which have not arisen from original diphthongs, *without* vowel letters, thus *אש חצבם, מיםן (or מיםן); אפח, קל, שלש, יר.* On the other hand *מיםן* (from *mauša'*), *עוד* (from *'aud*); *מיםן* also, if it is to be read *מיםן*, is an instance of the retention of a *י* which has coalesced with *i* into *î*. Instances of the retention of an originally consonantal *ס* as a vowel letter are *מאתים, מותא, קרא*, as also *ראש*. Otherwise final *ā* is always represented by *ה*: *אפה, הרה, ורה, נקבה*. To this *ה* alone would form an exception (cf. however the note on *יום*, § 96), instead of *יום* (Arab. *yawm*) *day*, which one would expect. If the reading be correct, this is to be regarded as an argument that a consciousness of the origin of many long vowels was lost at an early period, so that (at least in the middle of the word) the vowel letters were omitted in places where they should stand, according to what has been stated above, and added where there was no case of contraction. This view is in a great measure confirmed by the orthography of the Mēša' inscription. There we find, as might be expected, *דיבן* (= *Daibōn*, as the *Δαιβάν* of the LXX proves), *חורין* (*ô* from *au*), and *ביתה* (*ê* from *ai*), but also even *השעני*<sup>2</sup> instead of *הושעני* (from *haus-*), *בית, ואשיב, ואשב* four times, *בית* once, for *בית* and *ביתה* (from *bait*); *לילה = ללה, אן = אן, or אין*.

<sup>1</sup> Thus there occurs, e.g. in Melit. i, l. 3 *שני בני שונב* the two sons; elsewhere *ב* for *ב* (but *ב* in the Mēša' and Siloam inscr.), *י* for *י* (the latter in the Siloam inscr.), *בנת = בנתי* (so Mēša') or *ביתי*, &c. Of. on the other hand in Mēša', *אנכי = אנכי* (unless it was actually pronounced *'anākh* by the Moabites). As final *ā* is represented by *ה* and *ס* and final *î* by *י*, so final *û* is almost everywhere expressed by *י* in Mēša', and always in the Siloam inscription. It is indeed not impossible that Hebrew orthography also once passed through a period in which the final vowels were left always or sometimes undenoted, and that not a few strange forms in the present text of the Bible are to be explained from the fact that subsequently the vowel letters (especially *י* and *י*) were not added in all cases. So Chwolson, 'Die Quiescentia hei in der althebr. Orthogr.', in *Travaux du Congrès... des Orientalistes*, Petersb. 1876; cf. numerous instances in Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 146 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *השעני* is the more strange since the name of king *הושע* is represented as *A-u si'* in cuneiform as late as 728 B.C.

g (c) In the present state of Old Testament vocalization as it appears in the Masoretic text, the striving after a certain uniformity cannot be mistaken, in spite of the inconsistencies which have crept in. Thus the final long vowel is, with very few exceptions (cf. § 9 d, and the very doubtful cases in § 8 k), indicated by a vowel letter—and almost always by the same letter in certain nominal and verbal endings. In many cases the use of י to mark an *ô* or *â*, arising from contraction, and of ו for *ê* or *î*, is by far the more common, while we seldom find an originally consonantal נ rejected, and the simple phonetic principle taking the place of the historical orthography. On the other hand the number of exceptions is very great. In many cases (as e.g. in the plural endings נִי— and נִי) the vowel letters are habitually employed to express long vowels which do not arise through contraction, and we even find short vowels indicated. The conclusion is, that if there ever was a period of Hebrew writing when the application of fixed laws to all cases was intended, either these laws were not consistently carried out in the further transmission of the text, or errors and confusion afterwards crept into it. Moreover much remained uncertain even in texts which were plentifully provided with vowel letters. For, although in most cases the context was a guide to the correct reading, yet there were also cases where, of the many possible ways of pronouncing a word, more than one appeared admissible.<sup>1</sup>

h 3. When the language had died out, the ambiguity of such a writing must have been found continually more troublesome; and as there was thus a danger that the correct pronunciation might be finally lost, the vowel signs or vowel points were invented in order to fix it. By means of these points everything hitherto left uncertain was most accurately settled. It is true that there is no historical account of the date of this vocalization of the O. T. text, yet we may at least infer, from a comparison of other historical facts, that it was gradually developed by Jewish grammarians in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. under the influence of different Schools, traces of which have been preserved to the present time in various differences of tradition.<sup>2</sup> They mainly followed, though with independent regard to

<sup>1</sup> Thus e.g. קָטַל can be read *qāṭal*, *qātāl*, *qāṭōl*, *qāṭōl*, *qāṭēl*, *qāṭēl*, *qāṭēl*, *qāṭēl*, and several of these forms have also different senses.

<sup>2</sup> The most important of these differences are, (a) those between the Orientals, i.e. the scholars of the Babylonian Schools, and the Occidentals, i.e. the scholars of Palestine (Tiberias, &c.); cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 197 ff.; (b) amongst the Occidentals, between Ben-Naphtali and Ben-Asher, who flourished in the first half of the tenth century at Tiberias; cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 241 ff. Both sets of variants are given by Baer in the appendices

the peculiar nature of the Hebrew, the example and pattern of the older Syrian punctuation.<sup>1</sup>

See Gesenius, *Gesch. d. hebr. Spr.*, p. 182 ff.; Hupfeld, in *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1830, pt. iii, who shows that neither Jerome nor the Talmud mentions vowel signs; Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Grammatik im Talm. u. Midrasch*, p. 26 ff.; and B. Pick, in *Hebraica*, i. 3, p. 153 ff.; Abr. Geiger, 'Zur Nakdanim- [Punctuators-]Literatur,' in *Jüd. Ztschr. für Wissensch. u. Leben*, x. Breslau, 1872, p. 10 ff.; H. Strack, *Prolegomena critica in Vet. Test. Hebr.*, Lips. 1873; 'Beitrag zur Gesch. des hebr. Bibeltexes,' in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1875, p. 736 ff., as also in the *Ztschr. f. die ges. luth. Theol. u. K.*, 1875, p. 619 ff.; 'Massorah,' in the *Protest. Real-Enc.*, xii. 393 ff. (a good outline); A. Merx, in the *Verhandlungen des Orientalistenkongresses zu Berlin*, i. Berlin, 1881, p. 164 ff. and p. 188 ff.; H. Graetz, 'Die Anfänge der Vokalzeichen im Hebr.,' in *Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenth.*, 1881, pp. 348 ff. and 395 ff.; Hersmann, *Zur Gesch. des Streites über die Entstehung der hebr. Punctuation*, Ruhrort, 1885; Harris, 'The Rise... of the Massorah,' *JQR.* i. 1889, p. 128 ff. and p. 223 ff.; Mayer-Lambert, *REJ.* xxvi. 1893, p. 274 ff.; J. Bachrach, *Das Alter d. bibl. Vocalisation u. Accentuation*, 2 pts. Warsaw, 1897, and esp. Ginsburg, *Introd.* (see § 3 c), p. 287 ff.; Budde, 'Zur Gesch. d. Tiberiens. Vocalisation,' in *Orient. Studien zu Ehren Th. Nöldekes*, i. 1906, 651 ff.; Bacher, 'Diakrit. Zeichen in vormasoret. Zeit,' in *ZAW.* 1907, p. 285; O. Leviaš, art. 'Vocalization,' in the *Jewish Encycl.*—On the hypothesis of the origin of punctuation in the Jewish schools for children, cf. J. Dérenbourg in the *Rev. Crit.*, xiii. 1879, no. 25.

4. To complete the historical vocalization of the consonantal text a phonetic system was devised, so exact as to show all vowel-changes occasioned by lengthening of words, by the tone, by gutturals, &c., which in other languages are seldom indicated in writing. The pronunciation followed is in the main that of the Palestinian Jews of about the sixth century A.D., as observed in the solemn reading of the sacred writings in synagogue and school, but based on a much older tradition. That the real pronunciation of early Hebrew is consistently preserved by this tradition, has recently been seriously questioned on good grounds, especially in view of the transcription of proper names in the LXX. Nevertheless in many cases, internal reasons, as well as the analogy of the kindred languages, testify in a high degree to the faithfulness of the tradition. At the same recension of the text, or soon after, the various other signs for reading (§§ 11–14, 16) were added, and the accents (§ 15).

### § 8. The Vowel Signs in particular.

P. Haupt, 'The names of the Hebrew vowels,' *JAOS.* xxii, and in the *Johns Hopkins Semitic Papers*, Newhaven, 1901, p. 7 ff.; C. Leviaš in the *Hebr. Union Coll. Annual*, Cincinnati, 1904, p. 138 ff.

to his critical editions. Our printed editions present uniformly the text of Ben-Asher, with the exception of a few isolated readings of Ben-Naphtali, and of numerous later corruptions.

<sup>1</sup> See Geiger, 'Massorah bei d. Syrern,' in *ZDMG.* 1873, p. 148 ff.; J. P. Martin, *Hist. de la ponctuation ou de la Massore chez les Syriens*, Par. 1875; E. Nestle, in *ZDMG.* 1876, p. 525 ff.; Weingarten, *Die syr. Massora nach Bar Hebraeus*, Halle, 1887.

## Preliminary Remark.

The next two sections (§§ 8 and 9) have been severely criticized (Philippi, *ThLZ.* 1897, no. 2) for assigning a definite quantity to each of the several vowels, whereas in reality  $\text{—}$ ,  $\text{—}$ ,  $\text{—}$  are merely signs for  $\bar{a}$ ,  $e$ ,  $o$ : 'whether these are long or short is not shown by the signs themselves but must be inferred from the rules for the pause which marks the breaks in continuous narrative, or from other circumstances.' But in the twenty-fourth and subsequent German editions of this Grammar, in the last note on § 8 a [English ed. p. 38, note 4], it was stated: 'it must be mentioned that the Masoretes are not concerned with any distinction between long and short vowels, or in general with any question of quantity. Their efforts are directed to fixing the received pronunciation as faithfully as possible, by means of writing.'

For a long time only שֶׁבַע מְלָכִים *seven kings* were reckoned (*vox memor.* in Elias Levita וְיִאמָר אֱלִיהוּ), Šureq and Qibbuš being counted as one vowel.

The division of the vowels in respect of quantity is a later attempt at a scientific conception of the phonetic system, which was not invented but only represented by the Masoretes (Qimchi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenb. 136 a, distinguishes the five long as *mothers* from their five daughters).<sup>1</sup>

I have therefore long shared the opinion that 'the vowel-system represented by the ordinary punctuation (of Tiberias) was primarily intended to mark only differences of quality' (Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 17). There is, however, of course a further question how far these 'later' grammarians were mistaken in assigning a particular quantity to the vowels represented by particular signs. In Philippi's opinion they were mistaken (excluding of course  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  when written *plene*) in a very great number of cases, since not only does  $\text{—}$  stand, according to circumstances, for  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{ä}$ , and  $\text{—}$  for  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{ä}$ , but also  $\text{—}$  for  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{ä}$ , and  $\text{—}$  for  $\bar{o}$  or  $\bar{ö}$ , e. g. מְבַרֵךְ and מְבַרֵךְ, out of pause *kābēd*, *qāḏn* (form מְבַרֵךְ), but in pause *kābēd*, *qāḏn*.

I readily admit, with regard to *Qameš* and *Sēgol*, that the account formerly given in § 8 f. was open to misconstruction. With regard to *Sere* and *Holem*, however, I can only follow Philippi so long as his view does not conflict with the (to me inviolable) law of a long vowel in an open syllable before the tone and (except Pathah) in a final syllable with the tone. To me מְבַרֵךְ = *kābēd*, &c., is as impossible as e. g. עֲנֵב = *ʿnab* or בִּרְךָ = *bōrah*, in spite of the analogy cited by Sievers (p. 18, note 1) that 'in old German e. g. original  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$  often pass into  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$  dialectically, while remaining in a closed syllable.'

- a 1. The full vowels (in contrast to the half-vowels or vowel trills, § 10 a-f), classified according to the three principal vowel sounds (§ 7 a), are as follows:—

## First Class. A-sound.

- A { 1.  $\text{—}$  <sup>1</sup> *Qamēš* denotes either  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{ä}$ , more strictly  $\bar{ä}$  (the obscure Swedish  $\bar{ä}$ ) and  $\bar{ä}$ ,<sup>2</sup> as רָ *yād* (hand), ראשִׁים *rāšīm* (heads), or  $\bar{ä}$  (in future transcribed as  $\bar{o}$ ), called *Qamēš ḥatūph*, i. e. hurried *Qameš*. The latter occurs almost exclusively as a modification of  $\bar{u}$ ; cf. c and § 9 u.
2.  $\text{—}$  *Pāthāḥ*,  $\bar{a}$ , בָּ *bāḥ* (daughter).

<sup>1</sup> In early MSS. the sign for *Qameš* is a stroke with a point underneath, i. e. according to Nestle's discovery (*ZDMG.* 1892, p. 411 f.), Pathah with *Holem*, the latter suggesting the obscure pronunciation of *Qameš* as  $\bar{ä}$ . Cf. also Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 609.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of the no doubt more accurate transcription  $\bar{ä}$ ,  $\bar{ä}$  we have



Also 3.  $\text{ֿ}$  *S<sup>e</sup>gól*, an open *e*,  $\text{ֿ}$  ( $\text{ֿ}$  or  $\text{ֿ}$ ), as a modification of  $\text{ֿ}$ ,<sup>1</sup> either in an untuned closed syllable, as in the first syllable of  $\text{יָדְךָ}$  *yādkhēm* (your hand) from *yādkhēm*—or in a tone-syllable as in  $\text{פֶּסַח}$  *pēsah*; cf. *πάσχα*, and on the really monosyllabic character of such formations, see § 28 *e*. But *S<sup>e</sup>gól* in an open tone-syllable with a following  $\text{ֿ}$ , as in  $\text{גִּלְגָּל}$  *g<sup>e</sup>lənā* (cf. § 75 *f*),  $\text{יָדְכֶם}$  *yādkhēm* (cf. § 91 *i*), is due to contraction from *ay*.

Second Class. *I- and E-sounds.*

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| I | { | 1. $\text{ֿ}$ <i>Hîrēq</i> with <i>yod</i> , almost always $\text{ֿ}$ , as $\text{צַדִּיק}$ <i>šaddîq</i> (righteous). <i>b</i>   |
|   |   | 2. $\text{ֿ}$ either $\text{ֿ}$ (see below, <i>i</i> ), as $\text{צַדִּיקִים}$ <i>šaddîqîm</i> , only orthographically different from $\text{צַדִּיקִים}$ ( <i>צַדִּיקִים</i> ),—or $\text{ֿ}$ , as $\text{צַדִּיקוֹ}$ <i>šaddîqô</i> (his righteousness).  |
| E | { | 3. $\text{ֿ}$ <i>Serî</i> or <i>Sērê</i> with <i>yod</i> = $\text{ֿ}$ , e. g. $\text{בֵּיתוֹ}$ <i>bêthô</i> (his house).<br>$\text{ֿ}$ either $\text{ֿ}$ , but rarely (see below, <i>i</i> ), or $\text{ֿ}$ as $\text{שֵׁם}$ <i>šēm</i> (name).<br><i>Sere</i> can only be $\text{ֿ}$ , in my opinion, in few cases, such as those mentioned in § 29 <i>f</i> . |
|   |   | 4. $\text{ֿ}$ <i>S<sup>e</sup>gól</i> , $\text{ֿ}$ , a modification of $\text{ֿ}$ , e. g. $\text{חִפְּזִי}$ <i>hîfšî</i> (ground-form <i>hîfš</i> ); $\text{שָׁן}$ <i>šān</i> (ground-form <i>šān</i> ).  |

Third Class. *U- and O-sounds.*

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| U | { | 1. $\text{ֿ}$ <i>Šārēq</i> , usually $\text{ֿ}$ , $\text{מָוֶת}$ <i>māth</i> (to die), rarely $\text{ֿ}$ . <i>c</i>  |
|   |   | 2. $\text{ֿ}$ <i>Qibbās</i> , either $\text{ֿ}$ , e. g. $\text{סֻלָּאָם}$ <i>sullām</i> (ladder), or $\text{ֿ}$ , e. g. $\text{קָמַו}$ <i>qāmū</i> (rise up), instead of the usual $\text{קָמוּ}$ .  |
| O | { | 3. $\text{ֿ}$ and $\text{ֿ}$ <i>Hōlēm</i> , $\text{ֿ}$ and $\text{ֿ}$ , $\text{קוֹל}$ <i>qōl</i> (voice), $\text{רֹב}$ <i>rōb</i> (multitude).<br>Often also a defective $\text{ֿ}$ for $\text{ֿ}$ ; rarely $\text{ֿ}$ for $\text{ֿ}$ .<br>On the question whether $\text{ֿ}$ under some circumstances represents $\text{ֿ}$ , see § 93 <i>r</i> . |
|   |   | 4. $\text{ֿ}$ On <i>Qāmēš hātūph</i> = $\text{ֿ}$ , generally modified from $\text{ֿ}$ , as $\text{קֶחַךְ}$ <i>hōq</i> (statute), see above, <i>a</i> .  |

retained  $\text{ֿ}$ ,  $\text{ֿ}$  in this grammar, as being typographically simpler and not liable to any misunderstanding. For *Qāmēš hātūph*, in the previous German edition expressed by  $\text{ֿ}$ , we have, after careful consideration, returned to  $\text{ֿ}$ . The use of the same sign  $\text{ֿ}$  for  $\text{ֿ}$  ( $\text{ֿ}$ ) and  $\text{ֿ}$ , shows that the Massoretes did not intend to draw a sharp distinction between them. We must not, however, regard the Jewish grammarians as making a merely idle distinction between *Qāmēš rāhāb*, or broad *Qāmēš*, and *Qāmēš hātūph*, or light *Qāmēš*. It is quite impossible that in the living language an  $\text{ֿ}$  lengthened from  $\text{ֿ}$ , as in *dābār*, should have been indistinguishable from e. g. the last vowel in  $\text{וַיִּשָּׂא}$  or the first in  $\text{וַיִּשָּׂא}$ .—The notation  $\text{ֿ}$ ,  $\text{ֿ}$ ,  $\text{ֿ}$  expresses here the vowels essentially long, either naturally or by contraction; the notation  $\text{ֿ}$ ,  $\text{ֿ}$ ,  $\text{ֿ}$  those lengthened only by the tone, and therefore changeable;  $\text{ֿ}$ ,  $\text{ֿ}$ ,  $\text{ֿ}$  the short vowels. As regards the others, the distinction into  $\text{ֿ}$  and  $\text{ֿ}$ ,  $\text{ֿ}$  and  $\text{ֿ}$  is sufficient; see § 9.—The mark  $\text{ֿ}$  stands in the following pages over the tone-syllable, whenever this is not the last, as is usual, but the penultimate syllable of the word, e. g.  $\text{וַיִּשָּׂא}$ .

<sup>1</sup> These *S<sup>e</sup>gól*s, modified from  $\text{ֿ}$ , are very frequent in the language. The



d The names of the vowels are mostly taken from the form and action of the mouth in producing the various sounds, as פִּתּוּחַ *opening*; צִירִי *a wide parting* (of the mouth), also שִׁבְרִי (= *ṣ*) *breaking, parting* (cf. the Arab. *kasr*); חִירָק (also חִירָק *narrow opening*; חִוּלָם *closing*, according to others *fullness*, i.e. of the mouth (also מִלּוֹא פִּימָה <sup>1</sup> *fullness of the mouth*)). קָמֶץ <sup>2</sup> also denotes a slighter, as שִׁירָק and קִבּוּץ (also קִבּוּץ *a firmer, compression or contraction of the mouth*). סֵגוּל (סֵגוּל *bunch of grapes*) takes its name from its form. So שְׁלֵשׁ נִקְדוּחַ (*three points*) is another name for Qibbûṣ.

e Moreover the names were mostly so formed (but only later), that the sound of each vowel is heard in the first syllable (קָמֶץ for קָמֶץ, פִּתּוּחַ for פִּתּוּחַ, צִירִי for צִירִי); in order to carry this out consistently some even write Sägöl, Qomes-ḥatûf, Qübbûṣ.

f 2. As the above examples show, the vowel sign stands regularly *under* the consonant, *after* which it is to be pronounced, רַ *rā*, רָ *rā*, רֶ *rē*, רֻ *rū*, &c. The Pathah called *furtivum* (§ 22 f) alone forms an exception to this rule, being pronounced *before* the consonant, רִיחַ *rāḥ* (wind, spirit). The Hölēm (without *wāw*) stands on the left above the consonant, רֹ *rō* (but לֹ = *lō*). If א, as a vowel letter, follows a consonant which is to be pronounced with *ō*, the point is placed over its right arm, thus בֹּאשׁ, but e.g. בָּאם, since א here begins a syllable.

g No dot is used for the Holem when *ō* (of course without *wāw*) is pronounced after *sin* or before *šin*. Hence שֹׂנֵא *šōnē* (hating), נֹשֵׂא *nōšē* (to bear), מֹשֶׁה *mōšē* (not מֹשֶׁה); but שֹׂמֵר *šōmēr* (a watchman). When *ō* precedes the *sin*, the dot is placed over its right arm, e.g. יֹרֵשׁ *yōrēš* (he treads with the feet), הַנֹּשְׂאִים *hannōš'im* (those who carry).

In the sign י, the י may also be a consonant. The י is then either to be read *ōw* (necessarily so when a consonant otherwise without a vowel precedes, e.g. לֹחַ *lōch*, lending) or *wō*, when a vowel already precedes the י, e.g. עֲוֹן *‘āwōn* (iniquity) for עֲוֹן. In more exact printing, a distinction is at least made between י (*wo*) and י (i.e. either *ō* or, when another vowel follows the *wāw*, *ōw*).

Babylonian punctuation (see § 8 g, note 1) has only one sign for it and tone-bearing Pathah; see also Gaster, 'Die Unterschiedslosigkeit zwischen Pathach u. Segol,' in *ZAW*. 1894, p. 60 ff.

<sup>1</sup> On the erroneous use of the term *melo pum*, only in Germany, for *šureq* (hence also pronounced *melu pum* to indicate *š*), see E. Nestle, *ZDMG*. 1904, p. 597 ff.; Baehér, *ibid.*, p. 799 ff., *Melopum*; Simonsen, *ibid.*, p. 807 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The usual spelling קָמֶץ and פִּתּוּחַ takes the words certainly rightly as Hebrew substantives; according to De Lagarde (*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1886, p. 873, and so previously Luzzatto), קָמֶץ and פִּתּוּחַ are rather Aram. participles, like *Dagēš*, &c., and consequently to be transliterated *Qāmēs* and *Pālḥah*.

<sup>3</sup> Since 1846 we have become acquainted with a system of vocalization different in many respects from the common method. The vowel signs, all except י, are there placed *above* the consonants, and differ almost throughout in form,

3. The vowels of the first class are, with the exception of  $\text{ָ}$  in *h* the middle and  $\text{ָ}$ ,  $\text{ָ}$ ,  $\text{ָ}$  at the end of the word (§ 9 *a-d, f*), represented *only* by vowel signs, but the long vowels of the I- and U-class largely by vowel letters. The vowel sound to which the letter

and some even as regards the sound which they denote:  $\text{ָ}$  =  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\text{ָ}$  = tone-bearing  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\text{ָ}$  =  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\text{ָ}$  =  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\text{ָ}$  =  $\bar{o}$ ,  $\text{ָ}$  or  $\text{ָ}$  =  $\bar{u}$ . In an unsharpened syllable  $\text{ָ}$  = toneless  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{e}$ , and also *Ḥaṭeph Pathah*;  $\text{ָ}$  = toneless  $\bar{e}$  and *Ḥaṭeph S'ghol*;  $\text{ָ}$  =  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\text{ָ}$  =  $\bar{u}$ ,  $\text{ָ}$  =  $\bar{o}$ , and *Ḥaṭeph Qameṣ*. Lastly in toneless syllables before Dageš,  $\text{ָ}$  =  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\text{ָ}$  =  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\text{ָ}$  =  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\text{ָ}$  =  $\bar{u}$ ,  $\text{ָ}$  =  $\bar{a}$ . Š'wā is  $\text{ָ}$ .

The accents differ less and stand in some cases under the line of the consonants. Besides this complicated system of the Codex Babylonicus (see below) and other MSS., there is a simpler one, used in Targums. It is still uncertain whether the latter is the foundation of the former (as Merx, *Chrest. Targ.* xi, and Bacher, *ZDMG.* 1895, p. 15 ff.), or is a later development of it among the Jews of South Arabia (as Praetorius, *ZDMG.* 1899, p. 181 ff.). For the older literature on this *Babylonian punctuation* ( $\text{ָ}$ ), as it is called, see A. Harkavy and H. L. Strack, *Katalog der hebr. Bibelhandschr. der Kaiserl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg.*, St. Petersburg. and Lpz., 1875, parts i and ii, p. 223 ff. A more thorough study of the system was made possible by H. Strack's facsimile edition of the *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* (St. Petersburg, 1876, la. fol.) of the year 916, which Firkowitsch discovered in 1839, in the synagogue at Tschufutkale in the Crimea. The MS. has been shown by Ginsburg (*Recueil des travaux rédigés en mémoire ... de Chwolson*, Berlin, 1899, p. 149, and *Introđ.*, pp. 216 ff., 475 f.) to contain a recension of the Biblical text partly Babylonian and partly Palestinian; cf. also Barnstein, *The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis*, London, 1896, p. 6 f. Strack edited a fragment of it in *Hosea et Joel prophetæ ad fidem cod. Babylon. Petrop.*, St. Petersburg. 1875. Cf. also the publication by A. Merx, quoted above, § 7 k, and his *Chrestomathia Targumica*, Berlin, 1888; G. Margoliouth, in the *PSBA.* xv. 4, and M. Gaster, *ibid.*; P. Kahle, *Der masoret. Text des A. T. nach d. Überlief. der babyl. Juden*, Lpz. 1902, with the valuable review by Rahlfs in *GGA.* 1903, no. 5; Nestle, *ZDMG.* 1905, p. 719 (Babylonian  $\text{ָ}$  =  $\text{ָ}$ ). According to the opinion formerly prevailing, this Babylonian punctuation exhibits the system which was developed in the Eastern schools, corresponding to and contemporaneous with the Western or Tiberian system, although a higher degree of originality, or approximation to the original of both systems of punctuation, was generally conceded to the latter. Recently, however, Wickes, *Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, Oxford, 1887, p. 142 ff., has endeavoured to show, from the accents, that the 'Babylonian' punctuation may certainly be an Oriental, but is by no means the Oriental system. It is rather to be regarded, according to him, as a later and not altogether successful attempt to modify, and thus to simplify, the system common to all the Schools in the East and West. Strack, *Wiss. Jahresh. der ZDMG.* 1879, p. 124, established the probability that the vowels of the superlinear punctuation arose under Arab influence from the vowel letters  $\text{ָ}$  (so previously Pinsker and Graetz), while the Tiberian system shows Syrian influence.

A third, widely different system (Palestinian), probably the basis of the other two, is described by A. Neubauer, *JQR.* vii. 1895, p. 361 ff., and Friedländer, *ibid.*, p. 564 ff., and *PSBA.* 1896, p. 86 ff.; C. Levias, *Journ. of Sem. Lang. and Lit.*, xv. p. 157 ff.; and esp. P. Kahle, *Beitr. zu der Gesch. der hebr. Punctuation*, in *ZAW.* 1901, p. 273 ff. and in *Der masoret. Text des A. T.* (see above), chiefly dealing with the Berlin MS. Or. qu. 680, which contains a number of variants on the biblical text, and frequently agrees with the transcriptions of the LXX and Jerome.

points is determined more precisely by the vowel sign standing before, above, or within it. Thus—

' may be combined with *Hîrêq*, *Šerê*, *Sêgôl* (—, —, —).

' with *Šârêq* and *Hôlêm* (š and ô).<sup>1</sup>

In Arabic the long *a* also is regularly expressed by a vowel letter, viz. 'Alîph (آ), so that in that language three vowel letters correspond to the three vowel classes. In Hebrew *N* is rarely used as a vowel letter; see § 9 b and § 23 g.

4. The omission of the vowel letters when writing *ê*, *â*, *ê*, *ô* is called *scriptio defectiva* in contrast to *scriptio plena*. קול, קום are written *plene*, קלת, קם *defective*.

Cf. Bardowitz, *Studien zur Gesch. der Orthogr. im Alt-hebr.*, 1894; Lidzbarski, *Ephem.*, i. 182, 275; Marmorstein, 'Midrasch der vollen u. defekt. Schreibung,' in *ZAW.* 1907, p. 33 ff.

So far as the choice of the full or defective mode of writing is concerned, there are certainly some cases in which only the one or the other is admissible. Thus the full form is necessary at the end of the word, for *â*, *ô*, *ê*, *ê*, *ê*, as well as for *ê* in הוֹה &c. (§ 9 f), also generally with *â*, *â* (cf. however § 9 d), e.g. קָטְלִי, קָטְלִי, יָדִי, מְלִכִי. (But the Masora requires in Jer 26<sup>e</sup>, 44<sup>e</sup>; Ezr 6<sup>21</sup>; 2 Ch 32<sup>13</sup> גִּי instead of גִּי; Zp 2<sup>9</sup> גִּי [perhaps an error due to the following '] for גִּי; Is 40<sup>31</sup> יְקִי [followed by '] for יְקִי; Jer 38<sup>11</sup> בָּלִי for בָּלִי.) On the other hand the defective writing is common when the letter, which would have to be employed as a vowel letter, immediately precedes as a strong consonant, e.g. גִּוִּים (*nations*) for גִּוִּיִּם, מִצְוֹת (*commandments*) for מִצְוֹת.

That much is here arbitrary (see § 7 g), follows from the fact that sometimes the same word is written very differently, e.g. הִקְטִימוּי Ez 16<sup>20</sup>: הִקְטִימוּי and also הִקְטִימוּי Jer 23<sup>4</sup>; cf. § 25 b. Only it may be observed,

(a) That the *scriptio plena* in two successive syllables was generally avoided; cf. e.g. נְבִיא but נְבִיאִים; צִדִּיק but צִדְקִים; קול; קלות; יהושע; מִצְוֹת.

(b) That in the later Books of the O. T. (and regularly in post-biblical Hebrew) the full form, in the earlier the defective, is more usual.

5. In the cognate dialects, when a vowel precedes a vowel-letter which is not kindred (heterogeneous), e.g. —, —, —, —, —, a diphthong (*au*, *ai*)<sup>2</sup> is formed if the heterogeneous vowel be *a*. This is also to be regarded as the Old Hebrew pronunciation, since it

<sup>1</sup> After the example of the Jewish grammarians the expression, 'the vowel letter rests (*quiesces*) in the vowel-sign,' has become customary. On the other hand, the vowel letters are also called by the grammarians, *matres lectionis* or *supports* (*fulera*).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. T. C. Foote, *The diphthong ai in Hebrew* (Johns Hopkins Univ. Circulars, June, 1903, p. 70 ff.).

agrees with the vocalic character of ו and י (§ 5 b, note 2). Thus such words as וַי, וַי, וַי, וַי, וַי, וַי, וַי, וַי are not to be pronounced according to the usual Jewish custom<sup>1</sup> as *vāv, hay, gôy, 'āsûy, gēv, bayith* (or even as *vaf, &c.*; cf. modern Greek *av af, ev ef* for *av, ev*), but with the Italian Jews more like *wāu, hai, &c.* The sound of וַי is the same as וַי, i.e. almost like *āu*, so that וַי is often written defectively for וַי.

### § 9. Character of the several Vowels.

Numerous as are the vowel signs in Hebrew writing, they are yet *a* not fully adequate to express all the various modifications of the vowel sounds, especially with respect to length and shortness. To understand this better a short explanation of the character and value of the several vowels is required, especially in regard to their length and shortness as well as to their changeableness (§§ 25, 27).

#### I. First Class. *A-sound.*

1. *Qameṣ* (וַי), when it represents a long *a*, is, by nature and origin, of two kinds:—

(1) The essentially long *ā* (in Arabic regularly written *ā*), which is not readily shortened and never wholly dropped (§ 25 c), e.g. וַי *kēthābh* (writing); very seldom with a following *ā*, as וַי 2 S 12<sup>14</sup> (see the examples in § 72 p).<sup>2</sup>

The writing of וַי Ho 10<sup>14</sup> for וַי would only be justifiable, if the *ā* of this form were to be explained as a contraction of *āā*; cf. however § 72 a; וַי Neh 13<sup>16</sup> for וַי (*dāg*) is certainly incorrect.—The rarity of the *ā* in Hebrew arises from the fact that it has for the most part become an obtuse *ō*; see below, q.

(2) *ā*, lengthened only by position (i.e. tone-long or at all events *c* lengthened under the influence of the tone, according to the laws for the formation of syllables, § 27 e-h), either in the tone-syllable itself (or in the secondary tone-syllable indicated by *Mēhēg*, see below), or just before or after it. This sound is invariably lengthened from an original *ā*,<sup>3</sup> and is found in open syllables, i.e. syllables ending in a vowel (§ 26 b), e.g. וַי, וַי, וַי, וַי (Arab. *lākā, qātālā, yāqūmū, 'āsrū*), as well as in closed syllables, i.e. those ending in

<sup>1</sup> In MSS. ו and י, in such combinations as וַי, וַי, are even marked with Mappiq (§ 14 a).

<sup>2</sup> Of a different kind are the cases in which *ā* has lost its consonantal sound by coalescing with a preceding *a*, § 23 a-d.

<sup>3</sup> In Arabic this *ā* is always retained in an open syllable.

a consonant, as כֹּכַב, כֹּכַב (vulgar Arab. *yād, kaukūb*). In a closed syllable, however, it can only stand when this has the tone, עֹלָם, עֹלָם; whereas in an open syllable it is especially frequent *before* the tone, e.g. רֹדֵף, לֹדֵף, לֹדֵף. Where the tone is moved forward or weakened (as happens most commonly in what is called the construct state of nouns, cf. § 89 a) the original short *ā* (*Pathah*) is retained in a closed syllable, while in an open syllable it becomes *Šewā* (§ 27 i): חֹכֵם, constr. state חֹכֵם (*hōkhām*); דֹּבֵר, דֹּבֵר (*dōbhār*); קָטַל, קָטַל. For examples of the retention, in the secondary tone-syllable, of *ā* lengthened from *ā*, see § 93 *xx*.

d In some terminations of the verb (וּ in the 2nd sing. masc. perf., י in the 2nd pl. fem. of the imperat., as well as in the 3rd and 2nd pl. fem. of the imperf.), in וַתְּנוּחַ (masc.) and in the suffixes וּ and וּ, the final *ā* can stand even without a vowel letter. A ה is, however, in these cases (except with וּ) frequently added as a vowel letter.

On וּ for ū see below, f.

e 2. *Pathah*, or short *ā*, stands in Hebrew almost exclusively in a closed syllable with or without the tone (בָּרַק, בָּרַק). In places where it now appears to stand in an open syllable the syllable was originally closed, and a helping vowel (*ā, ē*) has been inserted after the second radical merely to make the pronunciation easier, e.g. נָחַל (ground-form *nahl*), נָחַל (Arab. *bait*), see § 28 d, and with regard to two cases of a different kind, § 26 g, h. Otherwise *ā* in an open syllable has almost without exception passed into *ā* (—), see above, c.

On the very frequent attenuation of *ā* to *i*, cf. below, h. On the rare, and only apparent union of *Pathah* with נ (נ—), see § 23 d, end. On *ā* as a helping-vowel, § 22 f (*Pathah furtivum*), and § 28 e.

f 3. *Segól* (ē, ē [*ā*]) by origin belongs sometimes to the second, but most frequently to the first vowel class (§ 27 o, p, u). It belongs to the first class when it is a modification of *a* (as the Germ. *Bad*, pl. *Büder*; Eng. *man*, pl. *men*), either in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָדָה (for *yadkhēm*), or with the tone, e.g. יָרָא from 'ars, יָרָא Arab. *qārū*, יָרָא Arab. *qāmū*. This *Segól* is often retained even in the strongest tone-syllable, at the end of a sentence or of an important clause (in *pause*), as מָלַאֲכָה, מָלַאֲכָה (*mālākh, sālāq*). As a rule, however, in such cases the *Pathah* which underlies the *Segól* is lengthened into *Qames*, e.g. מָלַאֲכָה, מָלַאֲכָה. A *Segól* apparently lengthened from *Šewā*, but in reality traceable to an original *ā*, stands in pausal forms, as יָרָא (ground-form *pāry*), יָרָא (*yāhy*), &c. On the cases where a ' (originally consonantal) follows this *Segól*, see § 75 f, and § 91 k.

## II. Second Class. I- and E-sounds.

4. The long *i* is frequently even in the consonantal writing indicated *g* by ' (a *fully* written *Hireq* '—); but a naturally long *i* can be also written *defectively* (§ 8 *i*), e.g. קִדְּיָם (*righteous*), plur. סִדְּדִיקִים *saddiqim*; סִירָּי (*he fears*), plur. סִירָּי. Whether a *defectively* written *Hireq* is long may be best known from the origin of the form; often also from the nature of the syllable (§ 26), or as in סִירָּי from the *Metheg* attached to it (§ 16 *f*).

5. The *short Hireq* (always<sup>1</sup> written *defectively*) is especially frequent *h* in sharpened syllables (לִפְּזִי, אִפְּזִי) and in toneless closed syllables (קִנְיֹון *psalm*); cf. however פִּזְּזִי in a closed tone-syllable, and even פִּזְּזִי with a helping *Segôl*, for *wayyiphn*. It has arisen very frequently by attenuation from *ā*, as in דִּבְּרָה from original *dābārē*, דִּבְּרָה (ground-form *sādq*),<sup>2</sup> or else it is the original *i*, which in the tone-syllable had become *ē*, as in אִיֶּבֶר (*thy enemy*) from אֵיֶבֶר (ground-form *āyēb*).<sup>3</sup> It is sometimes a simple helping vowel, as in בִּירָה, § 28 *e*.

The earlier grammarians call every *Hireq* written *fully*, *Hireq magnum*; every one written *defectively*, *Hireq parvum*,—a misleading distinction, so far as quantity is concerned.

6. The longest *ē* '— (more rarely *defective* —, e.g. עֵיֶי for עֵיֶי *i* Is 3<sup>s</sup>; at the end of a word also הֵ—) is as a rule contracted from '— *ay* (*ai*), § 7 *a*, e.g. הֵיכָל (*palace*), Arab. and Syriac *haikal*.

7. The *Sere* without *Yôdh* mostly represents the tone-long *ē*, which, *h* like the tone-long *ā* (see *c*), is very rarely retained except *in* and *before* the tone-syllable, and is always lengthened from an original *ē*. It stands in an open syllable with or before the tone, e.g. סֵפֶר (ground-form *sīphr*) *book*, לֵיָה (Arab. *sināt*) *sleep*, or with *Metheg* (see § 16 *d, f*) in the secondary tone-syllable, e.g. מִשְׁאֵלִי *my request*, נִלְכָּה *let us go*. On the other hand in a closed syllable it is almost always with the tone, as בֶּן *son*, דֹּבֵם *dumb*.

Exceptions: (*a*) *ē* is sometimes retained in a toneless closed syllable, in monosyllabic words before *Maqqeph*, e.g. נִיֶּן Nu 35<sup>18</sup>, as well as in the examples of *nāsōg 'āhōr* mentioned in § 29 *f* (on the quantity cf. § 8 *b 3* end); (*b*) in a toneless open final syllable, *Sere* likewise occurs in examples of the *nāsōg 'āhōr*, as נִיֶּן Ex 16<sup>20</sup>; cf. Ju 9<sup>39</sup>.

8. The *Segôl* of the I(E)-class is most frequently an *ē* modified from *m* original *i*, either replacing a tone-long *ē* which has lost the tone, e.g.

<sup>1</sup> At least according to the Masoretic orthography; cf. Wellhausen, *Text der Bb. Sam.*, p. 18, Rem.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome (cf. Siegfried, *ZAW.* 1884, p. 77) in these cases often gives *ā* for *i*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the remarks of I. Guidi, 'La pronuncia del sērs,' in the *Verhandl. des Hamburger Orient.-Kongr.* of 1902, Leiden, 1904, p. 208 ff., on Italian *e* for Latin *i*, as in *fede* = *fidem*, *pece* = *picem*.



ִּיָּ from יָן (*give*), יִצְרָךְ (*thy creator*) from יָצַר, or in the case discussed in § 93 o, הִלֵּק, יִצַּר from the ground-forms *hilq*, *izr*; cf. also § 64 f. *S<sup>g</sup>ol* appears as a simple helping-vowel in cases such as סִפְרָה for *siphr*, יִגְלָה for *yigl* (§ 28 e).

### III. Third Class. U- and O-sounds.

n 9. For the U-sound there is—

(1) the long *ū*, either (a) written fully, *Šureq*, e.g. גְּבוּל (*boundary*), or (b) defectively written — *Qibbūs*, גְּבוּלוֹ, יִמְתֵּנוּ ;

(2) the short *ū*, mostly represented by *Qibbūs*, in a toneless closed syllable and especially common in a sharpened syllable, in e.g. שֻׁלְחָן (*table*), דְּבִירָה (*booth*).

O Sometimes also *ū* in a sharpened syllable is written *ī*, e.g. הִיבֵּה ψ 102<sup>5</sup>, יִבְלֵה Jb 5<sup>7</sup>, בִּיבֵלְךָ Jer. 31<sup>34</sup>, מִשְׁבִּיכְתוֹ Is 5<sup>5</sup>, עֵרִימִים Gn 22<sup>25</sup> for הִבֵּה, &c.

For this *u* the LXX write o, e.g. עֵרִימִים 'Οδολλάμ, from which, however, it only follows, that this *ū* was pronounced somewhat indistinctly. The LXX also express the sharp *Hireq* by ε, e.g. אֶפְסָר = Ἐμψήρ. The pronunciation of the *Qibbūs* like the German *ū*, which was formerly common, is incorrect, although the occasional pronunciation of the U-sounds as *ū* in the time of the punctators is attested, at least as regards Palestine<sup>1</sup>; cf. the Turkish *būlbūl* for the Persian *vulbul*, and the pronunciation of the Arabic *ḍunyā* in Syria as *dūnyā*.

p 10. The O-sound bears the same relation to U as the E does to I in the second class. It has four varieties:—

(1) The *ō* which is contracted from *aw* (= *au*), § 7 a, and accordingly is mostly written fully; *ī* (*Holem plenum*), e.g. שֵׁיט (*a whip*), Arab. *saut*, עוֹלָה (*iniquity*) from עוֹלָה. More rarely defectively, as שֵׁרֶךְ (*thine ow*) from שֵׁרֶךְ Arab. *šaur*.

q (2) The long *ō* which arose in Hebrew at an early period, by a general process of obscuring, out of an original *ā*,<sup>2</sup> while the latter has been retained in Arabic and Aramaic. It is usually written *fully* in the tone-syllable, *defectively* in the toneless, e.g. קָטִיל Arab. *qātīl*. Aram. *qātēl*, אֶלֶה Arab. *ʾilāh*, Aram. *ʾēlāh*, plur. אֱלֹהִים; שֵׁק (*leg*), Arab. *šāq*; גִּבּוֹר (*hero*), Arab. *gābbār*; חוֹתָם (*seal*), Arab. *ḥātām*; רִפּוֹן (*pomegranate*), Arab. *rūmmān*; שְׁלִטָּה (*dominion*), Aram. שְׁלִטָּה and שְׁלִטָּה Arab. *sūlṭān*; שְׁלֹום (*peace*), Aram. שְׁלֹום, Arab. *salām*. Sometimes the form in *ā* also occurs side by side with that in *ō* as שְׁרִיף and שְׁרִיף (*coat of mail*; see however § 29 u). Cf. also § 68 b.

r (3) The tone-long *ō* which is lengthened from an original *ū*, or from an *ō* arising from *ū*, by the tone, or in general according to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delitzsch, *Physiologie u. Musik*, Lpz. 1868, p. 15 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, b, end. On Jerome's transliteration of *o* for *ā*, see ZAW. 1884, p. 75.



laws for the formation of syllables. It occurs not only in the tone-syllable, but also in an open syllable before the tone, e.g. שְׁכָנִי (ground-form *gūds*) *sanctuary*; בִּרְךָ for *burrah*, יִקְרָא  $\psi$  104<sup>28</sup>, as well as (with *Metheg*) in the secondary tone-syllable; יִקְרָא, יִקְרָא. But the original  $\bar{o}$  ( $\bar{u}$ ) is retained in a toneless closed syllable, whereas in a toneless open syllable it is weakened to *šwā*. Cf. לֹא *all*, but לֹא־כֹל (*kōl*), כֹּל־לֵאמֹר (*kūllām*); יִקְרָא, יִקְרָא and יִקְרָא, where original  $\bar{u}$  is weakened to *šwā*: *yiqrēlā*, Arab. *yaqtūlū*. This tone-long  $\bar{o}$  is only as an exception written fully.

(4)  $\text{—}$  *Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph* represents  $\bar{o}$  (properly  $\bar{u}$ , cf. § 8 a, note 2) modified *s* from  $\bar{u}$  and is therefore classed here. It stands in the same relation to *Holem* as the *Seḡol* of the second class to *Sere*, לֹא־כֹל *kōl*, כֹּל־לֵאמֹר *wayyāqōm*. On the distinction between this and *Qameṣ*, see below, *u*.

11. The following table gives a summary of the gradation of the *t* three vowel-classes according to the quantity of the vowels:—

| First Class : A.   | Second Class : I and E.   | Third Class : U and O.   |
|--|---|--|
| $\text{—}$ original $\bar{a}$ (Arabic $\bar{a}$ ).   | $\text{—}$ $\bar{e}$ , from original <i>ay</i> ( <i>ai</i> ).<br>$\text{—}$ or $\text{—}$ long <i>i</i> .   | $\text{—}$ $\bar{o}$ , from original <i>au</i> ( <i>au</i> ).<br>$\text{—}$ or $\text{—}$ $\bar{o}$ obscured from $\bar{a}$ .<br>$\text{—}$ or $\text{—}$ $\bar{u}$ .  |
| $\text{—}$ tone-long $\bar{a}$ (from original $\bar{a}$ ) chiefly in the tone-syllable but also just before it.  | $\text{—}$ tone-long $\bar{e}$ (from $\bar{e}$ ) generally in the tone-syllable but also just before it.  | $\text{—}$ tone-long $\bar{o}$ (from original $\bar{u}$ ) in the tone-syllable, otherwise in an open syllable.   |
| $\text{—}$ (as a modification of $\bar{a}$ ) sometimes a tone-long $\bar{e}$ , sometimes $\bar{e}$ .<br>$\text{—}$ short $\bar{a}$ .<br>[ $\text{—}$ $\bar{e}$ attenuated from $\bar{a}$ ; see <i>h</i> .]<br>Utmost weakening to $\text{—}$ $\bar{a}$ , $\text{—}$ $\bar{e}$ , $\text{—}$ $\bar{e}$ . | $\text{—}$ $\bar{e}$ .<br>$\text{—}$ short $\bar{e}$ .<br>Utmost weakening to $\text{—}$ $\bar{a}$ , $\text{—}$ $\bar{e}$ , or $\text{—}$ $\bar{e}$ . | $\text{—}$ $\bar{o}$ , modified from $\bar{u}$ .<br>$\text{—}$ short $\bar{u}$ , especially in a sharpened syllable.<br>Utmost weakening to $\text{—}$ $\bar{a}$ , $\text{—}$ $\bar{e}$ , $\text{—}$ $\bar{o}$ , or $\text{—}$ $\bar{e}$ . |

Rem. On the distinction between *Qameṣ* and *Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph*.<sup>1</sup>

21

According to § 8 a, long  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{a}$  (*Qameṣ*) and short  $\bar{o}$  or  $\bar{a}$  (*Qameṣ-ḥaṭuph*) are in manuscripts and printed texts generally expressed by the same sign ( $\text{—}$ ), e.g. קָאֵם, לֹא־כֹל. The beginner who does not yet know the grammatical

<sup>1</sup> These statements, in order to be fully understood, must be studied in connexion with the theory of syllables (§ 26) and *Metheg* (§ 16 c-i).

origin of the words in question (which is of course the surest guide), may depend meanwhile on the following principal rules:—

1. The sign  $\text{—}^1$  is  $\delta$  in a toneless closed syllable, since such a syllable can have only a short vowel (§ 26 o). The above case occurs—

(a) When *Šewā* follows as a syllable-divider, as in חֶכְמָה *hōkh-mā* (wisdom), אֹכֶלֶת *'ōkh-lā* (food). With *Metheg*  $\text{—}$  is  $\bar{a}$  ( $\bar{ā}$ ) and according to the usual view stands in an open syllable with a following *Šewā* mobile, e.g. אָכְלָה *'ā-kh-lā* (she ate); but cf. § 16 i.

(b) When a closed syllable is formed by *Dages forte*, e.g. חַנּוּנִי *hōnnēnī* (have mercy upon me); but בְּרַחֲמִים (with *Metheg*, § 16 f  $\ell$ ) *bāttīm*.

(c) When the syllable in question loses the tone on account of a following *Maqqeph* (§ 16 a), e.g. כָּל־הָאָדָם *kōl-hā-'ādām* (all men).

In  $\psi$  35<sup>10</sup> and Pr 19<sup>7</sup> *Maqqeph* with כָּל is replaced by a conjunctive accent (*Mer'kha*); so by *Darga*, Ju 19<sup>5</sup> with מַעַד, and Ez 37<sup>8</sup> with וַיִּקְרָם (so Baer after Qimhi; ed. Mant., Ginsburg, Kittel וַיִּקְרָם).

(d) In a closed final syllable without the tone, e.g. וַיַּעֲמֵד *wayyāqōm* (and he stood up).—In the cases where  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{ā}$  in the final syllable has become toneless through *Maqqeph* (§ 16 a) and yet remains, e.g. חֶבְרֹנָה Est 4<sup>8</sup>, שְׁתָּלִי Gn 4<sup>25</sup>, it has a *Metheg* in correct manuscripts and printed texts.

In cases like חֶלְמָה, לָמְמָה *lāmmā*, the tone shows that  $\text{—}$  is to be read as  $\bar{a}$ .

2. The cases in which  $\text{—}$  appears to stand in an open syllable and yet is to be read as  $\bar{u}$  require special consideration. This is the case, (a) when *Hateph-Qames* follows, e.g. מַעֲלֵי *his work*, or simple vocal *Šewā*, e.g. עֹרְבָן *ox goad*; Jo 4<sup>7</sup>; שְׁמֹרָה (so ed. Mant., Ginsb.) preserve  $\psi$  86<sup>2</sup>, cf. 16<sup>1</sup> and the cases mentioned in § 48 i, note, and § 61 f; other examples are Ob 11, Ju 14<sup>15</sup>); *Hateph-Pathah* follows in מַשְׁחֵה (so Ginsburg; Baer מַשְׁחֵה) 1 S 15<sup>1</sup>, לְהַרְגֵה 24<sup>11</sup>, and יִפְגֹּשֶׁה (so Baer, Gn 32<sup>18</sup>, others יִפְגֹּשֶׁה); (b) before another *Qames-hatuph*, e.g. מַעֲלֵי *thy work*; on אֲרֻחָי and קַבְּחָי Nu 23<sup>7</sup>, see § 67 o; (c) in the two plural forms קִנְיָשִׁים *sanctuaries* and שְׁרָשִׁים *roots* (also written קִנְיָ and שְׁרָ). In all these cases the Jewish grammarians regard the *Metheg* accompanying the  $\text{—}$  as indicating a *Qames rahabh* (broad *Qames*) and therefore read the  $\text{—}$  as  $\bar{a}$ ; thus *pā-'lā*, *dā-'ēbān*, *pā-'ū'khā*, *qā-dāšim*. But neither the origin of these forms, nor the analogous formations in Hebrew and in the cognate languages, nor the transcription of proper names in the

<sup>1</sup> In the Babylonian punctuation (§ 8 g, note)  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{u}$  are carefully distinguished. So also in many MSS. with the ordinary punctuation and in Baer's editions of the text since 1880, in which  $\text{—}$  is used for  $\bar{u}$  as well as for  $\bar{a}$ . Cf. Baer-Delitzsch, *Liber Jobi*, p. 43. But the identity of the two signs is certainly original, and the use of  $\text{—}$  for  $\bar{u}$  is misleading.

LXX, allows us to regard this view as correct. It is just possible that Qames is here used loosely for  $\tilde{a}$ , as the equivalent of  $\tilde{e}$ , on the analogy of  $\text{קָמֶץ}$  &c., § 93 q. As a matter of fact, however, we ought no doubt to divide and read  $\text{פֹּה־לֹה}$  (for  $\text{פֹּה־לֹה}$ ),  $\text{פֹּה־לֹה־לֹה}$ ,  $\text{פֹּה־לֹה־לֹה־לֹה}$ .—Quite as inconceivable is it for *Meheg* to be a sign of the lengthening into  $\tilde{a}$  in  $\text{מֵהֶגֶץ}$  (Ex 11<sup>6</sup>), although it is so in  $\text{מֵהֶגֶץ}$   $\text{בַּאֲוֵנִי}$  (*bā-ʾōnī* (in the navy), since here the  $\tilde{a}$  of the article appears under the  $\text{נ}$ .

### § 10. The Half Vowels and the Syllable Divider (Šewā).

1. Besides the full vowels, Hebrew has also a series of vowel *a* sounds which may be called *half vowels* (Sievers, *Murmelvokale*). The punctuation makes use of these to represent extremely slight sounds which are to be regarded as remains of fuller and more distinct vowels from an earlier period of the language. They generally take the place of vowels *originally short* standing in *open syllables*. Such short vowels, though preserved in the kindred languages, are not tolerated by the present system of pointing in Hebrew, but either undergo a lengthening or are weakened to Šewā. Under some circumstances, however, the original short vowel may reappear.

To these belongs first of all the sign  $\text{ְ}$ , which indicates an extremely short, slight, and (as regards pronunciation) indeterminate vowel sound, something like an obscure half  $\tilde{e}$  ( $\text{ְ}$ ). It is called *Šewā*,<sup>1</sup> which may be either *simple Šewā* (*Šewā simplex*) as distinguished from the compound (see *f*), or *vocal Šewā* (*Šewā mobile*) as distinguished from *Šewā quiescens*, which is silent and stands as a mere syllable divider (see *i*) under the consonant which closes the syllable.

The vocal *Šewā* stands under a consonant which is closely united, as *c* a kind of grace-note, with the following syllable, either (*a*) at the beginning of the word, as  $\text{קָטַל}$  *qāṭōl* (to kill),  $\text{מָלַא$  *māllā* (filling), or (*b*) in the middle of the word, as  $\text{קָטַלָה}$  *qāṭ-lā*,  $\text{יָקַטְלִי}$  *yiq-ṭlī*.

In former editions of this Grammar *Šewā* was distinguished as *medium* <sup>l</sup> when it followed a short vowel and therefore stood in a supposed 'loosely closed' or 'wavering' syllable, as in  $\text{מָלַא}$ ,  $\text{מָלַא}$ . According to Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 22, this distinction must now be abandoned. These syllables are really closed, and the original vowel is not merely shortened, but entirely elided. The fact that a following B'gadh'phath letter (§ 6 n) remains spirant instead of taking *Dageš lene*, is explained by Sievers on the 'supposition that the change from hard to spirant is older than the elision

<sup>1</sup> On  $\text{שְׁוָא}$ , the older and certainly the only correct form (as in Ben Asher), see Bacher, *ZDMG*, 1895, p. 18, note 3, who compares Šewayya, the name of the Syriac accentual sign of similar form  $\text{ܫܘܐ}$  (=Hebr. Zaqeph). The form  $\text{שְׁוָא}$ , customary in Spain since the time of Menaḥem b. Sarūq, is due to a supposed connexion with Aram.  $\text{שְׁבַת}$  *rest*, and hence would originally have denoted only *Šewā quiescens*, like the Arabic *sukūn* (rest). The derivation from  $\text{שְׁבַת}$ ,  $\text{שְׁבַת}$  (stem  $\text{שָׁבַת}$ , *Levias, American Journ. of Philol.*, xvi. 28 ff.) seems impossible.



p. 71 f.), the *Ḥateph* is necessary<sup>1</sup> when, in a strengthened medial consonant with *Šwā* (consequently not in cases like וְיָהִי, &c.), preceded by a Pathah, the sign of the strengthening (*Dageš forte*) has fallen away, e.g. הָלְלֵה (but ed. Mant. and Ginsb. הָלְלֵי) *praise ye!* וְהִתְאַבְּרוּ Ju 16<sup>16</sup>; no less universally, where after a consonant with *Šwā* the same consonant follows (to separate them more sharply, and hence with a *metheg* always preceding), e.g. קָלְלֵהֶם ψ 68<sup>7</sup>; קָלְלֵה (ed. Mant. and Ginsb. קָלְלֵי) Gn 27<sup>12</sup> (but not without exceptions, e.g. הִקְלִי־ Ju 5<sup>15</sup>, Is 10<sup>1</sup>; צִלְלֵי Jer 6<sup>5</sup>, and so always הִנְנִי *behold me*, הִנְנִי *behold us*; on כָּ before the suffix הָ, see § 20 b); also in certain forms under *Kaph* and *Reš* after a long vowel and before the tone, e.g. הִתְאַבְּלֵהָ Gn 31<sup>7</sup>; בִּרְכֵי ψ 103<sup>1</sup>; וְהִשְׁרֵתָהּ 1 K 1<sup>4</sup> (but וְיִתְבָּרְכוּ ψ 72<sup>17</sup>, cf. Jer 4<sup>2</sup>, 1 Ch 29<sup>20</sup>, because the tone is thrown back on to the *ā*. After *ē Šwā* remains even before the tone, as בִּרְכוּ, &c.; but before *Maqqef* אֶלְכֶּה־ Baer Ex 4<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>7</sup>, Jer 40<sup>10</sup>, but ed. Mant., Jabl., Ginsb. 'אֶל')<sup>2</sup>; (b) under initial sibilants after *ā* copulative, e.g. וְהָבָה Gn 2<sup>12</sup>; cf. Jer 48<sup>20</sup>; וְסֹחַר Is 45<sup>14</sup>; וְיִשְׂרָהּ Lv 25<sup>34</sup>; וְיִשְׂקָה Gn 27<sup>26</sup>; וְיִשְׁמַע Nu 23<sup>18</sup>, Is 37<sup>17</sup>, Dn 9<sup>18</sup>, cf. Ju 5<sup>12</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>21</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>17</sup>, Jb 14<sup>1</sup>, Ec 9<sup>7</sup>—to emphasize the vocal character of the *Šwā*. For the same reason under the emphatic ט הוֹטְלֵהּ Jer 22<sup>28</sup>; cf. Jb 33<sup>25</sup>; after *Qōph* in וְקָרַתִּי (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Jabl., Ginsb. 'קָ') Ez 23<sup>41</sup>; וְיִרְכֹּב ψ 55<sup>22</sup>; cf. Jer. 32<sup>9</sup>; under *Reš* in אֶרְדָּה (ed. Mant. 'אָר') Gn 18<sup>21</sup>; וְיָנַעַם ψ 28<sup>9</sup>; even under ת Ezr 26<sup>11</sup>; under כ Est 2<sup>8</sup>; וְיִבְרָכֶה so Jabl., Ginsb., but ed. Mant. 'וְיִבְרָךְ' Dt 24<sup>18</sup>; (c) under sonants, sibilants or *Qōph* after *ī*, e.g. וְיִצְחָק Gn 21<sup>6</sup>, cf. 30<sup>38</sup> and Ez 21<sup>28</sup> (under ק); וְאֶמְרוּת ψ 12<sup>7</sup>; וְהִתְמַלֵּךְ Jer 22<sup>15</sup>; כְּנִירוֹת Jos 11<sup>2</sup>; בִּסְבָּכָה ψ 74<sup>5</sup>—for the same reason as the cases under *b*<sup>3</sup>; according to Baer also in נִשְׁפֹּטוֹת 1 S 30<sup>28</sup>; וְיִפְגֹּשֶׁךְ Gn 32<sup>18</sup> after *ō* (cf. § 9 v), as well as after *a* in הִקְשִׁיכָהּ Dn 9<sup>19</sup>; הִבְרָכָה Gn 27<sup>28</sup>; הִמְצִיעִים 2 K 7<sup>8</sup>.

B. The *Ḥateph-Qames* is less restricted to the gutturals than the first two, *ḥ* and stands more frequently for a simple *Šwā mobile* when an original O-sound requires to be partly preserved, e.g. at the beginning, in רָאָי (ground-form *rō'y*) *vision* (cf. § 93 z); בְּנִינִיָּה 2 Ch 31<sup>12</sup>, &c., *Q<sup>re</sup>* (*K<sup>eth</sup>*. "בִּנוֹ"); אִמּוֹנִיתִי *Ammonitish women*, 1 K 11<sup>1</sup> (sing. עֲמוֹנִית); וְיִרְבֶּךָ for the usual יִרְבֶּךָ Ez 35<sup>6</sup>; from יִרְדָּף תִּקְבְּנֵי Nu 23<sup>25</sup>, Jer 31<sup>23</sup>, and elsewhere before suffixes, cf. § 60 a; קִרְקָרִי *his pate* (from קִרְקַר) ψ 7<sup>17</sup>, &c.; וְיִשְׁקָמָה Is 18<sup>4</sup> *Q<sup>re</sup>*. Further, like *—*, it stands under consonants, which ought to have *Dageš forte*, as in לִקְרָהּ (for לִקְרָה) Gn 22<sup>23</sup>. In this example, as in וְיִסְעָדָהּ 1 K 13<sup>7</sup>; וְיִסְאָה 2 K 7<sup>18</sup>; and וְיִצְעָקִי Jer 22<sup>20</sup>, the *Ḥateph-Qames* is no doubt due to the influence of the

<sup>1</sup> See Delitzsch, 'Bemerkungen über masoretisch treue Darstellung des alttestam. Textes,' in the *Ztschr. f. luth. Theol. u. Kirche*, vol. xxiv. 1863, p. 409 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On the uncertainty of the MSS. in some cases which come under *a*, see *Minḥat shay* (the Masoretic comm. in ed. Mant.) on Gn 12<sup>8</sup> and Ju 7<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Ben-Asher requires *—* for *—* (even for *Šwā quiescens*) generally before a guttural or ר; hence Baer reads in 2 S 15<sup>5</sup> בִּקְרָב־ ψ 18<sup>7</sup> אֶקְרָא<sup>15</sup>; 49<sup>15</sup> לִשְׂאוֹל<sup>15</sup>; 65<sup>5</sup> תִּבְחַר<sup>17</sup>; 68<sup>24</sup> תִּמְחֶיךָ<sup>17</sup>; Pr 30<sup>17</sup> תִּלְעַג<sup>17</sup>; Jb 29<sup>26</sup> אֶבְחַר<sup>17</sup>; cf. Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 12<sup>7</sup>, note.

following guttural as well as of the preceding U-sound. (Elsewhere indeed after *י* in similar cases *Ha'eph-Pathah* is preferred, see above, *b*; but with לָקַח cf. also סָבַל Is 9<sup>3</sup>, 10<sup>25</sup>, 14<sup>25</sup>, where the U-sound must necessarily be admitted to have an influence on the *Šwā* immediately following.) In נָהַר (n-*hūr*) Jb 17<sup>9</sup> it is also influenced by the following O-sound. In קָמַי S 28<sup>8</sup> *Q're*, the original form is קָמַם, where again the *š* represents an *ū*. It is only through the influence of a following guttural that we can explain the forms נָקָאָה Est 2<sup>14</sup>; נָבַחַל Pr 28<sup>22</sup>; נָקָרַחָה Jer 49<sup>7</sup>; אָפְשָׁעָה Is 27<sup>4</sup>; וְאִשְׁמָעֵה Dn 8<sup>13</sup>; שְׁמָעָה ψ 39<sup>13</sup>; בָּסְעָרָה 2 K 2<sup>1</sup> (Baer's ed. also in ver. 11); הָקִיתִּים 2 Ch 34<sup>12</sup> (ed. Mant., Opius, &c. הָקִי). Finally in most of the examples which have been adduced, the influence of an emphatic sound (ק, ט, cf. also אָלְקָטָה Ru 2<sup>2.7</sup>), or of a sibilant is also to be taken into account.

3. The sign of the simple *Šwā* — serves also as a mere syllable divider. In this case it is disregarded in pronunciation and is called *Šwā quiescens*. In the middle of a word it stands under every consonant which closes a syllable; at the end of words on the other hand it is omitted except in final ׀ (to distinguish it better from final ׀), e.g. מֶלֶךְ *king*, and in the less frequent case, where a word ends with a mute after another vowelless consonant as in נָרַד *nard*, אַתָּה *thou fem.* (for 'ant), קָטַלְתָּ *thou fem. hast killed*, וַיִּשְׁקֵה *and he watered*, וַיִּשְׁבֶּה *and he took captive*, אַל־תִּשְׁתֵּה *drink thou not*; but וַיִּרְאֵה, הָמָא.<sup>1</sup>

4. However, in the examples where a mute closes the syllable, the final *Šwā* comes somewhat nearer to a vocal *Šwā*, especially as in almost all the cases a weakening of a final vowel has taken place, viz. אַתָּה 'attē from אַתִּי 'atti ('anti), קָטַלְתָּ from קָטַלְתִּי (cf. in this form, the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal, even בָּאֵת, after a vowel, Gn 16<sup>8</sup>, Mi 4<sup>10</sup>, &c., according to the readings of Baer), וַיִּשְׁבֶּה *yāššē* from וַיִּשְׁבֶּה, &c. The Arabic actually has a short vowel in analogous forms. In נָרַד borrowed from the Indian, as also in קָשֶׁט (qāšṭ) Pr 22<sup>21</sup>; and in אֶל־הוֹקֵה *ne addas* (for which we should expect הוֹקֵה) Pr 30<sup>6</sup> the final mute of itself attracts a slight vowel sound.

5. Rem. The proper distinction between simple *Šwā mobile* and *quiescens* depends on a correct understanding of the formation of syllables (§ 26). The beginner may observe for the present, that (1) *Šwā* is always *mobile* (a) at the beginning of a word (except in שְׁתִּים, שְׁתִּי § 97 b, note); (b) under a consonant with *Dayeš forte*, e.g. גִּיד־אֶפְחָה *gid-āphā*; (c) after another *Šwā*, e.g. יִקְטֹלוּ *yiqṭālū* (except at the end of the word, see above, i). (2) *Šwā* is *quiescens* (a) at the end of a word, even in the ׀; (b) before another *Šwā*.

### § 11. Other Signs which affect the Reading.

Very closely connected with the vowel points are the *reading-signs*, which were probably introduced at the same time. Besides the diacritical point over *š* and *š*, a point is placed *within* a consonant

<sup>1</sup> On וַיִּתְּ — as an ending of the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal of verbs לִיָּה, see § 75 m.



to show that it has a stronger sound. On the other hand a horizontal stroke (*Rāphē*) over a consonant is a sign that it has *not* the stronger sound. According to the different purposes for which it is used the point is either (1) *Dageš forte*, a sign of strengthening (§ 12); or (2) *Dageš lene*, a sign of the harder pronunciation of certain consonants (§ 13); or (3) *Mappiq*, a sign to bring out the full consonantal value of letters which otherwise serve as vowel letters (§ 7 b), especially in the case of ן at the end of the word (§ 14 a). The *Rāphē*, which excludes the insertion of any of these points, has almost entirely gone out of use in our printed texts (§ 14 e).

### § 12. *Dageš in general*,<sup>1</sup> and *Dageš forte in particular*.

Cf. Graetz, 'Die mannigfache Anwendung u. Bedeut. des Dagesch,' in *Monatsschr. f. d. Wiss. d. Judent.*, 1887, pp. 425 ff. and 473 ff.

1. *Dageš*, a point standing in the middle of a consonant,<sup>2</sup> denotes, a according to § 11, (a) the *strengthening*<sup>3</sup> of a consonant (*Dageš forte*), e.g. קִטֵּל *qittēl* (§ 20); or (b) the *harder* pronunciation of the letters קִטֵּלֵּל (Dageš lene). For a variety of the latter, now rarely used in our printed texts, see § 13 c.

The root קִטֵּל in Syriac means to *pierce through*, to *bore through* (with sharp b iron); hence the name *Dageš* is commonly explained, solely with reference to its form, by *puncture*, *point*. But the names of all similar signs are derived rather from their grammatical significance. Accordingly קִטֵּל may in the Masora have the sense: *acutere* (*literam*), i.e. to *sharpen* a letter, as well as to *harden* it, i.e. to pronounce it as hard and without aspiration. קִטֵּל *acuens* (*literam*) would then be a sign of sharpening and hardening (like מִפְּקִי *proferens*, as *signum prolationis*), for which purposes a *prick* of the pen, or *puncture*, was selected. The opposite of *Dageš* is קִטֵּל *soft*, § 14 e, and § 22 n.

2. In grammar *Dageš forte*, the *sign of strengthening*, is the more c important. It may be compared to the *sicilicus* of the Latins (*Luculus* for *Lucullus*) or to the stroke over *m̄* and *n̄*. In the unpointed text it is omitted, like the vowels and other reading signs.

For the different kinds of *Dageš forte*, see § 20.

<sup>1</sup> Oort, *Theol. Tijdschr.* 1902, p. 376, maintains that 'the Masoretes recognized no distinction between *Dageš lene* and *forte*. They used a *Dageš* where they considered that a letter had the sharp, not the soft or aspirated sound.' This may be true; but the old-established distinction between the two kinds of *Dageš* is essential for the right understanding of the grammatical forms.

<sup>2</sup> *Wāw* with *Dageš* (י) cannot in our printed texts be distinguished from a *wāw* pointed as *Šūrēq* (י); in the latter case the point should stand higher up. The י *š* is, however, easily to be recognized since it cannot take a vowel before or under it.

<sup>3</sup> Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, Lpz. 1879, pp. 44, 103, rightly insists on the expression *strengthened pronunciation* instead of the older term *doubling*, since the consonant in question is only written once. The common expression arises from the fact that in transcription a *strengthened* consonant can only be indicated by writing it as double.



§ 13. *Dageš lene*.Ginsburg, *Intro.*, p. 114 ff.: Dagesh and Raphe.

- a 1. *Dageš lene*, the sign of *hardening*, is in ordinary printed texts placed only within the  $\text{בְּגִדְּכֶם}$  letters (§ 6 n) as a sign that they should be pronounced with their original hard sound (without aspiration), e.g.  $\text{מֶלֶךְ}$  *mēlēkh*, but  $\text{מֶלֶךְ}$  *māl-kō*;  $\text{תָּפַח}$  *tāphār*, but  $\text{תָּפַח}$  *yith-pār*;  $\text{שָׂחָה}$  *šākhā*, but  $\text{שָׂחָה}$  *yis-ā*.
- b 2. The cases in which a *Dageš lene* is to be inserted are stated in § 21. It occurs almost exclusively at the beginning of words and syllables. In the middle of the word it can easily be distinguished from *Dageš forte*, since the latter always has a vowel before it, whereas *Dageš lene* never has; accordingly the *Dageš* in  $\text{אַפִּי}$  *'appi*,  $\text{רַבִּים}$  *rabbīm* must be *forte*, but in  $\text{יִגְדַל}$  *yigdal* it is *lene*.
- c A variety of the *Dageš lene* is used in many manuscripts, as well as in Baer's editions, though others (including Ginsburg in the first two cases, *Intro.*, pp. 121, 130, 603, 662) reject it together with the Hatafs discussed in § 10 g. It is inserted in consonants other than the *B'gadk'phath* to call attention expressly to the beginning of a new syllable: (a) when the same consonant precedes in close connexion, e.g.  $\text{בְּכָל־לֵב}$  *ψ 9<sup>2</sup>*, where, owing to the *Dageš*, the coalescing of the two *Lameds* is avoided; (b) in cases like  $\text{מַחֲסִי}$  *ψ 62<sup>a</sup>* = *māh-si* (not *māh<sup>a</sup>-si*); (c) according to some (including Baer; not in ed. Mant.) in  $\text{לֵא לֵא}$  in the combination  $\text{לֵא לֵא}$  Dt 32<sup>5</sup>, or  $\text{לֵא לֵא}$  Hb 1<sup>4</sup>, 2<sup>6</sup> &c. (so always also in Ginsburg's text, except in Gn 38<sup>10</sup>); see also *ψ 20 e* and *g*.—Delitzsch appropriately gives the name of *Dageš orthophonism* to this variety of *Dageš* (*Bibl. Kommentar*, 1874, on *ψ 94<sup>12</sup>*); cf. moreover Delitzsch, *Luth. Ztschr.*, 1863, p. 413; also his *Complutensische Varianten zu dem Alttest. Texte*, Lpz. 1878, p. 12.
- d 3. When *Dageš forte* is placed in a *B'gadk'phath*, the strengthening necessarily excludes its aspiration, e.g.  $\text{אַנְפִּי}$ , from  $\text{אַנְפִּי}$ .

§ 14. *Mappiq and Rāphè*.

- a 1. *Mappiq*, like *Dageš*, also a point *within* the consonant, serves in the letters  $\text{ו ו ה נ}$  as a sign that they are to be regarded as full consonants and not as vowel letters. In most editions of the text it is only used in the consonantal  $\text{ה}$  at the end of words (since  $\text{ה}$  can never be a vowel letter in the middle of a word), e.g.  $\text{גַּבְהֻחַה}$  (to be high),  $\text{אַרְצָה}$  *'arṣāh* (her land) which has a consonantal ending (shortened from *-hā*), different from  $\text{אַרְצָה}$  *'arṣā* (to the earth) which has a vowel ending.
- b Rem. 1. Without doubt such a *Hē* was distinctly aspirated like the Arabic *Hā* at the end of a syllable. There are, however, cases in which this  $\text{ה}$  has lost its consonantal character (the *Mappiq* of course disappearing too), so that it remains only as a vowel letter; cf. § 91 e on the 3rd fem. sing.
- c The name  $\text{מַפְּיָק}$  means *proferens*, i. e. a sign which brings out the sound of the letter distinctly, as a consonant. The same sign was selected for this

and for *Dageš*, since both are intended to indicate a hard, i.e. a strong, sound. Hence *Rāphè* (see e) is the opposite of both.

2. In MSS. Mappiq is also found with נ, י, י', to mark them expressly as *d* consonants, e.g. נִי (gōy), קִי (qāw, qāu), for which י is also used, as יִצְחָק, &c.

For the various statements of the Masora (where these points are treated as *Dageš*), see Ginsburg, *The Massorah*, letter נ, § 5 (also *Introd.*, pp. 557, 609, 637, 770), and 'The Dageshed Alephs in the Karlsruhe MS.' (where these points are extremely frequent), in the *Verhandlungen des Berliner Orientalisten-Kongresses*, Berlin, i. 1881, p. 136 ff. The great differences in the statements found in the Masora point to different schools, one of which appears to have intended that every audible נ should be pointed. In the printed editions the point occurs only four times with נ (נ or נ), Gn 43<sup>28</sup>, Lv 23<sup>17</sup>, Ezr 5<sup>18</sup> and Jb 33<sup>21</sup> (רָאָה; where the point can be taken only as an orthophonetic sign, not with König as *Dageš forte*). Cf. Delitzsch, *Hieb*, 2nd ed., p. 439 ff.

2. *Rāphè* (רַפֵּה i.e. weak, soft), a horizontal stroke over the letter, *c* is the opposite of both kinds of *Dageš* and *Mappiq*, but especially of *Dageš lene*. In exact manuscripts every בּוֹרֵכָה letter has either *Dageš lene* or *Rāphè*, e.g. מֶלֶךְ mēlēkh, שֶׁהָהוּא, תִּפְרֹה. In modern editions (except Ginsburg's 1st ed.) *Rāphè* is used only when the absence of a *Dageš* or *Mappiq* requires to be expressly pointed out.

### § 15. The Accents.

On the ordinary accents (see below, e), cf. W. Heidenheim, מִשְׁפָּטֵי הַטַּעֲמִים "The Laws of the Accents", Rödelheim, 1808 (a compilation from older Jewish writers on the accents, with a commentary); W. Wickes (see also below), טַעֲמֵי כ"א ספרים [The Accents of the Twenty-one Books], Oxford, 1887, an exhaustive investigation in English; J. M. Japhet, *Die Accente der hl. Schrift* (exclusive of the books אֲמֹת), ed. by Heinemann, Frankfurt a. M. 1896; Prätorius, *Die Herkunft der hebr. Accente*, Berlin, 1901, and (in answer to Gregory's criticism in the TLZ, 1901, no. 22) *Die Uebernahme der früh-mittelalt. Neumen durch die Juden*, Berlin, 1902; P. Kahle, 'Zur Gesch. der hebr. Accente,' ZDMG. 55 (1901), 167 ff. (1, on the earliest Jewish lists of accents; 2, on the mutual relation of the various systems of accentuation; on p. 179 ff. he deals with the accents of the 3rd system, see above, § 8 g, note); Margolis, art. 'Accents,' in the *Jewish Encycl.* i (1901), 149 ff.; J. Adams, *Sermons in Accents*, London, 1906.—On the accents of the Books תנ"ך (see below, h), S. Baer, תורת אמת [Accentual Laws of the Books אֲמֹת], Rödelheim, 1852, and his appendix to Delitzsch's *Psalmcommentar*, vol. ii, Lpz. 1860, and in the 5th ed., 1894 (an epitome is given in Baer-Delitzsch's *Liber Psalmorum hebr.*, Lpz. 1861, 1874, 1880); cf. also Delitzsch's most instructive 'Accentuologischer Commentar' on Psalms 1-3, in his *Psalmcommentar* of 1874, as well as the numerous contributions to the accentual criticism of the text, &c., in the editions of Baer and Delitzsch, and in the commentaries of the latter; W. Wickes, טַעֲמֵי אֲמֹת [Accents of the Poet. Books], Oxford, 1881; Mitchell, in the *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1891, p. 144 ff.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-t'amin*, p. 17 ff.

1. As Prätorius (see above) has convincingly shown, the majority of *b* the Hebrew accents, especially, according to Kahle (see above), the 'Conjunctivi', were adopted by the Jews from the neums and punctuation-marks found in Greek gospel-books, and, like these, their primary purpose was to regulate minutely the public reading of the sacred

text. The complete transformation and amplification of the system (in three different forms, see § 8 g, note), which soon caused the Jews to forget its real origin, is clearly connected with the gradual change from the speaking voice in public reading to chanting or singing. The accents then served as a kind of musical notes.<sup>1</sup> Their value as such has, however, with the exception of a few traces, become lost in transmission. On the other hand, according to their original design they have also a twofold use which is still of the greatest importance for grammar (and syntax), viz. their value (a) as *marking the tone*, (b) as *marks of punctuation* to indicate the logical (syntactical) relation of single words to their immediate surroundings, and thus to the whole sentence.<sup>2</sup>

c 2. As a mark of the tone the accent stands almost invariably (but see below, e) with the syllable which has the principal tone in the word. This is usually the ultima, less frequently the penultima. Amongst the Jewish grammarians a word which has the tone on the ultima is called *Milra'* (Aram. מִלְרָא i.e. accented below<sup>3</sup>), e.g. קָטָל *qātāl*; a word which has the tone on the penultima is *Mil'el* (Aram. מִלְעֵל, accented above), e.g. מֶלֶךְ *mēlēkh*. Besides this, in many cases a *secondary tone* is indicated in the word by *Methég* (cf. § 16). Examples such as יְהוָה נֶעְמְדָה Is 50<sup>8</sup> (cf. 40<sup>18</sup>, Ex 15<sup>3</sup>, Jb 12<sup>15</sup>, La 2<sup>15</sup>) are regarded by the Jewish grammarians as even *proparoxytone*.<sup>4</sup>

d 3. As marks of interpunctuation the accents are subdivided into those which *separate* (*Distinctivi* or *Domini*) and those which *connect* (*Conjunctivi* or *Servi*). Further a twofold system of accentuation is to be noted: (a) the common system found in twenty-one of the Books (the כ"ו i.e. twenty-one), and (b) that used in the first three Books of the *Hagiographa*, viz. Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, for which the *vox memor.* is מִצְחָה, from the initial consonants of the names, תְּהִלִּים Psalms, מִשְׁלֵי Proverbs, אִיּוֹב Job, or more correctly, according to their original sequence, מִצְחָה (תְּהִלִּים *twice*), so that מִצְחָה means the accents (sing. מִצְחָה) of these three Books. The latter system is not only richer and more complicated in itself, but also musically more significant than the ordinary accentuation.

<sup>1</sup> On the attempts of Christian scholars of the sixteenth century to express the Hebrew accents by musical notes, cf. Ortenberg, *ZDMG.* 1889, p. 534.

<sup>2</sup> At the same time it must not be forgotten that the value of the accent as a mark of punctuation is always relative; thus, e.g. *'Athnāh* as regards the logical structure of the sentence may at one time indicate a very important break (as in Gn 1<sup>4</sup>); at another, one which is almost imperceptible (as in Gn 1<sup>13</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> 'Above' in this sense means what comes before, 'below' is what comes after; cf. Bacher, *ZAW.* 1907, p. 285 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Delitzsch on Is 40<sup>18</sup>.

## I. The Common Accents.

Preliminary remark. The accents which are marked as *prepositive* stand to the right over or under the initial consonant of the word; those marked as *postpositive*, to the left over or under the last consonant. Consequently in both cases the tone-syllable must be ascertained independently of the accent (but cf. below, l).

A. DISJUNCTIVE ACCENTS (*Distinctivi* or *Domini*).<sup>1</sup>

1. (—) סִלְלָק Sillāq (*end*) always with the tone-syllable of the last word before Sôph pāsûq (:), the verse-divider, e.g. : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל.
2. (—) אֲתָנָה 'Athnāh or אֲתָנְהָתָה 'Athnāhtā (*rest*), the principal divider within the verse.
- 3 a. (—) סֶגוֹלְתָה Segôltā, *postpositive*, marks the fourth or fifth subordinate division, counting backwards from 'Athnāh (e.g. Gn 1<sup>7,28</sup>).
- 3 b. (| —) שַׁלְשֵׁלֶת Šalšelet (i.e. *chain*), as disjunctive, or Great Šalšelet, distinguished by the following stroke<sup>2</sup> from the conjunctive in the poetic accentuation, is used for

<sup>1</sup> All the disjunctives occur in Is 39<sup>2</sup>.—The earlier Jewish accentuologists already distinguish between מְלָכִים *Reges* and מְשִׁרְיָם *Serri*. The division of the disjunctive accents into Imperatores, Reges, Duces, Comites, which became common amongst Christian grammarians, originated in the *Scrutinium S. S. ex accentibus* of Sam. Bohlius, Rostock, 1636, and, as the source of manifold confusion, had better be given up. The order of the accents in respect to their disjunctive power is shown in general by the above classification, following Wickes. In respect to the height of tone (in chanting) 1, 2, 5, 4, 8, which were *low* and long sustained notes, are to be distinguished from the *high* notes (7, 3<sup>a</sup>, 6, 13, 9), and the highest (3<sup>b</sup>, 11, 12, 10); cf. Wickes, כ"ט p. 12 ff.—The name מְשִׁרְיָם (later = accents in general) was originally restricted to the disjunctives, see Kahle, l. c., p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> This stroke is commonly confused with *Paseq*, which has the same form. But Pāsēq (= *restraining, dividing*, also incorrectly called P'siq) is neither an independent accent, nor a constituent part of other accents, but is used as a mark for various purposes; see the Masoretic lists at the end of Baer's editions, and Wickes, *Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, p. 120 ff., where Pāsēq is divided into *distinctivum, emphaticum, homonymicum, and euphonicum*. The conjecture of Olshausen (*Lehrb.*, p. 86 f.), that Pāsēq served also to point out marginal glosses subsequently interpolated into the text, has been further developed by E. von Ortenberg, 'Die Bedeutung des Pāseq für Quellenscheidung in den BB. d. A. T.', in *Progr. des Domgymn. zu Verden*, 1887, and in the article, 'Pāseq u. Legarmeh,' in *ZAW.* 1887, p. 301 ff. (but see Wickes, *ibid.* 1888, p. 149 ff.; also E. König, in the *Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wiss. u. kirchl. Leben*, 1889, parts 5 and 6; Maas, in *Hebraica*, v. 121 ff., viii. 89 ff.). Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1899, p. 683 ff., pointed out that *Pāseq* (which is pre-masoretic and quite distinct from *L'garmeh*) besides being a divider (used especially for the sake of greater clearness) also served as a sign of abbreviation. For further treatment of *Pāseq* see H. Grimme, 'Pāseqstudien,' in the *Bibl. Ztschr.*, i. 337 ff., ii. 28 ff., and *Psalmenprobleme*, &c., Freiburg (Switzerland), 1902, p. 173, where it is argued that *Pāseq* indicates variants in a difficult sentence; J. Kennedy, *The Note-line in the Heb. Scriptures*, Edinb. 1903, with an index of all the occurrences of *Pāseq*, p. 117 ff. According to Kennedy the 'note-line', of which he distinguishes sixteen different kinds, is intended to draw attention to some peculiarity in the text; it existed long before the Masoretes, and was no longer understood by them. See, however, the reviews of E. König, *Theol.*

Sególtā (seven times altogether) when this would stand at the head of the sentence; cf. Gn 19<sup>16</sup>, &c.

- 4 a. (־) זָקֵף Zāqēph gādōl, and
- 4 b. (־) זָקֵף קָטָן Zāqēph qātōn. The names refer to their musical character. As a disjunctive, Little Zāqēph is by nature stronger than Great Zāqēph; but if they stand together, the one which comes first is always the stronger.
5. (־) טִפְחָא Tiphhā or טַרְחָא Tarhā, a subordinate disjunctive before Sillūq and 'Athnāh, but very often the principal disjunctive of the whole verse instead of 'Athnāh; always so when the verse consists of only two or three words (e.g. Is 2<sup>13</sup>), but also in longer verses (Gn 3<sup>21</sup>).
6. (־) רֵבְחִיָּא Rebhīā.
7. (־) זַרְקָא Zarqā, *postpositive*.
- 8 a. (־) פַּשְׁטָא Paštā, *postpositive*,<sup>1</sup> and
- 8 b. (־) יֶתִיב Yethibh, *prepositive*, and thus different from Mehup-pākh. Yethibh is used in place of Paštā when the latter would stand on a monosyllable or on a foretoned word, not preceded by a conjunctive accent.
9. (־) תֵּבְחִיר Tebhīr.
- 10 a. (־) גֵּרֶשׁ Gêreš or טֶרֶס Têres, and
- 10 b. (־) גֵּרָשִׁים Gerāšáyim<sup>2</sup> or Double Gêreš, used for Gêreš, when the tone rests on the ultima, and 'Azlā does not precede.
- 11 a. (־) פָּזֶר Pāzēr, and
- 11 b. (־) פָּזֶר גָּדוֹל Pāzēr gādōl (Great Pāzēr) or קַרְנֵי פָּרָה Qarnē phārā (cow-horns), only used 16 times, for special emphasis.
12. (־) תְּלִישָׁא גדולה Telišā gedōlā or Great Telišā, *prepositive*.
13. (־) לְגַרְמָה Legarmēh, i.e. Mūnah (see below) with a following stroke.

*Stud. u. Krit.*, 1904, p. 448 ff., G. Beer, *TLZ.* 1905, no. 3, and esp. A. Klostermann, *Theol. Lit.-blatt*, 1904, no. 13, with whom Ginsburg agrees (*Verhandlungen des Hamb. Or.-kongresses von 1902*, Leiden, 1904, p. 210 ff.) in showing that the tradition with regard to the 479 or 480 uses of *Paseq* is by no means uniform. The purpose of *Paseq* is clearly recognizable in the five old rules: as a divider between identical letters at the end and beginning of two words; between identical or very similar words; between words which are absolutely contradictory (as *God* and *evil-doer*); between words which are liable to be wrongly connected; and lastly, between heterogeneous terms, as 'Eleazar the High Priest, and Joshua'. But the assumption of a far-reaching critical importance in *Paseq* is at least doubtful.—Cf. also the important article by H. Fuchs, 'Pesiq ein Glossenzeichen,' in the *Vierteljahrsschrift f. Bibelkunde*, Aug. 1908, p. 1 ff. and p. 97 ff.

<sup>1</sup> If the word in question has the tone on the penultima, Paštā is placed over it also, e.g. חֲזַק Gn 1<sup>2</sup>; cf. below, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Wiekies requires Geršáyim (גֵּרָשִׁים).

B. CONJUNCTIVE ACCENTS (*Conjunctivi* or *Servi*).

g

14. (—) מִנָּח Mûnah.
15. (—) מְהֻפָּךְ Mehuppākh or מַהֻפָּךְ Mahpākh.
- 16 a. (—) מֵעֶרְכָּה or מְעֶרְכָּה Mērekhā, and
- 16 b. (—) מֵעֶרְכָּה כְּפֻלָּה Mērekhā khēphûlā or Double Mērekhā.
17. (—) דָּרְגָּא Dargā.
18. (—) אֶזְלָא 'Azlā, when associated with Gēreš (see above) also called Qadmā.
19. (—) תְּלִישָׁא קֶטְנָא Telīšā qeṭannā or Little Telīšā, *postpositive*.
20. (—) גַּלְגַּל Galgal or יָרַח Yerah.
- [21. (—) מְאֵיְיֵלָא Me'ayyēlā or מְאֵיְיֵלָא Māyēlā, a variety of Tiphhā, serves to mark the secondary tone in words which have Sillûq or 'Athnāh, or which are united by Maqqēph with a word so accentuated, e.g. גִּנִּיזְאֵיְיֵלָא Gn 8<sup>18</sup>.]

## II. The Accents of the Books תנ"ך.

## A. DISTINCTIVI.

h

1. (—) Sillûq (see above, I, 1).
2. (—) עֹלֶה וְיִרְדָּה 'Ôlê weyôred,<sup>1</sup> a stronger divider than
3. (—) 'Athnāh (see above, I, 2). In shorter verses 'Athnāh suffices as principal distinctive; in longer verses 'Ôlê weyôred serves as such, and is then mostly followed by 'Athnāh as the principal disjunctive of the second half of the verse.
4. (—) Rebhiā' gādôl (Great Rebhiā').
5. (—) Rebhiā' mugrāš, i.e. Rebhiā' with Gēreš on the same word.
6. (—) Great Šalsēleth (see above, I. 3 b).
7. (—) שִׁנּוֹר Šinnôr (Zarqā), as *postpositive*, is easily distinguished from שִׁנּוֹרִית Šinnôrith similarly placed, which is not an independent accent, but stands only over an open syllable before a consonant which has Mērekhā or Mahpākh.
8. (—) Rebhiā' qāṭôn (Little Rebhiā') immediately before 'Ôlê weyôred.
9. (—) דֶּהִי Dehi or Tiphhā, *prepositive*, to the right underneath the initial consonant, e.g. דֶּהִי אֵל (consequently it does not mark the tone-syllable).

<sup>1</sup> Wrongly called also Mērekhā mēhuppākh (*Mērekhā mahpakhatum*), although the accent underneath is in no way connected with Mērekhā; cf. Wickes, l.c., p. 14.



10. (ֶ) Pázēr (see above, I, 11 a).  
 11 a. (ִ) Mēhuppākh legarmēh, i.e. Mahpākh with a following stroke.  
 11 b. (ִ) 'Azlā legarmēh, i.e. 'Azlā with a following stroke.

i

## B. CONJUNCTIVE.

12. (ֶ) Mērekhā (see above, I. 16 a).  
 13. (ֶ) Mūnah (see above, I. 14).  
 14. (ֶ) מְלִי 'Illūy or Mūnah superior.  
 15. (ֶ) מְרִי Tarhā (under the tone-syllable, and thus easily distinguished from No. 9).  
 16. (ֶ) Galgal or Yerah (see above, I. 20).  
 17. (ֶ) Mēhuppākh or Mahpākh (see above, I. 15).  
 18. (ֶ) 'Azlā (see above, I. 18).  
 19. (ֶ) Šālšēleth qeṭannā (Little Šālšēleth).

The last three are distinguished from the disjunctives of the same name by the absence of the stroke.

- [20. (ֶ) Šinnōrith, see above under No. 7.]

## REMARKS ON THE ACCENTS.

I. *As Signs of the Tone.*

- k 1. As in Greek and English (cf. *elul* and *εἰλυ*, *compact* and *compact*) so also in Hebrew, words which are written with the same consonants are occasionally distinguished by the position of the tone, e.g. בָּנִי *banū* (they built), בָּנִי *banu* (in us); מָמָה *qāma* (she stood up), מָמָה *qamā* (standing up, *fem.*).  
 l 2. As a rule the accent stands on the tone-syllable, and properly on its initial consonant. In the case of prepositives and postpositives alone (see above, e) the tone-syllable must be ascertained independently of the accent. In many MSS. as well as in Baer's editions of the text, the postpositive sign in foretoned words stands also over the tone-syllable after the analogy of Paṣṣā (see above, I. 8 a, note); e.g. מְרִיִּם־בְּנֵי־גִן Gn 19<sup>d</sup>; so the prepositive sign in cases like מְרִיִּם־בְּנֵי־גִן Gn 8<sup>12</sup>.

II. *As Signs of Punctuation.*

- m 3. In respect to this use of the accents, every verse is regarded as a period which closes with Sillūq, or in the figurative language of the grammarians, as a province (*ditto*) which is governed by the great distinctive at the end. According as the verse is long or short, i.e. the province great or small, there are several subordinate *Domini* of different grades, as governors of greater and smaller divisions. When possible, the subdivisions themselves are also split up into parts according to the law of dichotomy (see Wickes, *The Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, p. 29 ff.).—When two or more equivalent accents (Zāqēph, R'bhia') occur consecutively, the accent which precedes marks a greater division than the one which follows; cf. e.g. the Zāqēph, Gn 12<sup>a</sup>.  
 n 4. In general a conjunctive (*Servus*) unites only such words as are closely connected in sense, e.g. a noun with a following genitive or a noun with an



adjective. For the closest connexion between two or more words *Maqqēph* is added (§ 16 a).

5. The consecution of the several accents (especially the correspondence of *O* disjunctives with their proper conjunctives) conforms in the most minute details to strict rules, for a further investigation of which we must refer to the above-mentioned works. Here, to avoid misunderstanding, we shall only notice further the rule that in the accentuation of the books *ר"א*, the *Rēbhī<sup>a</sup>* *mugrā* before *Silluq*, and the *D<sup>e</sup>hi* before *'Athnāh*, must be changed into conjunctives, unless at least two toneless syllables precede the principal disjunctive. For this purpose *S<sup>w</sup>ā mobile* after *Qameṣ*, *Sere*, or *Holem* (with *Metheg*) is to be regarded as forming a syllable. After *'Olā w<sup>e</sup>yōrē* the *'Athnāh* does not necessarily act as pausal (cf. Delitzsch on *ψ* 45<sup>e</sup>). The condition of our ordinary texts is corrupt, and the system of accents can only be studied in correct editions [see Wickes' two treatises].

6. A double accentuation occurs in Gn 35<sup>22</sup>, from *וַיִּשְׁכַּח* onward (where *p* the later accentuation, intended for public reading, aims at uniting vv. 22 and 23 into one, so as to pass rapidly over the unpleasant statement in v. 22); and in the Decalogue, Ex 20<sup>2</sup> *π*; Dt 5<sup>6</sup> *π*. Here also the later (mainly superlinear) accentuation which closes the first verse with *עֲבָדִים* (instead of *פָּנִי*) is adopted simply for the purposes of public reading, in order to reduce the original twelve verses (with sublinear accentuation) to ten, the number of the Commandments. Thus *עֲבָדִים* at the end of v. 2 has *Silluq* (to close the verse) in the lower accentuation, but in the upper, which unites vv. 2-6 (the actual words of God) into a single period, only *Rēbhī<sup>a</sup>*. Again *פָּנִי*, regarded as closing v. 3, is pointed *פָּנִי* (pausal *Qameṣ* with *Silluq*), but in the upper accentuation it is *פָּנִי* with *Pathah* because not in pause. (Originally there may have been a third accentuation requiring *עֲבָדִים* and *פָּנִי*, and thus representing vv. 2 and 3 as the first commandment.) Further the upper accentuation unites vv. 8-11 into one period, while in vv. 12-15 the lower accentuation combines commandments 5-8 into one verse. Cf. Geiger, *Urschrift u. Übersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 373; Japhet, *op. cit.*, p. 158, and esp. K. J. Grimm, *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circ.* xix (May, 1900), no. 145.

### § 16. Of *Maqqēph* and *Methēg*.

These are both closely connected with the accents. a

1. *Maqqēph* (*מקף* i.e. *binder*) is a small horizontal stroke between the upper part of two words which so connects them that in respect of tone and pointing they are regarded as one, and therefore have only one accent. Two, three, or even four words may be connected in this way, e.g. *כָּל-אִישׁ* every man, *אֶת-כָּל-יֶעֱרֹב* every herb, Gn 1<sup>29</sup>, *אֶת-כָּל-אֲשֶׁר-לוֹ* all that he had, Gn 25<sup>5</sup>.

Certain monosyllabic prepositions and conjunctions, such as *אֶל* to, *עַד* *b* until, *עַל* upon, *עִם* with, *אֵל* ne, *אִם* if, whether, *מִן* from, *כִּי* lest, are almost always found with a following *Maqqēph*, provided they have not become independent forms by being combined with prefixes, e.g. *מֵעַל*, *מֵעִם*, in which case *Maqqēph* as a rule does not follow. Occasionally *Maqqēph* is replaced by a conjunctive accent (see above, § 9 u, i c), as, according to the Masora, in Dt 27<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>23</sup>, Jer 25<sup>30</sup>, 29<sup>25</sup>, Ec 9<sup>4</sup> in the case of *כָּל-כֵּן*; *ψ* 47<sup>5</sup>, 60<sup>2</sup>, Pr 3<sup>12</sup> in the case of *אֶת*, the objective particle. Longer words are, however, con-

the opinion of the Jewish critics, they are to be preferred to the קָרִי, i.e. what is *written* in the text, and are actually to be read instead of it.

On this account the vowels of the marginal reading (the *Qerê*) are placed under the consonants of the text, and in order to understand both readings properly, the vowels in the text must be applied to the marginal reading, while for the reading of the text (the *Kethibh*) its own vowels are to be used. Thus in Jer 42<sup>6</sup> אָנֹכִי occurs in the text, in the margin קָרִי אָנֹכִי. Read אָנֹכִי *we* (or according to Jewish tradition אָנֹכִי) in the text, in the margin אָנֹכִי. A small circle or asterisk in the text always refers to the marginal reading.

b. 2. Words or consonants which are to be passed over in reading, and are therefore left unpointed, are called קָרִי וְלֹא קָרִי (*scriptum et non legendum*), e.g. את Jer 38<sup>16</sup>, אִם 39<sup>12</sup>, יִדְרֹךְ 51<sup>3</sup>. Conversely, words not contained in the text, but required by the Masora (as indicated by the insertion of their vowels), are called קָרִי וְלֹא קָרִי, e.g. 2 S 8<sup>a</sup>, Jer 31<sup>33</sup>. See further Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, p. 85; Dikduke ha-ʿamim, §§ 62, 64; Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, p. 49 ff.

c. 3. In the case of some very common words, which are *always* to be read otherwise than according to the *Kethibh*, it has not been considered necessary to place the *Qerê* in the margin, but its vowels are simply attached to the word in the text. This *Qerê perpetuum* occurs in the Pentateuch in הָיָה (*Qerê* הָיָה) wherever הָיָה stands for the feminine (§ 32 l), and in נָעַר (*Kethibh* נָעַר, *Qerê* נָעָרָה) always, except in Dt 22<sup>10</sup> (but the Sam. text always has הָיָה, נָעָרָה). The ordinary explanation of this supposed archaism, on the analogy of Greek *ὁ παῖς* and *ἡ παῖς*, our *child*, is inadequate, since there is no trace elsewhere of this epicene use; נָעַר for נָעָרָה is rather a survival of a system of orthography in which a final vowel was written defectively, as in קָטַלְתָּ; cf. § 2 n.—Other instances are: יִשְׁכָּר (Q. יִשְׁכָּר) Gn 30<sup>18</sup> &c., see the *Lexicon*, and Baer and Delitzsch, *Genesis*, p. 84, and below, note to § 47 b; יִרְשָׁלַם (Q. יִרְשָׁלַם), properly יִרְשָׁלַם; יְהוָה (Q. יְהוָה the Lord), or (after אֲרָנִי יְהוָה (Q. אֲלֹהִים) properly יְהוָה *Yahwe* (cf. § 102 m, and § 135 q, note); on שָׁמַי, שָׁמַי for שָׁמַי, see § 97 d, end.

d. 4. The masoretic apparatus accompanying the biblical text is divided into (a) *Masora marginalis*, consisting of (a) *Masora (marginalis) magna* on the upper and lower margins of MSS.; (β) *Masora (marginalis) parva* between and on the right and left of the columns;

---

instead of קָרִי, which was formerly common but is properly a past tense (= *lectum est*), see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 81, note.

(b) *Masora finalis* at the end of the several books, counting Samuel, Kings, Minor Prophets, Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles, each as one book. On all three varieties see especially Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 423 ff., and the appendices containing (p. 983 ff.) the masoretic treatise from the St. Petersburg MS. of A.D. 1009, and (p. 1000 ff.) specimens of the *Masora parva* and *magna* on two chapters.

In nearly all printed editions only the *Masora finalis* is found, indicating <sup>C</sup> the number of verses, the middle point of the book, &c., and a scanty selection from the *Masora parva*. The following alphabetical list of technical expressions (some of them Aramaic) and abbreviations, may suffice with the help of the lexicon to elucidate the subject. Further details will be found in the appendix to Teile's edition of the Hebrew O. T., p. 1222 ff.

אות letter. אֵלָא nisi, except. אֶמְצַע middle. אֶסֶף סוף פסוק=אס"ף in the formula בִּלְאֵסֶף אֶסֶף without 'Athnah or Soph-pasug i.e. although no 'Athnah or Soph-pasug is written.

בִּ with, before names of vowels or accents, as בִּזְמַן בִּזְמַן Qames with Zayyiqh used instead of Pathah (§ 29 f).—ב' as a numeral=two, as in ב' טעמים *two accents*, במקצת, see מְקַצֵּת. בְּנוֹסְחָא אֲחֵרִינָא=Bn" (Aramaic) in another copy; pl. בְּנוֹסְחָא אֲחֵרִינָא.—בְּנוֹסְחָא אֲחֵרִינָא=Bn" in other books. בְּתַר (Aram.) after. דְּגוּשָׁה fem. דְּגוּשָׁה marked with Dages (or Mappiq). דָּף leaf, page.

דְּגוּשָׁה fem. דְּגוּשָׁה marked with Dages (or Mappiq).

דָּף leaf, page.

הִינן except. ח' א' אֶלֶף written defectively, also wanting as 'א 'aleph is omitted.

טַעַם accent (see ב) ; טַעַם in Hiphil to chant an accent.

יְתִיר superfluous.

כָּלָל here. כָּלָל (Aram.) total, as adv. in general.

לֹא אֵיתָּ לָּהּ (Aram., from אֵיתָּ לָּהּ non est)=the form is not found elsewhere.

מְדַבֵּר accurately corrected. מְדַבֵּר full i.e. written plene. מִלְמַטָּה below=מִלְמַטָּה (§ 15 c). מִלְמַטָּה=מִלְמַטָּה (§ 15 c). מְנוּדָּרוֹת separated, the name of the strangely formed Nūns before ψ 107<sup>23</sup> π. (§ 5 n). מְקַרָּא that which is read, the name for all the O. T. scriptures. מְקַצֵּת part.

נָח fem. נָחָה quiescent, i.e. not sounded. נֶעְלָם concealed, i.e. only retained orthographically. נִקְוֶה a point. נִקְוֶה pointed.

סִמְנָא sign, esp. a mnemonic word or, frequently, sentence. סִמְנָא sign, esp. a mnemonic word or, frequently, sentence.

סִמְנָא sign, esp. a mnemonic word or, frequently, sentence.

עַמּוּד column of a page.

פֶּסֶק a masoretic verse. פֶּסֶק a space, esp. in the phrase בְּאֶמְצַע פֶּסֶק a space within a verse, e.g. Gn 35<sup>22</sup>; cf. H. Grätz, *Monatschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judentums*, 1878, p. 481 ff., and H. Strack, *ibid.* 1879, p. 26 ff.

קָרִי, see above, c. קָרִי properly קָרִי before. קְבוּצָה fem. קְבוּצָה pointed with Qames. קְרִיאָה reader of the sacred text.

רַבְּתִי, רַבְּתִי, רַבְּתִי (Aram., all fem. sing.) large.

תְּלִיָּה word (consisting of more than one letter). תְּלִיָּה suspensa (§ 5 n, note 3). תְּרִי (Aram.) two.

## CHAPTER II

### PECULIARITIES AND CHANGES OF LETTERS: THE SYLLABLE AND THE TONE

#### § 18.

THE changes which take place in the forms of the various parts of speech, depend partly on the peculiar nature of certain classes of letters and the manner in which they affect the formation of syllables, partly on certain laws of the language in regard to syllables and the tone.

#### § 19. *Changes of Consonants.*

*a* The changes which take place among consonants, owing to the formation of words, inflexion, euphony, or to influences connected with the progress of the language, are *commutation, assimilation, rejection, addition, transposition, softening.*

1. *Commutation*<sup>1</sup> may take place between consonants which are either *homorganic* or *homogeneous* (cf. § 6 *q*), e.g. עָלַם, עָלַץ, עָלָה to *exult*, לָחַץ, לָחַץ, Aram. לָחַץ to *be weary*, לָחַץ and לָחַץ to *press*, קָרַב, קָרַב to *close*, קָלַט and קָלַט to *escape*. In process of time, and partly under the influence of Aramaic, the harder and rougher sounds especially were changed into the softer, e.g. קָחַץ into קָחַץ to *laugh*, עָלַץ into עָלַץ to *reject*, and the sibilants into the corresponding mutes: ז into ד, ש into ח, צ into ט. In many cases these mutes may be regarded as a return to an earlier stage of the pronunciation.

2. The interchange of consonants, however, belongs rather to the lexicographical treatment of stems<sup>2</sup> than to grammatical inflexion. To the latter belong the interchange (*a*) of ח and ט in *Hithpa'el* (§ 54 *b*); (*b*) of ו and י in verbs *primæ* Yôd (§ 69), לָחַץ for לָחַץ, &c.

*b* 2. *Assimilation* usually takes place when one consonant which closes a syllable passes over into another beginning the next syllable, and forms with it a strengthened letter, as *illustris* for *inlustris*, *affero* for *adfero*, συλλαμβάνω for συναλμβάνω. In Hebrew this occurs,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Barth, *Etymologische Forschungen*, Lpz. 1893, p. 15 ff. ('Lautverschiebungen').

<sup>2</sup> See in the *Lexicon*, the preliminary remarks on the several consonants.

(a) most frequently with מ, e.g. מִשָּׁם (for *min-šām*) from there, מִזֶּה (for *min-zē*) from this, יָתַן (for *yintēn*) he gives. מ is not assimilated after the prefix ל, e.g. לִיָּהּ, nor as a rule before gutturals (except sometimes before ה), nor when it is the third consonant of the stem, e.g. מִשְׁכָּנִי (cf. however מִתְּחִלָּה for *nāthlāntā*) except when another Nun follows, cf. § 44 o; nor in some isolated cases, as Dt 33<sup>9</sup>, Is 29<sup>1</sup>, 58<sup>3</sup>, all in the principal pause; on הִנֵּדָה and הִנֵּדָה ψ 68<sup>8</sup>, see § 51 k, and § 66 f.

(b) Less frequently and only in special cases with ל, ה, ד, e.g. יָקַח d (for *yilqaḥ*) he takes; קִדְּבָר for *mithdabbēr*; יִתְחַמֵּם for *yithḥammā*; תִּתְחַנֵּן for *tithḥōnēn*; תִּתְחַנֵּם for *tithḥōnēm*; אֶחָד for *'ahadt*; but in 1 S 4<sup>19</sup> for לָכֵת read probably לָלֶחֶת.

(c) In isolated cases with ה, ו, י, e.g. אֶחָד *prithēe*! if from אֶחָד; ו and י mostly before sibilants in the verbal forms enumerated in § 71.

In all these cases, instead of the assimilated letter, a *Dageš forte* *f* appears in the following consonant. *Dageš*, however, is omitted when the strengthened consonant would stand at the end of a word, since the strengthening would then be less audible (§ 20 l), e.g. נֶסֶם *nose* (from *'anp*), תַּתּ to give (from *tint*).

The cases are less frequent where a weak letter is lost in pronunciation,<sup>1</sup> and in place of it the preceding stronger sound is sharpened, i.e. takes *Dageš*, e.g. קָטַלְתָּהוּ from קָטַלְתָּהוּ (§ 59 o). אֶסְלַק for אֶסְלַק (§ 66 c) is an Aramaism.

3. Complete *rejection* takes place only in the case of weaker consonants, especially the sonants מ and ל, the gutturals א and ה, and the two half vowels ו and י. Such rejection takes place,

(a) at the beginning of a word (*aphaeresis*), when these weak consonants (א, י, ל, מ) are not supported by a full vowel, but have only *Šewā*, e.g. נָהֵג *we*, also אֶנְהֵג; וְדַע for וְדַע; קַח for לָקַח; נִישׁ for נִישׁ, הִי for הִי Ez 2<sup>10</sup>.

Aphaeresis of a weak consonant with a full vowel is supposed to occur in יָרַד Ju 19<sup>11</sup> for יָרַד; in תָּתַח 2 S 22<sup>41</sup> for נָתַח; in שׁוּב for יְשׁוּב Je 42<sup>10</sup>; on קַח Ez 17<sup>5</sup> for לָקַח, and on קַח Ho 11<sup>3</sup> for לָקַח, see § 66 g, end. In reality, however, all these forms are to be regarded merely as old textual errors.

(b) In the middle of a word (*syncope*), when *Šewā* precedes the weak consonant<sup>2</sup>; thus in the case of א (see further § 23 b-f, and

<sup>1</sup> Such a suppression of a letter is sometimes inaccurately called 'backward assimilation'.

<sup>2</sup> Syncope of a strong consonant (ע) occurs in בִּי *prithēe*! if this stands for בִּי (see *Lexicon*), also in וְנִשְׁקָה Am 8<sup>8</sup>, וְנִשְׁקָה for וְנִשְׁקָה (cf. וְנִשְׁקָה, § 5), and

§ 68 b-h), e.g. in כוּם for כוּמ. As a rule in such cases, however, the ך is orthographically retained, e.g. לְקָרָאָה for לְקָרָאָה. Syncope occurs frequently in the case of ה, e.g. לְמַלְךָ for לְמַלְכָּה (§ 23 k and § 35 n), יִקְטִיל for יִקְטִיל ( § 53 a).

Syncope of ך with Šewā occurs in such cases as בְּאֲדָנִי for בְּאֲדָנִי (cf. § 102 m); וְאֶעֱשֶׂה Zc 11<sup>5</sup>.<sup>1</sup> On the cases in which ך is wholly omitted after the article, see § 35 d.

Finally, the elision of ו and י in verbs ל'ה ( § 75 h) is an instance of syncope.—On the syncope of ה between two vowels, see § 23 k.

(c) At the end of a word (*apocope*), e.g. גִּלְהָה pr. name of a city (cf. גִּלְוִי Gilonite); וִירָא, where ך though really rejected is orthographically retained, &c. On the apocope of ו and י in verbs ל'ה, see § 24 g, and § 75 a.

Bolder changes (especially by violent apocope), took place in earlier periods of the language, notably the weakening of the feminine ending ן—*āth* to ן—*a*, see § 44 a, and § 80 f.

m 4. To avoid harshness in pronunciation a helping sound, Aleph prosthetic<sup>2</sup> with its vowel, is prefixed to some words, e.g. אֶרֶץ and אֶרֶץ *arm* (cf. χθῆς, ἔχθῆς; *spiritus*, French *esprit*).—A prosthetic ע occurs probably in עֶקְרָב *scorpion*; cf. Arab. 'usfār bird (stem *šafara*).

n 5. *Transposition*<sup>3</sup> occurs only seldom in the grammar, e.g. הִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה ( § 54 b) for the sake of euphony; it is more frequent in the lexicon (שֶׁבֶט and שֶׁבֶט *lamb*, שִׁמְלָה and שִׁמְלָה *garment*), but is mostly confined to sibilants and sonants.

o 6. *Softening* occurs e.g. in בֹּקֶב *star*, from *kaukabh*=*kawkabh* for *kubhkabh* (cf. Syriac *raurab*=*rabrab*); כּוֹמָחוֹת *phylacteries* for *taph-tāphōth*; according to the common opinion, also in אִישׁ *man* from *'inš*, cf. however § 96.

## § 20. *The Strengthening (Sharpening) of Consonants.*

a 1. The strengthening of a consonant, indicated by *Dageš forte*, is necessary and essential (*Dageš necessarium*)

(a) when the same consonant would be written twice in succession

in בָּלָה Jos 19<sup>8</sup> for בָּלָה (as in 15<sup>20</sup>). Probably, however, בָּלָה and וְנִשְׁקָה are only clerical errors, as is undoubtedly כָּאֵר Am 8<sup>8</sup> for כָּאֵר (9<sup>8</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> Frensdorff, *Ochla W'ochla*, p. 97 f., gives a list of forty-eight words with quiescent ך.

<sup>2</sup> This awkward term is at any rate as suitable as the name *Alef protheticum* proposed by Nestle, *Marginalien u. Materialien*, Tübingen, 1893, p. 67 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Barth, *Etymologische Studien*, Lpz. 1893, p. 1 ff.; Königsberger, in *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1894, p. 451 ff.



without an intermediate vowel or *Šewā mobile*; thus we have נָחַנְנִי for נָחַן נָחַנְנִי *nāthān-nū* and שָׁחַחַי for שָׁחַחַי.

(b) in cases of assimilation (§ 19 b-f), e.g. יִנְתֵּן for *yintēn*.

In both these cases the *Dageš* is called *compensativum*.

(c) When it is characteristic of a grammatical form, e.g. לָמַד *he has learned*, לָמַד *he has taught* (*Dageš characteristicum*). In a wider sense this includes the cases in which a consonant is sharpened by *Dageš forte*, to preserve a preceding short vowel (which in an open syllable would have to be lengthened by § 26 e), e.g. גְּמָלִים *camels* for *gēmālīm*; cf. § 93 ee and kk, § 93 pp.

This coalescing of two consonants as indicated above does not take place when the first has a vowel or *Šewā mobile*. In the latter case, according to the correct Masora, a compound *Šewā* should be used, preceded by *Methēg*, e.g. הַגְּמָלִים, קָלָלַת, &c. (cf. § 16). This pointing is not used before the suffix הַ, e.g. הַגְּמָלִים Gn 27<sup>4</sup>, but the first כ has a vocal *Šewā*, otherwise the second כ would have *Dageš lene*. Also when the former of the two consonants has been already strengthened by *Dageš forte*, it can only have a vocal *Šewā*, and any further contraction is therefore impossible. This applies also to cases where *Dageš forte* has been omitted (see below, m), e.g. הַלֵּל properly הַלֵּל = *hal-lā*. The form הַלֵּלִי ψ 9<sup>14</sup> (not הַלֵּלִי) might be explained as imperat. Pī'el = הַלֵּלִי; if it were imperat. Qal the non-contraction of the monosyllabic root would be as strange as it is in שָׁחַחַי Jer 49<sup>28</sup>, and in the imperf. יִשְׁחַחַי Jer 5<sup>6</sup>.

2. A consonant is sometimes strengthened merely for the sake of *euphony* (*Dageš euphonicum*), and the strengthening is then not so essential. This occurs<sup>1</sup>—

(a) when two words are closely united in pronunciation by *Dageš forte conjunctivum*: (1) in the first letter of a monosyllable or of a word having the tone (or occasionally the counter-tone) on the first syllable,<sup>2</sup> when closely connected with the preceding word, if that word ends in a tone-bearing *Qameṣ* (חֶ-ֿ) with *Šewā mobile* preceding, or a tone-bearing חֶ-ֿ, —called יִדְחִיק (i. e. *compressed*) by the Jewish grammarians.

The term monosyllable here and in f (by § 28 e) includes Segholates like פָּסַח, שָׁחַח, &c., as well as forms like פָּרִי, שָׂאֵל, שָׁמֹ, and even בָּנִי.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Baer, 'De primarum vocabulorum literarum dagessatione,' in his *Liber Proverbiorum*, Lpz. 1880, pp. vii-xv; F. Prätorius, 'Über den Ursprung des Dag. f. conjunctivum,' in *ZAW.* 1883, p. 17 ff. (ascribed to an original assimilation of ח or כ).

<sup>2</sup> לֵאמֹר alone, although having the tone on the ultima, invariably takes the *Dageš forte conj.* when כוֹשֶׁה with a conjunctive accent precedes, Ex 6<sup>2,29</sup>, 15<sup>24</sup>, &c.



Some limit the use of the *Dageš* to the closest connexion of a monosyllable with a following *Begadkephath*. However, it also applies to cases like לְכֹהֵנִים Nu 22<sup>6</sup>; לִקְהֹלֹת Gn 22<sup>23</sup>; וַיִּצְחָקֵהוּ ψ 91<sup>11</sup>; and even with *Reš*, מַעֲבֵרֶהָ Pr 15<sup>1</sup>; וַיִּשְׁעֶה־בָּם Gn 43<sup>15</sup>. In all these examples the tone, were it not for the *Maqqēph*, would be on the ultima of the first word.

d Rem. 1. When הָ this, has *Maqqēph* after it, a *Dageš forte conj.* always follows, even if the next word is neither a monosyllable nor has the tone on the initial syllable; thus not only in וְהָשְׁמֹנוּ Jer 23<sup>6</sup>, but also in וְהָרַבְרָה Nu 13<sup>27</sup>, 1 Ch 21<sup>1</sup>. In הָהֵם Gn 19<sup>2</sup> (where *Maqqēph* is represented by a conjunctive accent, § 9 u, 1 c, and § 16 b), the *Seghol* coincides with the secondary tone-syllable. On the origin of *Dag. f. conj.* after מָה (for מַה) *what?*, see § 37 b, c.

e 2. Such cases as נָאָה Ex 15<sup>1,21</sup>, the 2nd בְּמִכָּה in ver. 11, וְנָאָה ver. 13, בְּנָאָה ver. 16, do not belong here. In these the *Dageš* can only be intended for *Dag. lenē*, see § 21 d.

f (2) In the first letter of a monosyllable, or of a word with the tone on the first syllable after a closely connected *mil'el* ending in הָ or הֶ. Such a *mil'el* is called by the Jewish grammarians מְרַחֵק אֲחֵי מְרַחֵק (Aram.=Heb. אֲחֵי מְרַחֵק) *veniens e longinquo* (in respect of the tone). The attraction of the following tone-syllable by *Dageš forte conj.* is here also due to the exigencies of rhythm, e.g. שְׁבִיתָ שְׁבִי ψ 68<sup>19</sup>; הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא ψ 118<sup>25</sup> (so ed. Mant., but Ginsburg and Kittel הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא); אֲרִיצָה בָנֵעַן Is 5<sup>14</sup>; אֲרִיצָה Gn 11<sup>21</sup>. The *Mil'el* may, however, also be due to a subsequent retraction of the tone (*nāsōg'ahōr*, § 29 e), as in עֲשֵׂה פָרִי Gn 1<sup>11</sup>.—The prefixes כִּי, כִּי, לִי, and וְ alone do not take a *Dageš* in this case, except in לָךְ, always, and לְלִילָה ψ 19<sup>3</sup>. Such forms as הִשְׁבַּעָה לִי Gn 21<sup>23</sup>, מָלְאָה שְׁחָר ψ 26<sup>10</sup>, רָחֲקָה מִנִּי Jb 21<sup>16</sup>, and even יָחַר יַעֲקֹב־הָ Is 50<sup>8</sup> (i. e. the cases where the tone is thrown back from the ultima on to the syllable which otherwise would have *Metheg*), are likewise regarded as *mil'el*. On the other hand, e.g. לָךְ Gn 4<sup>6</sup>, not לָךְ since the first *ā* of לָךְ could not have *Metheg*. When words are closely united by *Maqqēph* the same rules apply as above, except that in the first word *Metheg*, in the secondary tone, takes the place of the accent, cf. עֲשֵׂה־פָרִי Gn 1<sup>12</sup>; הִנֵּידָהָ Gn 32<sup>20</sup>, &c. Finally, the *Dageš* is used when the attracted word does not begin with the principal tone, but with a syllable having *Metheg*, יִירָשֻׁהָ Gn 37<sup>9</sup>; יִעֲלֶבְהָ Is 44<sup>21</sup>; עֲשִׂיתָ קַעֲרָתִי Ex 25<sup>29</sup>, provided that the second word does not begin with a *Begadkephath* letter (hence e.g. אָלָה תִּלְוֶהָ Gn 2<sup>4</sup>).

g Rem. Such cases as בָּנֵךְ Dt 32<sup>6</sup>, and בְּשִׁיתָ 32<sup>15</sup>, and בָּעִוָה (so Baer, but not ed. Mant., &c.) 1 S 1<sup>13</sup> are therefore anomalous; also, because beginning with

a B<sup>e</sup>gadh<sup>e</sup>phath, בָּאֵלִים Ex 15<sup>11</sup> (cf. however above, e); בְּיָרֵד Jos 8<sup>28</sup>; בְּיָרֵד ψ 77<sup>16</sup>; בְּיָרֵד Jb 5<sup>27</sup>.—It is doubtful whether we should include here those cases in which *Dageš forte* occurs after a word ending in a toneless *ā*, such as אָזַי Gn 19<sup>14</sup>, Ex 12<sup>31</sup>; Ex 12<sup>15</sup> (אָזַי), Dt 24<sup>4</sup>; also אָזַי Gn 19<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 8<sup>19</sup>; לוֹ Ju 18<sup>19</sup>, Est 6<sup>18</sup> (where P. Haupt regards the *Dageš* as due to the enclitic character of the לוֹ) מָעַט Ho 8<sup>10</sup>; מָעַט Jer 49<sup>30</sup>; מָעַט 1 S 15<sup>6</sup>. When we explained the *Dageš* in these examples not as conjunctive, but orthophonic (see above, § 13 c, and Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 4th ed. on ψ 94<sup>12</sup> a), we especially had in view those cases in which the consonant with *Dageš* has a *S<sup>e</sup>wa*. The extension of the use of *Dageš* to consonants with a strong vowel, seems, however, to indicate that these are cases of the מְרַחֵק אֲתֵי, which was required by some Masoretes but not consistently inserted. On the other hand, the *Dageš forte* in ' after a preceding *i* (ψ 118<sup>5,18</sup>), and even after *ā* (ψ 94<sup>12</sup>), is due to an attempt to preserve its consonantal power; see König, *Lehrgeb.*, p. 54 b.

(b) When a consonant with *S<sup>e</sup>wa* is strengthened by *Dageš forte h dirimens* to make the *S<sup>e</sup>wa* more audible. In almost all cases the strengthening or sharpening can be easily explained from the character of the particular consonant, which is almost always a sonant, sibilant, or the emphatic *Qoph*; cf. עָנִי Lv 25<sup>5</sup>, Dt 32<sup>32</sup> (for עָנִי); בְּיָרֵד Is 33<sup>1</sup> (where, however, בְּיָרֵד is to be read); cf. Na 3<sup>17</sup>, Jb 9<sup>18</sup>, 17<sup>2</sup>, Jo 1<sup>17</sup> (with מ); Is 57<sup>6</sup> (with ל); Ju 20<sup>32</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>6</sup> (with ר); Gn 49<sup>10,17</sup> (and so always in עָנִי Ju 5<sup>22</sup>, Ct 1<sup>8</sup> and עָנִי ψ 77<sup>20</sup>, 89<sup>52</sup>); Ex 15<sup>17</sup>, Dt 23<sup>11</sup>, Ju 20<sup>32</sup>, 1 S 28<sup>10</sup> (ק)<sup>2</sup>; Ex 2<sup>3</sup>, Is 58<sup>3</sup>, Am 5<sup>21</sup>, ψ 141<sup>3</sup>, Pr 4<sup>13</sup> (y); Pr 27<sup>25</sup> (ש); Is 5<sup>26</sup>, ψ 37<sup>15</sup>, Jer 51<sup>56</sup>, Neh 4<sup>7</sup> (ש). Also, with ב Ho 3<sup>2</sup>; with ב Is 9<sup>3</sup>, Jer 4<sup>7</sup>; with ת 1 S 10<sup>11</sup>. In many instances of this kind the influence of the following consonant is also observable.

(c) When a vowel is to be made specially emphatic, generally in <sup>2</sup> the principal pause, by a *Dageš forte affectuosum* in the following consonant. Thus in a following sonant, Ju 5<sup>7</sup> (חָרָלָה), Jb 29<sup>21</sup> (יָחִי), 22<sup>12</sup> (רָפוּ); Ez 27<sup>19</sup> (in נ); in ת Is 33<sup>12</sup>, 41<sup>17</sup>, Jer 51<sup>58</sup>, perhaps also Jb 21<sup>13</sup> (יָחִי).

(d) When the sonants ל, מ, נ are strengthened by *Dageš forte firmativum* in the pronouns הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה, הֵאֱלָהּ, and in לָמָּה why? cf. also בִּמָּה, בִּמָּה whereby? בִּמָּה how much? (§ 102 k, l), to give greater firmness to the preceding tone-vowel.

3. Omission of the strengthening, or at least the loss of the *Dageš forte* occurs,

(a) almost always at the end of a word, since here a strengthened

<sup>1</sup> The ordinary reading הִרְרִיפוּ, where ר is without *Dageš*, is only intelligible if the ר has *Dageš*.

<sup>2</sup> Also in ψ 45<sup>10</sup> read בִּיקְרִיתִיךָ with Baer and Ginsburg, following Ben Asher, and in Pr 30<sup>17</sup> לִיקְרִיתָ (Ben Naphthali בִּיקְרִיתָ and לִיקְרִיתָ).

consonant cannot easily be sounded.<sup>1</sup> In such cases the preceding vowel is frequently lengthened (§ 27 d), e. g. רַב *multitude*, from רבב; עַם *people*, with a distinctive accent or after the article, עַם, from עמם; but e. g. גַּן *garden*, בַּת *daughter*, with the final consonant virtually sharpened. On the exceptions תָּה *thou* (fem.) and תָּתָה *thou* (fem.) *hast given* Ez 16<sup>23</sup>, see § 10 k.

m (b) Very frequently in certain consonants with *Šewā mobile*, since the absence of a strong vowel causes the strengthening to be less noticeable. This occurs principally in the case of ו and י (on ו and י after the article, see § 35 b; on ו after מַה, § 37 b); and in the sonants מ, נ and ל; also in the sibilants, especially when a guttural follows (but note Is 62<sup>9</sup>, מַאֲסָפִי, as ed. Mant. and Ginsb. correctly read, while Baer has מַאֲסִי with compensatory lengthening, and others even מַאֲסִי Gn 27<sup>28,39</sup>; מַשְׁלֵשׁ 38<sup>24</sup> for מַשֵּׁשׁ 1 K 7<sup>23</sup>; מַשְׁקָה 1 K 19<sup>20</sup> from מַשְׁקִים Ez 40<sup>43</sup> and מַשְׁפָּטִים ψ 104<sup>18</sup>; מַשְׁתִּים Jon 4<sup>11</sup>, הַצְפִּירָעִים Ex 8<sup>1</sup> &c.) ;—and finally in the emphatic p.<sup>3</sup>

Of the *Begadkephath* letters, ב occurs without *Dageš* in מְבַצֵּר Ju 8<sup>2</sup>; ג in מְבַנְיָרָם Ez 32<sup>30</sup>; ד in נְדָחִי Is 11<sup>12</sup> 56<sup>8</sup>, ψ 147<sup>2</sup> (not in Jer 49<sup>50</sup>), supposing that it is the Participle Niph'al of נָדַח; lastly, ח in מְחַצֵּחַ Is 22<sup>10</sup>. Examples, וְיָהִי, עֲוִירִים (so always the preformative ו in the imperf. of verbs), מְלַמֵּעַל, לְמַנְעָה, הִנְנִי, הִלְלוּ, מְלֹא, בְּסֹא, יִשְׂאוּ, יִקְחוּ, יִקְחוּ, מְקַצֵּחַ, &c. In correct MSS. the omission of the *Dageš* is indicated by the *Rāphē* stroke (§ 14) over the consonant. However, in these cases, we must assume at least a *virtual* strengthening of the consonant (*Dageš forte implicitum*, see § 22 c, end).

(c) In the Gutturals, see § 22 b.

n Rem. 1. Contrary to rule the strengthening is omitted (especially in the later Books), owing to the lengthening of the preceding short vowel, generally *hireq* (cf. *mīle* for *mille*), e. g. יִהְיֶה לָהֶם אֵימָה he makes them afraid, for יִהְיֶה לָהֶם Hb 2<sup>17</sup> (where, however, it is perhaps more correct to suppose, with König, a formation on the analogy of verbs וְיִהְיֶה, and moreover to read יִהְיֶה לָהֶם with the LXX), וְיִקָּח Is 50<sup>11</sup> for וְיִקָּח.

O 2. Very doubtful are the instances in which compensation for the strengthening is supposed to be made by the insertion of a following ך. Thus for

<sup>1</sup> So in Latin *fel* (for *fell*), gen. *fellis*; *mel*, *mellis*; *os*, *ossis*. In Middle High German the doubling of consonants never takes place at the end of a word, but only in the middle (as in Old High German), e. g. *val* (*Fall*), gen. *valles*; *swam* (*Schwamm*), &c., Grimm, *Deutsche Gramm.*, 2nd ed., i. 383.

<sup>2</sup> *Dageš forte* is almost always omitted in ך when it is the prefix of the participle Pi'el or Pu'al, hence ψ 104<sup>3</sup> הַמְקִירָה who layeth the beams, but הַמְקִירָה the roof Ec 10<sup>18</sup> (cf. הַמְלֵאכָה the work, &c.).

<sup>3</sup> According to some also in מ in הַמְעִי Is 17<sup>10</sup>; but see Baer on the passage.

מַעֲזִיָּה Is 23<sup>11</sup>, read מַעֲזִיָּה (or מַעֲזִיָּה); and for תָּכֵנוּ La 3<sup>22</sup>, read תָּכֵנוּ. In Nu 23<sup>13</sup> כָּכֵנוּ is not an instance of compensation (see § 67 a, end).

### § 21. *The Aspiration of the Tenues.*<sup>1</sup>

The *harder* sound of the six *B<sup>g</sup>adk<sup>e</sup>phath* letters, indicated by *a* *Dageš lene*, is to be regarded, according to the general analogy of languages, as their older and original pronunciation, from which the softer sound was weakened (§ 6 n and § 13). The original hard sound is maintained when the letter is initial, and after a consonant, but when it immediately follows a vowel or *Šwā mobile* it is softened and aspirated by their influence, e.g. פָּרַץ *pāraš*, יִפְרֹץ *yiphrōš*, כֹּל *kōl*, לָכֹל *lakhōl*. Hence the *B<sup>g</sup>adk<sup>e</sup>phath* take *Dageš lene*

(1) at the beginning of words: (a) without exception when the *b* preceding word ends with a vowelless consonant, e.g. עֲלֵכֶן *‘al-kēn* (therefore), פֵּרִי עֵץ *‘ēš pērī* (fruit-tree); (b) at the beginning of a section, e.g. בְּרֵאשִׁית Gn 1<sup>1</sup>, or at the beginning of a sentence, or even of a minor division of a sentence after a distinctive accent (§ 15 d), although the preceding word may end with a vowel. The distinctive accent in such a case prevents the vowel from influencing the following tenuis, e.g. וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר וַיְהִי *and it was so, that when*, Ju 11<sup>5</sup> (but וַיְהִי Gn 1<sup>7</sup>).

Rom. 1. The vowel letters ה, ו, י, א, as such, naturally do not close a *C* syllable. In close connexion they are therefore followed by the aspirated *B<sup>g</sup>adk<sup>e</sup>phath*, e.g. וַיִּמְצָא בָהֶם, &c. On the other hand, syllables are closed by the consonantal ו and י (except כִּרְתֹּחוּ Is 34<sup>11</sup>; שָׁעֲלוּ Ez 23<sup>42</sup>; אֲרֵי בָם ψ 68<sup>18</sup>), and by ה with *Mappiq*; hence e.g. there is *Dageš lene* in עָלֵי פִתְּחָם and always after הִזְוֶה, since the *Qerā perpetuum* of this word (§ 17) assumes the reading אֲרֵי.

2. In a number of cases *Dageš lene* is inserted, although a vowel precedes in close connexion. This almost always occurs with the prefixes בּ and פּ in the combinations בֶּב, פֶּב, בֶּפ, (i.e. when a *B<sup>g</sup>adk<sup>e</sup>phath* with *Šwā* precedes the same or a kindred aspirate) and בִּב (see Baer, *L. Psalmorum*, 1880, p. 92,<sup>2</sup> on ψ 23<sup>3</sup>); cf. e.g. 1 S 25<sup>1</sup>, Is 10<sup>2</sup>, ψ 34<sup>2</sup>, Jb 19<sup>2</sup>; כֵּן is uncertain; כֶּר, כִּר, and כֶּב according to David Qimḥi do not take *Dageš*, nor כֵּנ, כֶּב, and כֶּפ according to the *Dikduke ha-‘amim*, p. 30. Sometimes the *B<sup>g</sup>adk<sup>e</sup>phath* letters, even with a full vowel, take *Dageš* before a spirant (and even before ה in בְּחִמְצָה 1 K 12<sup>32</sup>); cf. the instances mentioned above, § 20 e (mostly *tenuis* before ה). In all these cases the object is to prevent too great an accumulation of aspirates. The LXX, on the other hand, almost always represent the ב and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delitzsch, *Ztschr. f. luth. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1878, p. 585 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Also *L. Proverbiorum*, 1880, Praef. p. ix; and *Dikduke ha-‘amim*, p. 30 (in German in König's *Lehrgeb.*, i. p. 62).

## 76 Peculiarities and Changes of Letters [§§ 21 e, f, 22 a-c

ð, even at the beginning of a syllable, by χ and φ; Χερούβ, Χαλδαῖαι, Φαράρ, &c.—The forms כְּרֹכַר (after וְשִׁמְתִּי) Is 54<sup>11</sup>, and כְּרֹכַל (after וְנִלְאִיתִי) Jer 20<sup>9</sup> are doubly anomalous.

e (2) In the middle of words after *Šwā quiescens*, i.e. at the beginning of a syllable immediately after a vowelless consonant,<sup>1</sup> e.g. יִרְפָּא *yirpā* (he heals), יֵהָרְגוּ *ye have killed*; but after *Šwā mobile*, e.g. רַפָּה *rphā* (heal thou), שָׁבִי *she was heavy*.

f On קָטַלְתָּ and similar forms, see § 10 i.

Whether *Šwā* be vocal and consequently causes the aspiration of a following *tenuis*, depends upon the origin of the particular form. It is almost always vocal

(a) When it has arisen from the weakening of a strong vowel, e.g. רָפִי *rpī* pursue ye (not רָפִי) from רָפֵה; מַלְכִי (not מַלְכִי), because originally *mālākhē*, but מַלְכִי from the ground-form *mark*.

(b) With the ך of the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd pers. הָ, ךָּ, כָּ, since *Šwā mobile* is characteristic of these forms (see § 58 f; § 91 b).

Rem. Forms like שְׁלַחְתְּ *thou* (fem.) *hast sent*, in which we should expect an aspirated ך after the vowel, cf. יָחַדְתָּ Ex 16<sup>9</sup>, have arisen from שְׁלַחְתָּ, &c.; Pathah being here simply a helping vowel has no influence on the *tenuis*; cf. § 28 e.

## § 22. Peculiarities of the Gutturals.

a The four gutturals ה, ח, ע, א, in consequence of their peculiar pronunciation, have special characteristics, but א, as the weakest of these sounds, and sometimes also ע (which elsewhere as one of the harder gutturals is the opposite of א), differ in several respects from the stronger ח and ה.

b 1. They do not admit of *Dages forte*, since, in consequence of a gradual weakening of the pronunciation (see below, note 1), the strengthening of the gutturals was hardly audible to the Masoretes. But a distinction must be drawn between (a) the complete omission of the strengthening, and (b) the mere *echo* of it, commonly called *half doubling*, but better, *virtual strengthening*.

c In the former case, the short vowel before the guttural would stand in an open syllable, and must accordingly be lengthened or modified.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The exceptions יִקְרָא Jos 15<sup>38</sup> (see *Minhat shay*, on this passage), 2 K 14<sup>7</sup>, and יִקְרָע Jos 15<sup>59</sup> may perhaps be due to the character of the p.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *terra* and the French *terre*, the German *Rolle* and the French *rôle*; German *drollig* and French *drôle*. The omission of the strengthening shows a deterioration of the language. Arabic still admits of the strengthening of gutturals in all cases.

For a distinction must again be drawn between the full lengthening of *Pathah* into *Qames*—mostly before א (always under the ה of the article, see § 35), as a rule also before ו, less frequently before ה, and least often before ח—and the modification of *Pathah* to *Sghöl*, mostly before a guttural with *Qames*. In the other case (*virtual* strengthening) the *Dageš* is still omitted, but the strengthening is nevertheless regarded as having taken place, and the preceding vowel therefore remains short. This *virtual* strengthening occurs most frequently with ח, usually with ה, less frequently with ו, and very seldom with א. Examples of (a) מֵאֵן, הָאֵר, הָעֵץ, הָהָר, יִחְבֵּא (for *yihhābhē'*); also אֶהְיֶה, הָהָרִים, הָהָרִים, הָהָרִים (see more fully on the pointing of the article before ו in § 35).—Of (b) הִתְחַלֵּץ (from *minhāl*), הָהָר, הָהָר, &c.—In all these cases of virtual strengthening the *Dageš forte* is to be regarded at least as implied (hence called *Dageš forte implicitum, occultum, or delitescens*).

2. They prefer before them, and sometimes after them (cf. *h*), *d* a short A-sound, because this vowel is organically the nearest akin to the gutturals. Hence

(a) before a guttural, *Pathah* readily (and always before ה, ח, ו, closing a syllable) takes the place of another short vowel or of a rhythmically long *e* or *o*, e.g. זָבַח *sacrifice*, not *zēbēh*; נִשְׁמַע *report*, not *šēmē'*. This is more especially so when *a* was the original vowel of the form, or is otherwise admissible. Thus in the Imperat. and Imperf. Qal of guttural verbs, שֶׁלַח *send thou*, יִשְׁלַח *he will send* (not *yishlōh*); Perf. Piel שִׁלַּח (but in Pausa שִׁלַּח); יִחְמַד *he will desire* (not *yihmōd*); וַיֵּנַח *and he rested* (not *wayyānōh*); נָעַר *a youth*. In שֶׁלַח and יִחְמַד *a* is the original vowel.

Rem. In such cases as דִּשְׁנָא, טָנָא, פָּלָא, פָּרָא, the א has no consonantal *c* value, and is only retained orthographically (see § 23 a).

(b) After a heterogeneous long vowel, i.e. after all except *Qames*, *f* the hard gutturals<sup>1</sup> (consequently not א), when standing at the end of the word, require the insertion of a rapidly uttered *a* (*Pathah furtivum*) between themselves and the vowel. This *Pathah* is placed under the guttural, but sounded *before* it. It is thus merely an orthographic indication not to neglect the guttural sound in pronunciation, e.g. רִיחַ *riḥ*, נוֹעַ, רָע, הַשְׁלִיחַ, גְּבוּהָ (when consonantal ה is

<sup>1</sup> Prätorius, *Ueber den rückweich. Accent im Hebr.*, Halle, 1897, p. 17, &c., remarks that *Pathah furtivum* has not arisen merely under the influence of the guttural, but is due to a duplication of the accented syllable, so that e.g. יָשִׁיב, יָצַד would also be pronounced *yasiḥh*, *yasūḥh* although the short intermediate vowel was not so noticeable as before a guttural.



final it necessarily takes Mappiq), but e.g. רִיחִי, &c., since here the rapidly uttered *ā* is no longer heard.

g *I<sup>ch</sup>* for *ich*, &c., in some Swiss dialects of German, is analogous; a *furtive Pathah* is here involuntarily intruded before the deep guttural sound. In Arabic the same may be heard in such words as *mesiah*, although it is not expressed in writing. The LXX (and Jerome, cf. *ZAW.* iv. 79) write ε, sometimes α, instead of *furtive Pathah*, e.g. נָח Nāe, יִרְעֵ יִרְעוּ *Teēdoūa* (also *Iaddōū*).

h Rem. 1. The guttural may also have an influence upon the following vowel, especially in Segholate forms, e.g. נָעַר (not *na'ēr*) a youth, פָּעַל (not *pō'el*) deed. The only exceptions are אָהֵל, בָּהֵן, לָחֵם, לָחֵם.

i 2. Where in the present form of the language an *i*, whether original or attenuated from *Pathah*, would stand before or after a guttural in the first syllable of a word, a *S<sup>ghol</sup>* as being between *ā* and *i* is frequently used instead, e.g. יִחַבֵּשׁ (also יִחַבֵּשׁ), יִחַבֵּשׁ, יִחַבֵּשׁ, &c.

k On the other hand, the slighter and sharper *Hireq* is retained even under gutturals when the following consonant is sharpened by *Dageš forte*, e.g. הִלַּל, הִלַּל, הִלַּל; but when this sharpening is removed, *S<sup>ghol</sup>* is again apt to appear, e.g. הִלֵּל constr. הִלֵּל, הִלֵּל constr. הִלֵּל.

l 3. Instead of simple *S<sup>wa</sup> mobile*, the gutturals take without exception a compound *S<sup>wa</sup>*, e.g. שָׁחַט, שָׁחַט, &c.

m 4. When a guttural with *quiescent S<sup>wa</sup>* happens to close a syllable in the middle of a word, the strongly closed syllable (with *quiescent S<sup>wa</sup>*) may remain; necessarily so with ח, ע, and ה at the end of the tone-syllable, e.g. שָׁחַט, שָׁחַט, but also before the tone (see examples under i), even with נ.

But in the syllable before the tone and further back, the closed syllable is generally opened artificially by a *Hateph* (as being suited to the guttural) taking the place of the *quiescent S<sup>wa</sup>*, and in particular that *Hateph* which repeats the sound of the preceding vowel, e.g. יִחַשֵׁב (also יִחַשֵׁב); יִחַשֵׁב (also יִחַשֵׁב); פָּעַל (for *pō'el*). But when, owing to a flexional change, the strong vowel following the *Hateph* is weakened into *S<sup>wa</sup> mobile*, then instead of the *Hateph* its full vowel is written, e.g. יִעֲמֹד (from יִעֲמֹד), נִעֲמֹד (from נִעֲמֹד). The original forms, according to § 28 c, were *ya'mēdhā*, *ne'mā*, *pō'ekhā*. Hence יִעֲמֹד, &c., are really only different orthographic forms of יִעֲמֹד, &c., and would be better transcribed by *ya'mēdhā*, &c.

n Rem. 1. On the use of simple or compound *S<sup>wa</sup>* in guttural verbs, see further §§ 62-65.

o 2. Respecting the choice between the three *Hatephs*, it may be remarked: (a) ח, ה, ע at the beginning of a syllable prefer *—*, but נ prefers *—*, e.g. חָמַר *ass*, חָמַר *to kill*, חָמַר *to say*; when farther from the tone syllable, however, the *—* even under נ changes into the lighter *—*, e.g. חָמַר (poetic for חָמַר) *to*, but חָמַר *to you*, חָמַר *to eat*, but חָמַר (toneless on account

of Maqqēph). Cf. § 27 *w*. The 1st pers. sing. imperf. Pi'el regularly has  $\text{אֶנִּי}$ . Likewise  $\text{אֶנִּי}$  is naturally found under  $\aleph$  in cases where the *Haṭeph* arises from a weakening of an original  $\tilde{a}$  (e.g.  $\text{אֶרֶץ}$  lion, ground-form 'ary), and  $\text{אֶנִּי}$  if there be a weakening of an original  $u$  (e.g.  $\text{אֶנִּי}$  a fleet,  $\text{אֶנִּי}$  affliction, cf. § 93 g, z).

(b) In the middle of a word after a long vowel, a *Haṭeph-Pataḥ* takes the place of a simple *Ṣeud mobile*, e.g.  $\text{הַעֲלֵה}$  (see § 63 p); but if a short vowel precedes, the choice of the *Haṭeph* is generally regulated by it, e.g. *Perf. Hiph.*  $\text{הַעֲמִיד}$  (see above, i), *Infinitive*  $\text{הַעֲמִיד}$  (regular form  $\text{הַעֲמִיל}$ ); *Perf. Hoph.*  $\text{הַעֲמִיד}$  (regular form  $\text{הַעֲמִיל}$ ); but cf.  $\text{הַעֲמִיד}$  Jb 6<sup>22</sup> (§ 64 a).

5. The  $\aleph$ , which in sound approximates to the gutturals (§ 6 c), *q* shares with the gutturals proper their first, and to a certain extent their second, peculiarity, viz.

(a) The exclusion of the strengthening, instead of which the preceding vowel is almost always lengthened, e.g.  $\text{בֵּרַךְ}$  he has blessed for *birraḥh*,  $\text{בָּרַךְ}$  to bless for *barrēkh*.

(b) The preference for  $\tilde{a}$  as a preceding vowel, e.g.  $\text{וַיֵּרָא}$  and he saw  $\gamma$  (from  $\text{וַיֵּרָא}$ );  $\text{וַיִּסָּב}$  both for  $\text{וַיִּסָּב}$  and he turned back, and for  $\text{וַיִּסָּב}$  and he caused to turn back.

The exceptions to *a* are  $\text{מָרַת}$  *mōrrāth*, Pr 14<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{כָּרַת}$  *khōrrāth* and  $\text{שָׁרַת}$  *šōrrēth*, S Ez 16<sup>4</sup> (cf. Pr 3<sup>8</sup>);  $\text{שָׂרַשׁ}$  Ct 5<sup>2</sup>;  $\text{הַרְעֵמָה}$  1 S 16<sup>1</sup>;  $\text{הַרְאִיתָם}$  1 S 10<sup>24</sup>, 17<sup>25</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>32</sup>;  $\text{וַיְהִי־יָפוּהוּ}$  Ju 20<sup>48</sup> (cf. § 20 h);  $\text{וַיְהִי־יָפוּהוּ}$  1 S 23<sup>28</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>16</sup>; also on account of  $\text{רוּחִי}$  (§ 20 c) Jer 22<sup>22</sup>, Pr 15<sup>1</sup>, 20<sup>22</sup>, 2 Ch 26<sup>10</sup>; and on account of  $\text{מָרַת}$  (§ 20 f) 1 S 15<sup>8</sup>, Jer 39<sup>12</sup>, Hb 3<sup>13</sup>, Pr 11<sup>21</sup>, Jb 39<sup>9</sup>, Ez 9<sup>6</sup>. A kind of virtual strengthening (after  $\text{מָרַת}$  for  $\text{מָרַת}$ ) is found in  $\text{מָרַת}$  Is 14<sup>3</sup>. In Samaritan and Arabic this strengthening has been retained throughout, and the LXX write e.g.  $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\phi\alpha$  for  $\text{שָׁרַת}$ .

### § 23. *The Feebleness of the Gutturals* $\aleph$ and $\eta$ .

1. The  $\aleph$ , a light and scarcely audible guttural breathing, as a rule *a* entirely loses its slight consonantal power whenever it stands without a vowel at the end of a syllable. It then remains (like the German *h* in *roh, geh, nahte*) merely as a sign of the preceding long vowel, e.g.  $\text{מָצָא}$ ,  $\text{מָצָא}$ ,  $\text{הוֹצִיא}$  (but when a syllable is added with an introductory vowel, according to *b* below, we have, e.g.  $\text{הוֹצִיאִי}$ ,  $\text{מָצָאִי}$ , since the  $\aleph$  then stands at the beginning of the syllable, not  $\text{מָצָאִי}$ ,  $\text{הוֹצִיאִי}$ ),  $\text{מָצָא}$ ,  $\text{מָצָא}$  (cf., however, § 74 a),  $\text{מָצָא}$  (for *māsa'tā*),  $\text{מָצָא}$ . Similarly in cases like  $\text{מָצָא}$ ,  $\text{וַיֵּרָא}$ ,  $\text{שָׁוָא}$ , &c. (§ 19 l), and even in  $\text{מָצָא}$ ,  $\text{מָצָא}$  (see above, § 22 e), the  $\aleph$  only retains an orthographic significance.

2. On the other hand,  $\aleph$  is in general retained as a strong consonant whenever it begins a syllable, e.g.  $\text{מָצָא}$ ,  $\text{מָצָא}$ , or when it is protected by a *Haṭeph* after a short syllable, e.g.  $\text{מָצָא}$ , and finally,

when it stands in a closed syllable with quiescent *Šwā* after a preceding *Sghōl* or *Pathah*, e.g. נִדְדָר, וְנִדְדָר *nū'dār*, יִדְמֹו *ya'dimū*. Even in such cases the consonantal power of *Ṣ* may be entirely lost, viz.

c (a) when it would stand with a long vowel in the middle of a word after *Šwā mobile*. The long vowel is then occasionally thrown back into the place of the *Šwā*, and the *Ṣ* is only retained orthographically, as an indication of the etymology, e.g. ראשׁים *heads* (for *r<sup>o</sup>āšīm*); שְׁמֹנֶה *two hundred* (for *m<sup>o</sup>āthāyim*), Ez 25<sup>6</sup> for שְׁמֹנֶה Neh 6<sup>8</sup> for שְׁמֹנֶה Jb 31<sup>7</sup>, Dn 1<sup>4</sup> for שְׁמֹנֶה Is 10<sup>33</sup>; שְׁמֹנֶה חֲמִישִׁים *hōfīm*, 1 S 14<sup>33</sup> for שְׁמֹנֶה (cf. § 74 *h*, and § 75 *oo*); חֲמִישִׁים Nu 34<sup>14</sup>, from חֲמִישִׁים; so always חֲמִישִׁים or חֲמִישִׁים 1 K 14<sup>16</sup>, Mi 1<sup>5</sup>, &c., for חֲמִישִׁים. Sometimes a still more violent suppression of the *Ṣ* occurs at the beginning of a syllable, which then causes a further change in the preceding syllable, e.g. מְלָאכָה *work* for מְלָאכָה (as in the Babylonian punctuation), יְשָׁמְעָאֵל for יְשָׁמְעָאֵל; יְשָׁמְעָאֵל *the left hand*, ground form *sim'al*.

d (b) When it originally closed a syllable. In these cases *Ṣ* is generally (by § 22 *m*) pronounced with a *Hateph*, *—* or *—*. The preceding short vowel is, however, sometimes lengthened and retains the following *Ṣ* only orthographically, e.g. וְנִדְדָר Nu 11<sup>25</sup> for וְנִדְדָר (cf. Ju 9<sup>41</sup>), and פְּאָרָר Jo 2<sup>6</sup> for פְּאָרָר; לְאָמָר for לְאָמָר; לְאָמָר for לְאָמָר; but the contraction does not take place in לְאָמָר Is 10<sup>11</sup>. The short vowel is retained, although the consonantal power of *Ṣ* is entirely lost, in וְנִדְדָר, &c. (see § 102 *m*), וְנִדְדָר Is 41<sup>23</sup>, וְנִדְדָר Ez 28<sup>16</sup> for וְנִדְדָר; cf. Dt 24<sup>10</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>39</sup>, Is 10<sup>13</sup>.

e Instead of this *Ṣ* which has lost its consonantal value, one of the vowel letters *ḥ* and *ḥ* is often written according to the nature of the sound, the former with *ḥ* and the latter with *ḥ* and *ḥ*, e.g. בּוּפָלֹס *buffalo* for בּוּפָלֹס. At the end of the word *ḥ* also is written for *Ṣ*, יְמִלָּה *he fills* for יְמִלָּה Jb 32<sup>1</sup> (see below, *h*).

f 3. When *Ṣ* is only preserved orthographically or as an indication of the etymology (quiescent), it is sometimes entirely dropped (cf. § 19 *k*), e.g. יְצָאֵת Jb 1<sup>21</sup> for יְצָאֵת; קָלָתִי Jb 32<sup>18</sup> for קָלָתִי Nu 11<sup>11</sup>; וְנִדְדָר 2 S 20<sup>6</sup>; וְנִדְדָר Jer 8<sup>11</sup> for וְנִדְדָר; וְנִדְדָר 2 S 22<sup>40</sup>, but וְנִדְדָר ψ 18<sup>40</sup>; וְנִדְדָר Gn 25<sup>24</sup> for וְנִדְדָר; וְנִדְדָר 31<sup>39</sup> for וְנִדְדָר; וְנִדְדָר 1 S 17<sup>17</sup> for וְנִדְדָר; וְנִדְדָר 1 Ch 11<sup>30</sup> for וְנִדְדָר; וְנִדְדָר 2 K 19<sup>33</sup> for וְנִדְדָר; and so 2 S 33<sup>37</sup>; וְנִדְדָר 1 Ch 12<sup>38</sup> for וְנִדְדָר; וְנִדְדָר Jb 29<sup>6</sup> for וְנִדְדָר. In מְלָאכָה (cf. Is 37<sup>36</sup>); וְנִדְדָר.

<sup>1</sup> In Jer 22<sup>28</sup>, נְחֻמָּה is unquestionably a corruption of נְחֻמָּה for נְחֻמָּה.

1 K 5<sup>25</sup> (for "מַצֵּחַ") the strengthening of the following consonant by Dages compensates for the loss of the א; in מִסְכָּרֶת Ez 20<sup>37</sup>, if for "מַצֵּחַ" (but read מַסְכָּר with Cornill), the preceding vowel is lengthened; cf. above, c. On אַמֵּר for אִמֵּר, see § 68 g.

Rem. 1. In Aramaic the א is much weaker and more liable to change than g in Hebrew. In literary Arabic, on the other hand, it is almost always a firm consonant. According to Arabic orthography, א serves also to indicate a long a, whereas in Hebrew it very rarely occurs as a mere vowel letter after Qames; as in קָאם Ho 10<sup>14</sup> for קָם *he rose up*; שָׂא Pr 10<sup>4</sup>, 13<sup>23</sup> for שָׂא *poor*; but in 2 S 11<sup>1</sup> the *Kethib* הַמְּלָאכִים *the messengers*, is the true reading; cf. § 7 b.

2. In some cases at the beginning of a word, the א, instead of a compound *h* Šewā, takes the corresponding full vowel, e.g. אָוֹר *girdle* for אֲוֹר; cf. § 84 a, g, and the analogous cases in § 52 n, § 63 p, § 76 d, § 93 r (אֲהָלִים).

3. An א is sometimes added at the end of the word to a final ā, i, or ō, e.g. אֵלֶּה for הֵלֶכֶּה Jo 10<sup>24</sup> (before א!), אֵבֶר Is 28<sup>12</sup>. These examples, however, are not so much instances of 'Arabic orthography', as early scribal errors, as in יֵשׁוּעָה Je 10<sup>5</sup> for יֵשׁוּעָה; and in נִשְׁוֹא ψ 139<sup>20</sup> for נִשְׁוֹא. Cf. also אֵהָא Ec 11<sup>3</sup> (§ 75 s); אֵקִיָּה for אֵקִי *pure*; אֵלֵּה for אֵל *if*; אֵפֹא for אֵפֹא *then* (enclitic); אֵבֹא for אֵבֹא *myriad*, Neh 7<sup>62, 72</sup>. On אֵהָא and אֵהָא see § 32 k.

4. The ה is stronger and firmer than the א, and never loses its *h* consonantal sound (i.e. *quiesces*) in the middle of a word<sup>1</sup> except in the cases noted below, in which it is completely elided by syncope. On the other hand, at the end of a word it is always a mere vowel letter, unless expressly marked by *Maqqaf* as a strong consonant (§ 14 a). Yet at times the consonantal sound of ה at the end of a word is lost, and its place is taken by a simple ה or more correctly *h*, with *Rāphē* as an indication of its non-consonantal character, e.g. לָהָה *to her* for לָהָה, Ze 5<sup>11</sup>, &c. (cf. § 103 g, and §§ 58 g, 91 e); cf. also יָהָה for יָהָה (from יָהָה) in proper names like יִרְמְיָהּ, &c.—Finally, in very many cases a complete elision of the consonantal ה takes place by *syncope*: (a) when its vowel is thrown back to the place of a preceding *Šewā* *mobile* (see above, c, with א), e.g. לָהָהָה for לָהָהָה (the ה of the article being syncope as it almost always is); פִּיָּהָה for פִּיָּהָה [but see § 35 n], בִּשְׁמֵהָה for בִּשְׁמֵהָה; יִהְיֶהָה for יִהְיֶהָה; perhaps also בִּנְיָהָה for בִּנְיָהָה Ez 27<sup>32</sup>. (b) By contraction of the vowels preceding and following the ה, e.g. סִסָּה (also written סִסָּה) from *sāsahu* (a + u = ō).—A violent suppression of ה together with its vowel occurs in בָּהָה (from בָּהָה), &c.

<sup>1</sup> Only apparent exceptions are such *proper names* as עֵשָׂהָהָה, which are compounded of two words and hence are sometimes even divided. Cf. forms like הָהָהָה for הָהָהָה. Another exception is יִהְיֶהָה, the reading of many MSS. for the artificially divided form יִהְיֶהָה in the printed texts, Je 46<sup>20</sup>.

l Rem. In connexion with *o* and *e*, a *h* which only marks the vowel ending is occasionally changed into *l* or *ʾ* (חָלָה=חָלִי, חָכָה=חָכִי Ho 6<sup>9</sup>), and with any vowel into *h* in the later or Aramaic orthography, but especially with *a*, e. g. חָלָה *sleep*, ψ 127<sup>2</sup> for חָלִי; חָכָה Jer 23<sup>39</sup> for חָכִי, &c. Thus it is evident that final *h* as a vowel letter has only an orthographical importance.

#### § 24. *Changes of the Weak Letters l and ʾ.*

Philippi, *Die Aussprache der semit. Konsonanten l und ʾ* (mentioned above, § 5 b, note 1), a thorough investigation of their phonetic value as consonantal, i. e. non-syllabic, vowel-sounds, not palatal or labial friatives; cf. also E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i, 15.

a *l* and *ʾ* are, as consonants, so weak, and approach so nearly to the corresponding vowels *u* and *i*, that under certain conditions they very readily merge into them. This fact is especially important in the formation of those weak stems, in which a *l* or *ʾ* occurs as one of the three radical consonants (§ 69 ff., § 85. § 93).

1. The cases in which *l* and *ʾ* lose their consonantal power, i. e. merge into a vowel, belong almost exclusively to the middle and end of words; at the beginning they remain as consonants.<sup>1</sup>

The instances may be classified under two heads:

b (a) When either *l* or *ʾ* with quiescent *šewā* stands at the end of a syllable immediately after a homogeneous vowel (*u* or *i*). It then merges in the homogeneous vowel, or more accurately it assumes its vowel-character (*l* as *u*, *ʾ* as *i*), and is then contracted with the preceding vowel into one vowel, necessarily long, but is mostly retained orthographically as a (quiescent) vowel letter. Thus חָלָה for *hucšab*; חָכָה for *ziygaš*; so also at the end of the word, e. g. עֲבָרִי a Hebrew, properly *ʾibrī*, fem. עֲבָרִיָּה, pl. עֲבָרִים (and עֲבָרִים); עֲשֹׂה Jb 41<sup>25</sup> for *ʾešū* (cf. עֲשֹׂהוּ 1 S 25<sup>13</sup> *Kethib*). On the other hand, if the preceding vowel be heterogeneous, *l* and *ʾ* are retained as full consonants (on the pronunciation see § 8 m), e. g. שָׁלֵו quiet, חֹמֶץ the month of May, גִּלְיָ nation, גִּלְיָ revealed. But with a preceding *a* the *l* and *ʾ* are mostly contracted into *o* and *e* (see below, f), and at the end of a word they are sometimes rejected (see below, g).

Complete syncope of *l* before *i* occurs in אִי island for אִלִּי; רִי ruins for רִלִּי; רִי watering Jb 37<sup>11</sup> for רִלִּי; [רִי burning Is 34<sup>24</sup> for רִלִּי, cf. §§ 84<sup>a</sup> c, e, 93 y].

<sup>1</sup> Or as consonantal vowels (see above), and are then transcribed by P. Haupt, Philippi, and others, as *u*, *i*, following the practice of Indogermanic philologists. *l* for *ʾ* and, alone is a standing exception, see § 26. i and § 104 c. On *ʾ*=*i* at the beginning of a word, cf. § 47 b, note. According to § 19 a, end, initial *ʾ* in Hebrew almost always becomes *i*; always in verbs originally חָלָה, § 69 a. Apart from a few proper names, initial *l* occurs only in חֹמֶץ hook, חֹמֶץ child Gn 11<sup>30</sup>, 2 S 6<sup>23</sup> *Kethib* [elsewhere חֹמֶץ], and the doubtful חֹמֶץ Pr 21<sup>8</sup>.

Thus an initial י after the prefixes בּ, ל, מ, נ, which would then be pronounced with *š* (see § 28 a), and also almost always after מ (see § 102 b), coalesces with the *š* to *š*, e.g. בְּיְהוּדָה in *Judah* (for בְּיָ), וְיְהוּדָה and *Judah*, בְּיֶאֱרַ as *the Nile*, לְיְהוּדָה for *Judah*, מִיְדֵי from *the hands of*.

(b) When ו and י without a vowel would stand at the end of the word after *quiescent Šwad*, they are either wholly rejected and only orthographically replaced by ה (e.g. בִּכְהָ from *bikhy*, as well as the regularly formed בָּכִי *weeping*; cf. § 93 x) or become again vowel letters. In the latter case י becomes a homogeneous *Hireq*, and also attracts to itself the tone, whilst the preceding vowel becomes *Šwad* (e.g. פָּרִי from *piry*, properly *pariy*); ו is changed sometimes into a toneless *u* (e.g. תֹּהוּ from *tuhw*).

Rem. In Syriac, where the weak letters more readily become vowel sounds, *u* a simple *i* may stand even at the beginning of words instead of י or ו. The LXX also, in accordance with this, write 'Ioudā for יְהוּדָה, 'Ioudās for יְהוּדָא. Hence may be explained the Syriac usage in Hebrew of drawing back the vowel *i* to the preceding consonant, which properly had a simple vocal *Šwad*. e.g. (according to the reading of Ben-Naphtali <sup>1</sup>) וְיִלְלֶת Jer 25<sup>30</sup> for וְיִלְלֶת (so Baer), בְּיִתְרוֹן Ec 2<sup>13</sup> for בְּיִתְרוֹן, cf. also the examples in § 20 h, note 2; even וְיִחַלְּךָ Jb 29<sup>21</sup> (in some editions) for וְיִחַלְּךָ. According to Qimhi (see § 47 b) אֶקְבֹּל was pronounced as *iqfāl*, and therefore the 1st pers. was pointed אֶקְבֹּל to avoid confusion. In fact the Babylonian punctuation always has *i* for *ā* in the 1st pers.

2. With regard to the choice of the long vowel, in which ו and י *f* quiesce after such vocalization and contraction, the following rules may be laid down:

(a) With a short *homogeneous* vowel ו and י are contracted into the corresponding long vowel (*ā* or *ē*), see above, b.

(b) With short *ā* they form the diphthongs *ō* and *ē* according to § 7 a, e.g. מִיֹּשִׁיב from מִיֹּשִׁיב; יוֹשִׁיב from יוֹשִׁיב, &c.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. The rejection of the half vowels ו and י (see above, b) occurs especially *g* at the end of words after a heterogeneous vowel (*ā*), if according to the nature of the form the contraction appears impossible. So especially in

<sup>1</sup> According to Abulwalid, Ben-Naphtali regarded the *Yodh* in all such cases as a vowel letter.

<sup>2</sup> Instances in which no contraction takes place after *ā* are, מִיֹּשִׁיבִים Ch 12<sup>2</sup>; אִיִּסְרָם Ho 7<sup>12</sup> (but cf. § 50 b); הַיִּשְׂרָאֵלִי ψ 5<sup>9</sup> *Q're*; the locatives בְּיִתְהָ, מִצְרַיִם, &c.—On the suffix יִבְיָ for יִבְיָ see § 91 l.—Sometimes both forms are found, as עוֹלָה and עוֹלָה; cf. חַי living, constr. state חַי. Analogous is the contraction of מוֹת (ground-form *maut*) death, constr. מוֹת; עַיִן (ground-form *'ayn* ['ain]) eye, constr. עַיִן.



verbs  $\text{הָלַךְ}$ , e.g. originally  $\text{הָלַי} = (\text{הָלַי})$ , since  $\text{ā}$  after the rejection of the  $\text{י}$  stands in an open syllable, and consequently must be lengthened to  $\text{ā}$ . The  $\text{ה}$  is simply an orthographic sign of the long vowel. So also  $\text{שָׁלַח}$  for  $\text{šālah}$ .<sup>1</sup> On the origin of  $\text{הָלַךְ}$ , see § 75 e; on  $\text{הָלַךְ}$  as perf. and part. of  $\text{הָלַח}$ , see § 72 b and g; on  $\text{הָלַךְ}$ , &c., from  $\text{וָלַךְ}$ , see § 69 b.—On the weakening of  $\text{י}$  and  $\text{י}$  to  $\text{ס}$ , see § 93 x.

### § 25. Unchangeable Vowels.

a What vowels in Hebrew are unchangeable, i.e. are not liable to attenuation (to  $\text{šewā}$ ), modification, lengthening, or shortening, can be known with certainty only from the nature of the grammatical forms, and in some cases by comparison with Arabic (cf. § 1 m). This holds good especially of the *essentially* long vowels, i.e. those long by *nature* or *contraction*, as distinguished from those which are only lengthened *rhythmically*, i.e. on account of the special laws which in Hebrew regulate the tone and the formation of syllables. The latter, when a change takes place in the position of the tone or in the division of syllables, readily become short again, or are reduced to a mere *vocal šewā*.

b 1. The essentially long and consequently, as a rule (but cf. § 26 p, § 27 n, o), unchangeable vowels of the *second* and *third* class,  $\text{ē}$ ,  $\text{ē}$ ,  $\text{ā}$ ,  $\text{ō}$ , can often be recognized by means of the vowel letters which accompany them ( $\text{אֵ}$ ,  $\text{אִ}$ ,  $\text{אָ}$ ,  $\text{אֻ}$ ); e.g.  $\text{יַיְטִיב}$  *he does well*,  $\text{הַיְכָל}$  *palace*,  $\text{גְּבוּל}$  *boundary*,  $\text{קוֹל}$  *voice*. The *defective* writing (§ 8 i) is indeed common enough, e.g.  $\text{יִיטֵב}$  and  $\text{יִיטִיב}$  for  $\text{יַיְטִיב}$ ;  $\text{גָּבֵל}$  for  $\text{גְּבוּל}$ ;  $\text{קָל}$  for  $\text{קוֹל}$ , but this is merely an orthographic licence and has no influence on the quantity of the vowel; the  $\text{ē}$  in  $\text{גָּבֵל}$  is just as necessarily long, as in  $\text{גְּבוּל}$ .

As an exception, a merely tone-long vowel of both these classes is sometimes written *fully*, e.g.  $\text{יִקְטֹל}$  for  $\text{יִקְטָל}$ .

c 2. The essentially or naturally long  $\text{ā}$  (*Qames impure*),<sup>2</sup> unless it has become  $\text{ō}$  (cf. § 9 q), has as a rule in Hebrew no representative among the consonants, while in Arabic it is regularly indicated by  $\text{ā}$ ; on the few instances of this kind in Hebrew, cf. § 9 b, § 23 g. The naturally long  $\text{ā}$  and the merely tone-long  $\text{ā}$  therefore can only be distinguished by an accurate knowledge of the forms.

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic, in such cases, often writes etymologically  $\text{הָלַי}$ , but pronounces *galā*. So the LXX  $\text{סִינַי}$   $\text{Sīnā}$ , Vulg. *Sina*; cf. Nestle, ZAW. 1905, p. 362 f. But even in Arabic  $\text{שָׁלַח}$  is written for  $\text{שָׁלַי}$  and pronounced *salā*.

<sup>2</sup> By *vocales impuras* the older grammarians meant vowels properly followed by a vowel letter. Thus  $\text{פָּתַח}$   $\text{pāthāh}$  was regarded as merely by a licence for  $\text{פָּתַח}$ , &c.

3. Short vowels in closed syllables (§ 26 b), which are not final, are *d* as a rule unchangeable, e. g. מַלְבוּשׁ *garment*, מִדְבָּר *wilderness*, מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*; similarly, short vowels in sharpened syllables, i. e. before *Dageš forte*, e. g. גַּנָּב *thief*.

4. Finally, those long vowels are unchangeable which, owing to the omission of the strengthening in a guttural or ר, have arisen by lengthening from the corresponding short vowels, and now stand in an open syllable, e. g. מֵן for *mēn*; בִּרָךְ for *burrah*.

### § 26. Syllable-formation<sup>1</sup> and its Influence on the Quantity of Vowels.

Apart from the unchangeable vowels (§ 25), the use of short or long *a* vowels, i. e. their lengthening, shortening, or change into vocal *Šewa*, depends on the *theory of syllable-formation*. The initial and final syllables especially require consideration.

1. The *initial* syllable. A syllable regularly begins with a consonant, or, in the case of initial ו and י (cf. note on § 5 b), a consonantal vowel.<sup>2</sup> The copula is a standing exception to this rule. According to the Tiberian pronunciation ו and is resolved into the corresponding vowel ו before *Šewa*, and the labials, e. g. וְדָבַר, וְשָׁלָח; the Babylonian punctuation in the latter cases writes ו, i. e. ו before a full vowel.

2. The *final* syllable. A syllable may end—

(a) With a vowel, and is then called an *open* or *simple* syllable, e. g. in קָטַל where the first and last are open. See below, e.

(b) With *one* consonant, and is then called a *simple closed* or *compound* syllable, as the second in קָטַל, לָכֵן. See below, o, p. Such are also the syllables ending in a strengthened consonant, as the first in קָטַל *qat-tēl*. See below, q.

(c) With *two* consonants, a *doubly closed* syllable, as קָטַל *qoṣṭ*, קָטַל. Cf. below, r, and § 10 i-l.

3. *Open* or *simple* syllables have a long vowel, whether they have *e* the tone as in הָיָה *in thee*, הֵיבָה *he goes*, or are toneless as in קָטַל, עֵבֶר *a bunch of grapes*.<sup>3</sup> A long vowel (*Qameṣ*, less frequently *Šere*) is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. H. Toy, 'The Syllable in Hebrew,' *Amer. Journal of Philol.*, 1884, p. 494 ff.; H. Strack, 'The Syllables in the Hebrew Language,' *Hebraica*, Oct. 1884, p. 73 ff.

<sup>2</sup> We are not taking account here of the few cases in which initial *Yodh* is represented as simple *i*, by being written י or י, see § 24 e, and especially § 47 b, note; nor of certain other cases in which י with an initial vowel has only a graphic purpose, though it is indispensable in an unpointed text.

<sup>3</sup> In opposition to this fundamental law in Hebrew (a long vowel in an *open* syllable), the original short vowel is found always in Arabic, and sometimes

especially common in an open syllable before the tone (pretonic vowel),  
e. g. *לֵבָב*, *קָמַל*, *יָקִים*, *לָהֶם*!

Short vowels in open syllables occur:

f (a) In apparently dissyllabic words formed by means of a helping vowel from monosyllables, as *נָחַל* *brook*, *בֵּית* *house*, *יָרֵב* *let him increase*, from *nah̄l*, *bayt*, *yirb*; cf. also *בִּלְעָד* the ending of the dual (§ 88). But see § 28 c.

g (b) In the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing. (*נִי* *me*), e. g. *קָמַלְנִי* (Arab. *qatallāni*). The uncommon form *נִי*, however (Gn 3c<sup>6</sup>, cf. § 59f), proves that the tone-bearing *Pathah* produces a sharpening of the following sonant, and thus virtually stands in a closed syllable, even when the *Nun* is not expressly written with *Dageš*. In cases like *נִי* (§ 102, end) *Pathah* is retained in the counter-tone after the *N* has become quiescent.

h (c) Sometimes before the toneless *ה* *local* (§ 90 c), e. g. *מִדְבָּרָה* *towards the wilderness*; only, however, in the constr. state (1 K 19<sup>11</sup>), since the toneless suffix *ה* does not affect the character of the form (especially when rapidly pronounced in close connexion); otherwise it is *מִדְבָּרָה*.

In all these cases the short vowel is also supported by the tone, either the principal tone of the word, or (as in *h*) by the secondary tone in the constr. st., or by the counter-tone with *Metheg*, as in *נִי* above, *g*; cf. the effect of the *arsis* on the short vowel in classical prosody.

i (d) In the combinations *נָעַר* *his boy*, *יָאֵסַר* *he will bind*, *נָעַל* *his deed*. In all these cases the syllable was at first really closed, and it was only when the guttural took a *Haṭeph* that it became in consequence open (but cf. e. g. *יָאֵסַר* and *יָאֵסַר*). The same vowel sequence arises wherever a preposition *בְּ*, *כִּי*, *לְ*, or *וְ* copulative is prefixed to an initial syllable which has a *Haṭeph*, since the former then takes the vowel

in the other Semitic languages, except of course in the case of *naturally* long vowels. The above examples are pronounced in Arabic *bikā*, *qatillā*, *ināb*. Although it is certain therefore that in Hebrew also, at an earlier period, short vowels were pronounced in open syllables, it may still be doubted whether the present pronunciation is due *merely* to an artificial practice followed in the solemn recitation of the O.T. text. On this hypothesis we should have still to explain, e. g. the undoubtedly very old lengthening of *i* and *u* in an open syllable into *ī* and *ū*.

<sup>1</sup> That these pretonic vowels are really *long* is shown by Brockelmann, *Z A.* xiv. 343 f., from the transcription of Hebrew proper names in the Nestorian (Syriac) punctuation, and e. g. from the Arabic *Ibrāhīm* = *אִבְרָהִים*. He regards their lengthening in the syllable before the tone as a means adopted by the Masoretes to preserve the pronunciation of the traditional vowels. This explanation of the pretonic vowels as due to a precaution against their disappearing, is certainly right; as to whether the precaution can be ascribed to the Masoretes, see the previous note. For the pretonic vowel the Arabic regularly has a short vowel (*kāh̄m*, *yāqūm*, &c.), the Aramaic simply a vocal *Šēwā* (*לָהֶם*, *יָקִים*, *קָמַל*, *לֵבָב*); and even in Hebrew, when the tone is thrown forward the pretonic vowel almost always becomes *Šēwā*, see § 27. It would, however, be incorrect to assume from this that the pretonic vowel has taken the place of *Šēwā* only on account of the following tone-syllable. It always arises from an original short vowel, since such a vowel is mostly lengthened in an open syllable before the tone, but when the tone is moved forward it becomes *Šēwā*.

contained in the *Ha'eph* (see § 102 d and § 104 d). To the same category belong also the cases where these prepositions with Hireq stand before a consonant with simple Šewā mobile, e.g. בְּרַבֵּר, בְּרַבֵּר, &c.

(e) In forms like יְחַזְּקוּ *yāḥā-zē-qū* (they are strong), פָּעֵלָה *pō'ēlāh* (thy deed). These again are cases of the subsequent opening of closed syllables (hence, e.g. יְחַזְּקוּ also occurs); פָּעֵלָה is properly *pō'ēlāh*; cf. generally § 22 m, end, and § 28 c.

Such cases as הָחֵץ, הָחֵץ (§ 96), הָחֵץ (§ 67 w) do not come under this head, since they all have *ā* in a virtually sharpened syllable; nor does the tone-bearing *S'ghöl* in suffixes (e.g. בְּרַבֵּר), and other cases, nor *S'ghöl* for *ā* before a guttural with *Qames* (§ 22 c). On נִשְׁרָשִׁים and נִשְׁרָשִׁים, see § 9 v.

4. The independent syllables with a firm vowel which have been *nn* described above, are frequently preceded by a single consonant with vocal Šewā, simple or compound. Such a consonant with vocal Šewā never has the value of an independent syllable, but rather attaches itself so closely to the following syllable that it forms practically one syllable with it, e.g. לְחֵי (cheek) *lēḥi*; חֲלִי (sickness) *ḥālī*; יְלִמְדִי *yilīm-dhū*. This concerns especially the prefixes ל, כ, כ, ל. See § 102.

The *Šewā mobile* is no doubt in all such cases weakened from an original *nn* full vowel (e.g. יְחַזְּקוּ Arab. *yāḥāzū*, בְּךָ Arab. *bikā*, &c.); from this, however, it cannot be inferred that the Masoretes regarded it as forming a kind of *open* syllable, for this would be even more directly opposed to their fundamental law (viz. that a long vowel should stand in an open syllable), than are the exceptions cited above, *f-k*. Even the use of Metheg with Šewā in special cases (see § 16 f) is no proof of such a view on the part of the Masoretes.

5. *Closed* syllables ending with one consonant, when without the *o* tone, necessarily have *short* vowels, whether at the beginning or at the end of words,<sup>1</sup> e.g. מַלְכָּה *queen*, הַיָּשׁוּבֹן *understanding*, חֲכָמָה *wisdom*, וַיָּפֹרֵץ *and he turned back*, וַיָּגֶם, וַיָּגֶם (*wayyāqēm*).

A *tone-bearing* closed syllable may have either a long or short vowel, *p* but if the latter, it must as a rule be either *Pathah* or *S'ghöl*.<sup>2</sup> The tone-bearing closed penultima admits, of the *long* vowels, only the *tonc*-long *ā*, *ē*, *ō*, not the longest *ē*, *ē*, *ō*, *ū*; of the *short* vowels, only *ā*, *ē*, not *ī*, *ū*, *ō* (but on *ī* and *ū*, see § 29 g). Thus יִקְטִילִי (3rd pl. masc. Imperf. Hiph.) but תִּקְטְלִנָּה 3rd pl. fem., and קִיטֵּי (2nd pl. masc. Imperat. Qal) but קִיטֵּנָּה fem.

<sup>1</sup> In exceptions such as שִׁתְּרִי Gn 4<sup>25</sup> (where *šat* is required by the character of the form, although the closed syllable has lost the tone owing to the following Maqqeph), Metheg is used to guard against a wrong pronunciation; similarly *ē* is sometimes retained before Maqqeph, e.g. שִׁם Gn 2<sup>13</sup>; עֵיִר Gn 2<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See § 9 e, f. *i* occurs thus only in the particles אֵם, אֵם, כֵּן; but these usually (כֵּן always) are rendered toneless by a following Maqqeph. Cf. also such forms as וַיִּשָּׁבֶה § 26 r and § 75 a.

q 6. A special kind of closed syllables are the *sharpened*, i. e. those which end in the same (strengthened) consonant with which the following syllable begins, e. g. מִמִּי *'im-mî*, כִּלְלִי *kîl-lî*. If without the tone, they have, like the rest, short vowels; but, if bearing the tone, either short vowels as מִמִּי, or long, as מִמִּי, מִמִּי.

On the omission of the strengthening of a consonant at the end of a word, see § 20 l.

r 7. Syllables ending with *two* consonants occur only at the end of words, and have most naturally short vowels, מִמִּי, מִמִּי; but sometimes *Sere*, as מִמִּי, מִמִּי, or *Holem*, מִמִּי. Cf., however, § 10 i. Usually the harshness of pronunciation is avoided by the use of a helping vowel (§ 28 e).

### § 27. *The Change of the Vowels, especially as regards Quantity.*

a The changes in sound through which the Hebrew language passed, before it assumed the form in which we know it from the Masoretic text of the O.T. (see § 2 k), have especially affected its vowel system. A precise knowledge of these vowel changes, which is indispensable for the understanding of most of the present forms of the language, is derived partly from the phenomena which the language itself presents in the laws of derivation and inflexion, partly from the comparison of the kindred dialects, principally the Arabic. By these two methods, we arrive at the following facts as regards Hebrew:

b 1. That in an open syllable the language has frequently retained only a half-vowel (*Šewā mobile*), where there originally stood a full short vowel, e. g. עֲגָלָה (ground-form *'agālāt*) a waggon, יְדִיָּה (ground-form *šaddāqūt*) righteousness, קָטָלָה (Arab. *qātūlā*), יְקָטָלָה (Arab. *jūqattilā*).

c 2. That vowels originally short have in the tone-syllable, as also in the open syllable preceding it, been generally changed into the corresponding tone-long vowels, *ā* into *ā*, *ē* into *ē*, *ū* into *ū* (see § 9, a-e, k, r). If, however, the tone be shifted or weakened, these tone-long vowels mostly revert to their original shortness, or, occasionally, are still further shortened, or reduced to mere *Šewā mobile*, or, finally, are entirely lost through a change in the division of syllables; e. g. מִטָּר (Arab. *mātār*) rain, when in close dependence on a following genitive in the *construct state*, becomes מִטָּר (Arab. *'aḡīb*) heel, dual מִטָּרִים, dual *construct* (with attenuation of the original *ā* of the first syllable to *ē*) מִטָּרִים [on the *ṣ*, see § 20 h]; יְקָטָלָה (Arab. *yāqtūl*), plur. יְקָטָלָה (Arab. *yāqtūlā*). For instances of complete loss, as in מִטָּר, cf. § 93 m.

According to § 26, the following details of vowel-change must be observed :

1. The original, or a kindred short vowel reappears—

*d*

(a) When a closed syllable loses the tone (§ 26 o). Thus, יָד *hand*, but יְדִיָּהּ *the hand of Yahwe*; בֶּן *son*, but בְּנֵי־הַמֶּלֶךְ *the son of the king*; כָּל *the whole*, but כָּל־הָעָם *the whole of the people*; so also when a tone-bearing closed syllable loses the tone on taking a suffix, e.g. אֵיב *enemy*, but אֵיבִי *thy enemy*; finally, when the tone recedes, יָקָם, but יִקָּם (*wayyāqōm*); יָלַךְ, but יִלָּךְ.

(b) To the same category belong cases like סֵפֶר *book*, but סִפְרִי *my book*; קֹדֶשׁ *holiness*, but קִדְשִׁי *my holiness*. In spite of the helping vowel, סֵפֶר and קֹדֶשׁ are really closed syllables with a tone-long vowel; when the syllable loses the tone, the original *i* or *ō* (properly *ū*) reappears.

The same is true of syllables with a virtually sharpened final consonant: the lengthening of original *i* to *ē* and *ū* to *ō* takes place only in a tone-bearing syllable; in a toneless syllable the *i* or *ō* (or *ū*) remains, e.g. אִם *mother*, but אִמִּי *my mother*; לֶזֶק *law*, plur. לְזָקִים; but עֹז *strength*, עֹזִי (and עֲזִי) *my strength*.

2. The lengthening of the short vowel to the corresponding long, *e* takes place—

(a) When a closed syllable becomes open by its final consonant being transferred to a suffix beginning with a vowel, or in general to the following syllable, e.g. הָרַגְתְּ לּוֹ, קָטַלְתָּ *he has killed him*; מִתְּחִילָה *primarily from* מִתְּחִילָת. Similarly *ā* mostly becomes *ā* even before a suffix beginning with *š* *wa mobile*; e.g. מִתְּחִילָה from מִתְּחִילָה *from* מִתְּחִילָה.

(b) When a syllable has become open by complete loss of the *f* strengthening of its final consonant (a guttural or *Rēš*), e.g. בִּרְרַח for *birrahk*, see § 22 c. Cf. also § 20 n.

(c) When a weak consonant (א, ו, י) following the short vowel *g* quiesces in this vowel, according to § 23 a, c, d, § 24 f, e.g. מִצָּא for מִצָּא, where the א, losing its consonantal value, loses also the power of closing the syllable, and the open syllable requires a long vowel.

(d) Very frequently through the influence of the *pause*, i.e. the *h* principal tone in the last word of a sentence or clause (§ 29 k). Sometimes also through the influence of the article (§ 35 o).

3. When a word increases at the end and the tone is consequently *i* moved forward, or when, in the *construct state* (see § 89), or otherwise in close connexion with the following word, its tone is weakened, in such cases a full vowel (short or tone-long) may, by a change in the



division of syllables, be weakened to *Šewā mobile*, or even be entirely lost, so that its place is taken by the mere syllable-divider (*Šewā quiescens*). Examples of the first case are, שֵׁם *name*, pl. שֵׁמוֹת, but שְׁמִי *my name*, שְׁמוֹתָם *their names*, דָּבָר *word*, constr. st. דְּבַר; צְדָקָה *righteousness*, constr. st. צִדְקָתָהּ; an example of the second case is, בְּרָכָה *blessing*, constr. st. בְּרִיתָהּ. Whether the vowel is retained or becomes *Šewā* (דָּם, דָּמִי, but שֵׁם, שְׁמִי), and which of the two disappears in two consecutive syllables, depends upon the character of the form in question. In general the rule is that only those vowels which stand in an open syllable can become *Šewā*.

Thus the change into *Šewā* takes place in—

k (a) The *ā* and *ē* of the first syllable, especially in the inflexion of nouns, e.g. דְּבַר *word*, plur. דְּבָרִים; גָּדוֹל *great*, fem. גְּדוּלָה; לֵבָב *heart*, plur. לְבָבִי *my heart*; but also in the verb, תָּשׁוּב *she will return*, plur. תִּשְׁוּבוּ, and so always, when the originally short vowel of the prefixes of the Imperfect comes to stand in an open syllable which is not pretonic. On the other hand, an *ā* lengthened from *ā* before the tone is retained in the *Perfect consecutive* of Qal even in the secondary tone, e.g. וַיִּקְטֹּל; cf. § 49 i.

l (b) The short, or merely tone-long, vowels *a*, *e*, *o* of the ultima, especially in verbal forms, e.g. קָטַל, fem. קָטְלָה *qāṭalā*; יָקַטְלוּ *yiqṭālū*; but note also יִלְקֹטוּן, תִּדְרֹקוּן, &c., according to § 47 m and o. The helping vowels are either entirely omitted, e.g. מֶלֶךְ *king* (ground-form *malak*), מִלְכִּי *my king*; or, under the influence of a guttural, are weakened to Hāteph, e.g. נָעַר *boy*, נִעְרוֹ *his boy*. If the tone remains unmoved, the vowel also is retained, notwithstanding the lengthening of the word, e.g. יִקְטֹלוּ *pausal-form* for יָקַטְלוּ.

m Where the tone moves forward two places, the former of the two vowels of a dissyllabic word may be shortened, and the second changed into *Šewā*. Cf. דְּבַר *word*; in the plur. דְּבָרִים; with heavy suffix דְּבָרֵיהֶם (cf. § 28 a) *their words*. On the attenuation of the *ā* to *ē*, see further, s, t.

n Rem. 1. An *ō* arising from *aw* = *au*, or by an obscuring of *ā* (see § 9 b), sometimes becomes *ū*, when the tone is moved forward, e.g. נִקְמוֹת, נִקְמוֹתָהּ (see Paradigm *Perf. Niph.* of קָם); כִּנּוּם *flight*, fem. כִּנּוּמָה, with suffix, מִנּוּכִי. The not uncommon use of *ū* in a sharpened syllable, as בָּרוּךְ Ez 20<sup>18</sup> (for בָּרוּךְ, cf. also the examples in § 9 o), is to be regarded as an orthographic licence, although sometimes in such cases *ū* may really have been intended by the *Kēthibh*.

o Of the vowels of the *U*-class, *ū* and tone-long *ō* stand in a tone-bearing

closed final syllable, and *ē* in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָקִים *he will arise*, יָקָם jussive, *let him arise*, יָקַם *and he arose*. The only instance of *ā* in an ultima which has lost the tone is יָרַם Ex 16<sup>20</sup> (see § 67 n). Similarly, of vowels of the *I*-class, *ē*, *i*, and *ē* stand in a tone-bearing closed final syllable, and *ē* in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָקִים *he will raise*, יָקָם *let him raise*, יָקַם *and he raised*. The only instance of *i* in an ultima which has lost the tone is יָרַן Ju 6<sup>53</sup> (see § 67 p).

2. In the place of a *Pathah* we not infrequently find (according to § 9 f) *p* a *S<sup>g</sup>hōl* (*ē*, *e*) as a modification of *ā*:

(a) In a closed antepenultima, e.g. in the proper names אֲבִיחַיִר and אֲבִיחַיִרָה, where LXX 'Αβι- = 'Αβι-, which is certainly the better reading, cf. Ulmer, *Die semit. Eigennamen*, 1901, p. 12; or in a closed penultima, e.g. יְהוֹדָה, but also יָדְכֶם *your hand*, for *yad<sup>h</sup>khēm*. In all these cases the character of the surrounding consonants (see § 6 q) has no doubt had an influence.

(b) Regularly before a guttural with *Qameṣ* or *Hateph Qameṣ*, *q* where the strengthening has been dropped, provided that a lengthening of the *Pathah* into *Qameṣ* be not necessary, e.g. אֶחָיו *his brothers*, for 'ahāw; פֶּחֶשׁ *false*, for *kahāš*; מֶחָה *governor*, constr. st. מֶחָה; פֶּחֶם *coal*; הַחַיִּי *the living* (with the article, הַ for הַ); יְהוֹנָתָן Nu 23<sup>10</sup>, &c., and so always before הַ and הַ, as הַחֳדָשִׁים *the months*, see § 35 k. Before הַ and שׁ *S<sup>g</sup>hōl* generally stands only in the second syllable before the tone, e.g. הַהָרִים *the mountains*; הַעֲוִן *the guilt*; immediately before the tone *Pathah* is lengthened into a (pretonic) *Qameṣ*, e.g. הַהָרִי, הַעֲוִם; but cf. also הַפְּתָרִי Nu 87. Before the weak consonants נ and ר (cf. § 22 c, q), the lengthening of the *Pathah* into *Qameṣ* almost always takes place, e.g. הָאָב *the father*, pl. הָאָבוֹת; הָרָאשׁ *the head*, pl. הָרָאשִׁים. Exceptions, הָרָה *towards the mountain*, Gn 14<sup>10</sup>, in the tone-syllable, for *hārrā*; יְבִרְכֶּהוּ (pr. name) for יְבִרְכֶּהוּ. On הַ as a form of the interrogative הַ (הַ), see § 100 n; on מָה for מָה (מָה), § 37 e, f. Finally, אֶבְלָךְ Ex 33<sup>3</sup> also comes partly under this head, in consequence of the loss of the strengthening, for אֶבְלָךְ, and יְחַזְּקֶנּוּ *Ezekiel* for יְחַזְּקֶנּוּ = יְחַזְּקֶנּוּ *God strengthens*.

(c) As a modification of the original *Pathah* in the first class of the segholate *q* forms (§ 93 g), when a helping vowel (§ 28 e) is inserted after the second consonant. Thus the ground-form *kaib* (*dog*), after receiving a helping *S<sup>g</sup>hōl*, is modified into קַיִב (also in modern Arabic pronounced *kelb*),<sup>1</sup> *yaḥ* (*month*), with a helping *Pathah*, יָחַח. The same phenomenon appears also in the formation of verbs, in cases like יָגַל (jussive of the Hiph'il of גָּלָה), with a helping *S<sup>g</sup>hōl*, for *yagl*.

3. The attenuation of *ā* to *i* is very common in a toneless closed syllable. (a) In a firmly closed syllable, מִדּוֹ *his measure*, for מִדּוֹ (in a sharpened syllable); יִלְרֶתִיךָ *I have begotten thee*, from יִלְרֶתִי with the suffix יך; cf. Lv 11<sup>44</sup>, Ez 38<sup>23</sup>, and § 44 d. Especially is this the case in a large number of *segholates*

<sup>1</sup> So the LXX write Μελαχισδὲκ for מִלְכִּישֶׁדֶק.

from the ground-form *gaṭl*, when combined with singular suffixes, e.g. *צִדְקִי* *my righteousness*, for *ṣadqī*.

t (b) In a loosely-closed syllable, i.e. one followed by an aspirated *Begadkephath*, as *דְּמָמְךָ* *your blood*, for *דְּמָמְךָ*, and so commonly in the *st. constr. plur.* of segholates from the ground-form *gaṭl*, e.g. *בְּגָדִי* from *בָּגַד* (ground-form *bagd*) *a garment*. In most cases of this kind the attenuation is easily intelligible from the nature of the surrounding consonants. It is evident from a comparison of the dialects, that the attenuation was consistently carried out in a very large number of noun and verb-forms in Hebrew, as will be shown in the proper places.<sup>1</sup>

u 4. *S'ghōl* arises, in addition to the cases mentioned in o and p, also from the weakening of *ā* of the final syllable in the isolated cases (הִיא־ for הִיא־) in 1 S 28<sup>15</sup> (? see § 48 d), ψ 20<sup>4</sup> (?), Is 59<sup>5</sup>, Pr 24<sup>14</sup> (see § 48 t); for examples of Locative forms in הִיא־ see § 90 i end.

v 5. Among the *Ḥaṭeph*-sounds *ḥ* is shorter and lighter than *ḥ*, and consequently the vowel group *ḥ* is shorter than *ḥ*; e.g. *אֶדוֹם* *Edom*, but *אֶדְוִמִּי* (*Edomite*), shortened at the beginning because the tone is thrown forward; *אֱמֶת* (*ḥmēth*) *truth*, *אֱמֶתוֹ* *his truth*; *נִעְלָם* *hidden*, pl. *נִעְלָמִים*; *הַעֲבָרְתִּי* but also conversely *נִעְשָׂתָה* fem. *נִעְשָׂתָה*, cf. § 63 f, 3.

w 6. To the chapter on vowel changes belongs lastly the *dissimilation* of vowels, i.e. the change of one vowel into another entirely heterogeneous, in order to prevent two similar, or closely related vowels, from following one another in the same word.<sup>2</sup> Hence *לֹא־לֵא* for *lū lū* (unless). Cf. also *חִיצוֹן* from *חִיץ*; *רִאשׁוֹן* from *רִאשׁ*; *תִּתְּכֶן* from *תִּתְּךָ*; *נִבְחָה* from *נִבְחָה*; *עִירִים* from stem *עִיר*; most probably also *יָלֹד* *offspring*, *קַפְזִר* *porcupine*, for *קַפְזִר*, see § 68 c, note.— On the proper names *יִזְחָל* and *יִשְׁעָן*, which were formerly explained in the same way, see now Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1905, p. 341 f.

## § 28. *The Rise of New Vowels and Syllables.*

a 1. According to § 26 m a half-syllable, i.e. a consonant with *Šewā* mobile (always weakened from a short vowel), can only occur in close dependence on a full syllable. If another half-syllable with simple *Šewā* follows, the first takes a full short vowel again.<sup>3</sup> This vowel is almost always *Hireq*. In most cases it is probably an attenuation of an original *ā*, and never a mere helping vowel. In some instances analogy may have led to the choice of the *ḥ*. Thus, according to § 102 d, the prefixes *בְּ*, *בְּ*, *לְ* before a consonant with *Šewā* mobile become *בְּ*, *בְּ*, *לְ*, e.g. *בְּבָרִי*, *בְּבָרִי*, *לְבָרִי*; before *י* they are pointed as in *בְּיִזְחָל* (from *bi-yēhūdā*, according to § 24 c); so too with *Wāw* copulative, e.g. *יְיִזְחָל* for *יְיִ* attenuated from *יְיִ*. The first half-

<sup>1</sup> Analogous to this attenuation of *ā* to *i* is the Lat. *tango*, *atingo*; *laxus*, *prolixus*; to the transition of *ā* to *ē* (see above, a), the Lat. *carpo*, *decerpo*; *spargo*, *conspargo*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semit. Spr.*, p. xxix; A. Müller, *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1892, p. 177 f., and Nestle, *ibid.*, p. 573 f.

<sup>3</sup> Except *י* and, which generally becomes *י* before a simple *Šewā*, cf. § 104 c.

syllable, after the restoration of the short vowel, sometimes combines with the second to form a firmly closed syllable, e. g. לִנְפֹל Nu 14<sup>3</sup> for *lin<sup>e</sup>phōl*, and so almost always in the infin. constr. after ל (§ 45 g); in isolated cases also with כ, as כְּנֹכַר Jer 17<sup>2</sup>.

2. If a guttural with *Ḥateph* follows, the original *ā* of the prefixes *b* is retained before *Ḥateph Pathah*, but before *Ḥateph Seghol* or *Ḥateph Qameṣ* it is modified to the short vowel contained in the *Ḥateph*. Thus arise the vowel groups  $\text{פֶּֿתַח}$ ,  $\text{פֶּֿחֹל}$ ,  $\text{פֶּֿחֶם}$ , e. g. וְאָנֹכִי and *I*, וְאָנֹכִי as, לְעֹבֵד to serve, לְאֹכֵל to eat, לְחֹלִי in sickness. On the Metheg with every such short vowel, see § 16 f, δ. Sometimes here also a fully closed syllable is formed. In such a case, the prefix takes the short vowel, which would have belonged to the suppressed *Ḥateph*, e. g. לְחֹטֵב for לְחֹטֵב; לְחֹטֵב Is 47<sup>14</sup> for לְחֹטֵב (see § 67 ce); לְאֹכֵל but also לְאֹכֵל; and even וְעֹצֵר Jb 4<sup>2</sup>, cf. Gn 32<sup>16</sup>. So always in the Infin. and Imperat. Qal of the verbs הָיָה to be and הָיָה to live, e. g. הָיָה to be, וְהָיָה and be ye; even with מָן, as מָהִיּוֹת, on which cf. § 102 b; but וְהָיָה and be, וְהָיָה and live, have *ē* instead of *ī* under the prefix. For the Metheg, cf. § 16 f, ε.

3. When a *Ḥateph* in the middle of a word, owing to flexional *c* changes, would stand before a vocal *Šwad*, it is changed into the short vowel, with which it is compounded. This applies especially to cases in which the *Ḥateph* stands under a guttural instead of quiescent *Šwad*, as an echo of the preceding short vowel, e. g. יַעֲבֹד he will stand (for יַעֲבֹד), but plur. יַעֲבֹדוּ for *ya<sup>a</sup>m<sup>e</sup>dhā*, and נִהְפְּחוּ for *niḥ<sup>a</sup>ph<sup>e</sup>khū* (they have turned themselves), תַּעֲמָלְךָ thy work, cf. § 26 k. The syllables are to be divided *ya<sup>a</sup>-m<sup>e</sup>dhā*, and the second *ā* is to be regarded exactly as the helping *Pathah* in נָעַר, &c.<sup>1</sup>

4. At the end of words, syllables occur which close with two consonants (§ 10 i, § 26 r), but only when the latter of the two is an emphatic consonant (ט, ק) or a tenuis (viz. ב, ד, ג, פ), e. g. יָשָׁב let him turn aside, וַיִּשָּׁק and he caused to drink, תֹּאמַרְתְּ thou (fem.) hast said, וַיִּבְכֶּה and he wept, וַיִּרְדֵּךְ and let him have dominion, וַיִּשָּׁב and he took captive.

This harsh ending is elsewhere avoided by the Masora,<sup>2</sup> which *c* inserts between the two final consonants a helping vowel, usually

<sup>1</sup> In Ju 16<sup>13</sup> read תֹּאמַרְתִּי not (with Opatius, Hahn and others) תֹּאמַרְתִּי.

<sup>2</sup> With a final ה, the only example is הוֹסִיפָה Pr 30<sup>6</sup>, where several MSS. and printed editions incorrectly have ה without Dageš. Instead of this masoretic caprice we should no doubt read הוֹסִיפָה.

<sup>3</sup> An analogy to this practice of the Masora is found among the modern Beduin, who pronounce such a helping vowel before *h, ḥ, ḡ*; cf. Spitta, *Gramm. des arab. Vulgärdialektes von Aegypten*, Lpz. 1880, § 43 d.

*Seghol*, but with medial or final gutturals a *Pathah*,<sup>1</sup> and after a *Hireq*, e. g. וַיִּגַּל and he revealed, for wayyigl; רַב let it multiply, for yirb; קֹדֶשׁ holiness, ground-form qudš; נַחַל brook, ground-form nahl; שָׁלַחְתָּ for שָׁלַחְתָּ thou hast sent; בַּיִת house, ground-form bayt. These helping vowels are, however, to be regarded as exactly like *furtive Pathah* (§ 22 f, g); they do not alter the monosyllabic character of the forms, and they disappear before formative suffixes, e. g. קֹדֶשׁ my holiness, בֵּיתָה home-ward.

f 5. On the rise of a full vowel in place of a simple *Sewa*, under the influence of the pause, see § 29 m; on initial *Mem* for *Mem*, see § 23 h.

### § 29. The Tone, its Changes and the Pause.

- a 1. The principal tone rests, according to the Masoretic accentuation (cf. § 15 c), as a rule on the final syllable, e. g. קָטַל, דָּבַר, דְּבָרִי, דְּבָרִים, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ—in the last five examples on the formative additions to the stem. Less frequently it rests on the penultima, as in לַיְלָה night, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ; but a closed penultima can only have the tone if the ultima is open (e. g. קָטַלְתָּ, לִבְנָה, לִבְנָה), whilst a closed ultima can as a rule only be without the tone if the penultima is open, e. g. וַיִּקָּם, וַיִּקָּם; see also below, e.
- b A kind of counter-tone or secondary stress, as opposed to the principal tone, is marked by *Metheg* (§ 16 c). Words which are closely united by *Maqqeph* with the following word (§ 16 a) can at the most have only a secondary tone.
- c 2. The original tone of a word, however, frequently shifts its place in consequence either of changes in the word itself, or of its close connexion with other words. If the word is increased at the end, the tone is moved forward (*descendit*) one or two places according to the length of the addition, e. g. דָּבַר word, plur. דְּבָרִים; דְּבָרֶיךָ your words; קֹדֶשׁ holy thing, plur. קֹדֶשִׁים; קָטַלְתָּ with suffix קָטַלְתָּהוּ, with *Wāw consecutive* קָטַלְתָּהוּ. On the consequent vowel-changes, see § 27 d, i-m.
- d 3. On the other hand, the original tone is shifted from the ultima to the penultima (*ascendit*):

<sup>1</sup> On the apparent exceptions וַיִּגַּל, &c., cf. § 22 e; other instances in which *N* has entirely lost its consonantal value, and is only retained orthographically, are חַטָּא sin, נַי valley (also נַי), שְׁוִי vanity (Jb 15<sup>31</sup> *keṯibh* שְׁוִי).

<sup>2</sup> In this form (§ 65 g) the *Dages lena* remains in the final *Tāw*, although a vowel precedes, in order to point out that the helping *Pathah* is not to be regarded as a really full vowel, but merely as an orthographic indication of a very slight sound, to ensure the correct pronunciation. An analogous case is יִחַד from יָחַד (§ 75 r).

(a) In many forms of the Imperfect, under the influence of a prefixed *Wāw* consecutive (see § 49 c-e), e.g. וַיֹּאמֶר *he will say*, וַיֵּלֶךְ *and he said*; וַיֵּלֶךְ *he will go*, וַיֵּלֶךְ *and he went*. Cf. also § 51 n on the impf. Niph'al, and § 65 g, end, on the impf. Pi'el; on these forms in Pause, when the *consec.* does not take effect, see below, p.

(b) For rhythmical reasons (as often in other languages), when a monosyllable, or a word with the tone on the first syllable, follows a word with the tone on the ultima, in order to avoid the concurrence of two tone-syllables.<sup>1</sup> This rhythmical retraction of the tone, however (רִמּוּת *receding*, as it is called by the Jewish grammarians), is only admissible according to a, above, provided that the penultima, which now receives the tone, is an open syllable (with a long vowel; but see g), whilst the ultima, which loses the tone, must be either an open syllable with a long vowel, e.g. קָרָא, Gn 1<sup>5</sup>, 4<sup>17</sup>, 27<sup>25</sup>, Ex 16<sup>23</sup>, ψ 5<sup>11</sup>, 104<sup>14</sup>, Dn 11<sup>13</sup>, or a closed syllable with a short vowel, e.g. הָאֵלֹהִים Gn 3<sup>19</sup>, Jb 3<sup>3</sup>, 22<sup>28</sup>.<sup>2</sup> The grave suffixes -ים, -ה, -ם, -ן are exceptions, as they never lose the tone. Moreover a fair number of instances occur in which the above conditions are fulfilled, but the tone is not retracted, e.g. esp. with הָיָה, and before א; cf. Qimhi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenberg (Lyck, 1862), p. 4<sup>b</sup>, line 13 ff.

Although *Sere* can remain in a closed ultima which has lost the tone, it is perhaps not to be regarded in this case (see § 8 b) as a long vowel. At any rate it then always has, in correct editions, a retarding *Metheg*, no doubt in order to prevent its being pronounced as *S'ghol*, e.g. לְבַעַר קִין Nu 24<sup>21</sup>; cf. Nu 17<sup>23</sup>, Ju 20<sup>2</sup>, Is 66<sup>3</sup>, Jer 23<sup>29</sup>, Ez 22<sup>25</sup>, ψ 37<sup>7</sup>, and even with a following *furtive Pathah* Pr 1<sup>19</sup>, 11<sup>26</sup>, &c., although there is no question here of two successive tone-syllables. In other cases the shortening into *S'ghol* does take place, e.g. הוֹלִים פָּעַם *who smiteth the avvil*, Is 41<sup>7</sup>, for הוֹלִים פָּעַם; הוֹלִים שָׁמַר 1 K 16<sup>21</sup>.—The retraction of the tone even occurs when a half-syllable with a *Šewā* mobile precedes the original tone-syllable, e.g. וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ Gn 19<sup>5</sup>, and frequently; וַיֹּרְדֵי בֹרַי 28<sup>1</sup>; לִי טָמְנוּ לִי

<sup>1</sup> Even Hebrew *prose* proceeds, according to the accentuation, in a kind of iambic rhythm. That this was intended by the marking of the tone, can be seen from the use of *Metheg*.—Jos. Wijnkoop in *Darche hannesigah sive leges de accentus Hebraicae linguae ascensione*, Lugd. Bat. 1881, endeavours to explain, on euphonic and syntactical grounds, the numerous cases in which the usual retraction of the tone does not occur, e.g. וּבִלְרָא הָאֵשֶׁךְ Is 45<sup>7</sup>, where the object probably is to avoid a kind of hiatus; but cf. also Am 4<sup>13</sup>. Prätorius, *Ueber den rückweich. Accent im Hebr.*, Halle, 1897, has fully discussed the *nasc' achor*.

<sup>2</sup> The reading עָרִיִּים (so even Opius and Hahn) Ez 16<sup>7</sup> for עָרִיִּים is rightly described by Baer as 'error turpis'.—That an unchangeable vowel in a closed final syllable cannot lose the tone is shown by Prätorius from the duplication of the accent (see above, § 22 f).



פֶּֿרִי 31<sup>5</sup>; מִנְחָה Is 14<sup>10</sup>; as also when the tone-syllable of the second word is preceded by a half-syllable, e.g. פֶּֿרִי לֶֿעֶשֶׂה Gn 1<sup>11</sup> (on the  *Dag. f.*, cf. § 20 f); לֶֿחֶם Gn 15<sup>7</sup> (cf. § 20 c).

g According to the above, it must be regarded as anomalous when the Masora throws back the tone of a closed ultima upon a *virtually* sharpened syllable with a short vowel, e.g. אֶֿחָד פֶּֿן S 10<sup>5</sup>, § 101 a; וְכָחֵשׁ בוֹ Jb 31<sup>8</sup>, cf. Lv 5<sup>22</sup>; לֶֿחֶם פֶּֿן Gn 39<sup>14,17</sup>, cf. Ho 9<sup>2</sup>; whereas it elsewhere allows a closed penultima to bear the tone only when the ultima is open. Still more anomalous is the placing of the tone on a *really* sharpened syllable, when the ultima is closed, as in עַל הַקֶּֿם 2 S 23<sup>1</sup>; יָבֹֿר שׁוֹעַ Jb 34<sup>10</sup>; cf. also יִשָּֿׁם-כֶּֿן Gn 4<sup>24</sup>, with Metheg of the secondary tone. We should read either הַקֶּֿם, or, with Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 167, Ginsb., Kittel, after Bomb., הַקֶּֿם. Other abnormal forms are וַיִּהְיוּ שָֿׁם Ex 4<sup>4</sup> (for similar instances see § 15 c, end) and וַיִּהְיוּ שָֿׁם Dt 10<sup>5</sup>.

h (c) In *pause*, see i-v.

The meeting of two tone-syllables (see c, f) is avoided also by connecting the words with Maqgeph, in which case the first word entirely loses the tone, e.g. וַיִּכְתֹּֿב שָֿׁם and he wrote there, Jos 8<sup>32</sup>.

i 4. Very important changes of the tone and of the vowels are effected by the *pause*. By this term is meant the strong stress laid on the tone-syllable in the last word of a sentence (verse) or clause. It is marked by a great *distinctive accent*, *Sillāq*, 'Athnah, and in the accentuation of the books חֵֿטָא, 'Ōlā w<sup>o</sup>yōrēd (§ 15 h). Apart from these principal pauses (*the great pause*), there are often pausal changes (*the lesser pause*) with the lesser distinctives, especially *Sēgħolā*, *Zaqeph qaton*, *Rēbhēš*, and even with *Pašāa*, *Tiphḥa*, *Gereš*, and (Pr 30<sup>4</sup>) *Pazer*.<sup>1</sup> The changes are as follows:

k (a) When the tone-syllable naturally has a short vowel, it as a rule becomes tone-long in *pause*, e.g. קָטַל, קָטַל; מָיִם, מָיִם; קָטַלָּהּ, קָטַלָּהּ. An *ā* which has been modified to *Sēghēl* usually becomes *ā* in *pause*, e.g. קָטַלָּהּ (ground-form *qaš*) in *pause* קָטַלָּהּ 2 K 11<sup>14</sup>; וַיִּהְיוּ שָֿׁם Jer 22<sup>20</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> In most cases, probably on account of a following guttural or (at the end of a sentence) ו (cf. e.g. Ex 21<sup>31</sup>, Jer 3<sup>9</sup> [but Ginsb. וַיִּתְחַנֵּן], Ru 4<sup>4</sup>, Ec 11<sup>6</sup> [but Ginsb. וַיִּשָּׁר]; before ו Jer 17<sup>11</sup>) [see also § 29 w]. וַיִּשָּׁר וַיִּתְחַנֵּן S 17<sup>17</sup>, Is 65<sup>17</sup>, Pr 25<sup>3</sup>, where *ā* has *munaḥ*, are very irregular, but the lengthening here is probably only to avoid the cacophony *šaphāt'it*. In the same way וַיִּתְחַנֵּן Ez 17<sup>15</sup> (with *Mahpakh* before ו) and וַיִּתְחַנֵּן Ez 37<sup>8</sup> (with *Darga* before ו) are to be explained. The four instances of וַיִּתְחַנֵּן apparently require a different explanation; see § 32 c.—The theory of Olshausen and others that the phenomena of the *pause* are due *entirely* to liturgical considerations, i. e. that it is 'a convenient way of developing the musical value of the final accents by means of fuller forms' in liturgical reading (Sievers, *Metr. Studien*, i. 236, also explains pausal forms like קָטַלָּהּ, קָטַלָּהּ, as 'late formations of the grammarians'), is contradicted by the fact that similar phenomena are still to be observed in modern vulgar Arabic, where they can only be attributed to rhythmical reasons of a general character.

also in 2 K 4<sup>31</sup> read קָשֶׁב with ed. Mant., &c. (Baer קָשֶׁב !).—בָּרַךְ becomes in *pause* בָּרַךְ.

Sometimes, however, the distinct and sharper *ā* is intentionally retained in *pause*, especially if the following consonant is strengthened, e.g. יִכְתֹּב Jb 4<sup>20</sup>, or ought to be strengthened, e.g. בָּבֶת 2 S 12<sup>3</sup>, בָּן Is 8<sup>1</sup>, &c.; but also in other cases as וְקָנִיתִי Gn 27<sup>2</sup>, because from וְקָן. cf. below, q; עָר Gn 49<sup>27</sup>; וְהִקְדִּישְׁנוּ 2 Ch 29<sup>19</sup> (so Baer, but Ginsb. וְהִקְדֵּשׁ, ed. Mant. וְהִקְדֵּשׁ); and regularly in the numeral אַרְבַּע *four*, Lv 11<sup>20</sup>, &c. In the accentuation of the three poetical books (§ 15 d) the use of *Pathah* with *Athnah* is due to the inferior pausal force of *Athnah*, especially after *‘Olē wəyōrēd* (§ 15 o); cf. ψ 100<sup>3</sup>, Pr 30<sup>3</sup>, and Qimhi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenberg, p. 5<sup>b</sup>, line 4 from below. Compare the list of instances of pausal *ā* and *ē* in the appendices to Baer's editions.

(b) When a full vowel in a tone-bearing final syllable has lost the *m* tone before an affirmative, and has become vocal *Sēwā*, it is restored in *pause* as tone-vowel, and, if short, is lengthened, e.g. קָטַל, *fem.* קָטְלָה (*qātālā*), in *pause* קָטַלָּה (*qātālā*); שָׁמַע, (*šimēa*), in *pause* שָׁמַעַי (from sing. שָׁמַע); מָלָא, (*mālā*), in *pause* מָלָאָה (*mālāh*). The fuller endings of the Imperfect וְ and וְ— (§ 47 m and o) alone retain the tone even when the original vowel is restored. In segholate forms, like לָחִי, פָּרִי (ground-form *lahy*, *pariy*), the original *ā* returns, though under the form of a tone-bearing *Sēghōl*, thus לָחִי, פָּרִי; original *i* becomes *ē*, e.g. חָצִי, in *pause* חָצִי; original *ō* (*ū*) becomes *ō*, חָלִי (ground-form *huly*), in *pause* חָלִי (§ 93 w, y, z).

On the analogy of such forms as חָלִי, &c., the shortened Imperfects וְ and וְ— become in *pause* וְ, וְ—, because in the full forms וְ he will be, and וְ he will live, the *i* is attenuated from an original *ā*. Similarly שָׁכַם *shoulder*, in *pause* שָׁכַם (ground-form *šakhm*), and the pron. אֲנִי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִי; cf. also the restoration of the original *ā* as *ē* before the suffix וְ— *thy*, *thee*, e.g. וְ— *thy word*, in *pause* וְ—; וְ— *he guards thee*, in *pause* וְ—; but after the prepositions בְּ, לְ, אֶת (אֶת) the suffix וְ— in *pause* becomes וְ—, e.g. בְּ, לְ, אֶת.

(c) This tendency to draw back the tone in *pause* to the *penultima* O appears also in such cases as אֲנִי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִי; אַתָּה *thou*, in *pause* אַתָּה (but in the three poetically accented books also אַתָּה, since in those books *Athnah*, especially after *‘Olē wəyōrēd*, has only the force of a *Zaqeph*; hence also וְ— Pr 24<sup>4</sup> instead of וְ—; עַתָּה *now*, עַתָּה; and in other sporadic instances, like וְ— ψ 37<sup>20</sup> for וְ—; but in 1 S 12<sup>25</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Such a pausal syllable is sometimes further emphasized by strengthening the following consonant, see § 20 i.

<sup>2</sup> וְ— ψ 45<sup>6</sup>, cf. also וְ— ψ 40<sup>15</sup>, is to be explained in the same way, but not וְ— Ze 2<sup>11</sup>, where, on the analogy of וְ— Je 9<sup>3</sup>, we should expect וְ—.

תָּפַח with Baer and Ginsb., is to be preferred to the reading of *ed. Mant.*, &c.

*p* (d) Conversely all forms of imperfects consecutive, whose final syllable, when not in *pause*, loses the tone and is pronounced with a short vowel, take, when in *pause*, the tone on the ultima with a tone-long vowel, e.g. וַיָּמָת and he died, in *pause* וַיָּמַת.

*q* Of other effects of the *pause* we have still to mention, (1) the transition of an *e* (lengthened from *i*) to the more distinct *ā* (see above, l), e.g. הָתָו for הִתָּו Is 18<sup>5</sup> (cf. § 67 v; § 72 dā); קָמַל Is 33<sup>9</sup>; אָצַל Ch 53<sup>8</sup> (beside אֶצַל [see v. 37. Cf. : מִבְּאֵל Is 7<sup>6</sup> (מִבְּאֵל Ezr 4<sup>7</sup>); : שָׁשָׁר Jer 22<sup>14</sup>; קָפַר Ob 20; : וַיִּנְצַח Ex 31<sup>17</sup>; : וַיִּנְצַח 2 S 12<sup>25</sup> (below, § 51 m)—S. R. D.]); הָפַר Gn 17<sup>14</sup>; הָפַצַר 1 S 15<sup>28</sup>; הָשַׁב ψ 40<sup>18</sup>; הָרַחַק Jb 13<sup>21</sup>, mostly before liquids or sibilants (but also הָשַׁב Is 42<sup>22</sup>, and without the *pause* הָרַר La 3<sup>48</sup>). So also הָלַךְ (shortened from הָלַךְ) becomes in *pause* הָלַךְ; cf. וַיֵּלֶךְ La 3<sup>2</sup>; וַיֵּלֶךְ Ju 19<sup>20</sup>. On *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl* in *pause* instead of *Sere*, cf. § 52 n, 60 d, and especially § 75 n, on הָרַחַק Pr 4<sup>4</sup> and 7<sup>2</sup>.

*r* (2) The transition from *ā* to *e* in the ultima; so always in the formula וְעַד לְעוֹלָם (for עַד for ever and ever.

*s* (3) The pausal *Qameṣ* (according to § 54 k, lengthened from original *ā*) in *Hithpa'el* (but not in *Pi'el*) for *Sere*, e.g. יִתְהַלֵּךְ Jb 18<sup>8</sup> for יִתְהַלֵּךְ. But pausal forms like שָׁבַט, סָתַר (in the *absol. st.* סָתַר, שָׁבַט) go back to a secondary form of the *abs. st.* סָתַר, שָׁבַט.

*t* (4) The restoration of a final *Yodh* which has been dropped from the stem, together with the preceding vowel, e.g. בָּעֵי, אָתָּי Is 21<sup>12</sup>, for בָּעֵי, אָתָּי, the latter also without the *pause* Is 56<sup>9,12</sup>; cf. Jb 12<sup>6</sup>, and the same occurrence even in the word before the *pause* Dt 32<sup>27</sup>, Is 21<sup>12</sup>.

*u* (5) The transition from *ē* or *ō* to *ā* in *pause*: as שָׁאֵלָה Is 7<sup>11</sup>, if it be a locative of שָׁאֵל, and not rather imperat. Qal of שָׁאֵל שָׁבַלְתִּי Gn 43<sup>14</sup> for שָׁבַלְתִּי; עוֹ Gn 49<sup>9</sup>; יִמְרֶה Gn 49<sup>27</sup>; perhaps also שָׁרָן 1 K 22<sup>34</sup>, Is 59<sup>17</sup>, and מִשְׁשָׁלָה Is 28<sup>17</sup>, cf. 2 K 21<sup>13</sup>. On the other hand the regular pausal form יִהְיֶינָה (ordinary imperfect יִהְיֶינָה) corresponds to a perfect יָהְיֶינָה (see § 47 h).

*v* (6) When a *Pathah* both precedes and follows a virtually strengthened guttural, the second becomes *ā* in *pause*, and the first *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl*, according to § 22 c and § 27 q, e.g. אָחֵי my brothers, in *pause* אָחֵי. Similarly in cases where an original *Pathah* after a guttural has been attenuated to *i* out of *pause*, and then lengthened to *e* with the tone (cf. § 54 k), e.g. יִתְהַלֵּם, but in *pause* יִתְהַלֵּם Dt 32<sup>26</sup>; cf. Nu 8<sup>7</sup>, 23<sup>19</sup>, Ez 5<sup>13</sup>, ψ 135<sup>14</sup>.—On pausal *Sere*, for *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl*, in infin., imperat., and imperf. of verbs הָלַךְ, see § 75 h.

*w* [Other instances of the full vowel in lesser *pause*, where the voice would naturally rest on the word, are Gn 15<sup>24</sup>, יַעֲבֹדוּ, Is 8<sup>15</sup>, 40<sup>24</sup>, Ho 4<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>7</sup>, Dn 9<sup>16</sup>, and very often in such cases.]

## SECOND PART

### ETYMOLOGY, OR THE PARTS OF SPEECH

#### § 30. *Stems and Roots*<sup>1</sup>: *Biliteral, Triliteral, and Quadriliteral.*

1. Stems in Hebrew, as in the other Semitic languages, have this peculiarity, that by far the majority of them consist of three consonants. On these the meaning essentially depends, while the various modifications of the idea are expressed rather by changes in the vowels, e. g. עמק (עִמְקַ or עֵמֶק; the 3rd pers. sing. perf. does not occur) *it was deep*, עֵמֶק *deep*, עֲמֻקָּה *depth*, עֲמֻקָּה, *a valley, plain*. Such a stem may be either a verb or a noun, and the language commonly exhibits both together, e. g. זָרַע *he has sown*, זֶרַע *seed*; חָכַם *he was wise*, חָכָם *a wise man*. For practical purposes, however, it has long been the custom to regard as the stem the 3rd pers. sing. Perf. Qal (see § 43), since it is one of the simplest forms of the verb, without any formative additions. Not only are the other forms of the verb referred to this stem, but also the noun-forms, and the large number of particles derived from nouns; e. g. קָדַשׁ *he was holy*, קִדְּשׁ *holiness*, קֹדֶשׁ *holy*.

Sometimes the language, as we have it, exhibits only the verbal *b* stem without any corresponding noun-form, e. g. סָלַל *to stone*, נָהַק *to bray*; and on the other hand, the noun sometimes exists without the corresponding verb, e. g. אֶבֶן *stone*, נֶגֶב *south*. Since, however, the nominal or verbal stems, which are not now found in Hebrew, generally occur in one or more of the other Semitic dialects, it may be assumed, as a rule, that Hebrew, when a living language, also possessed them. Thus, in Arabic, the verbal stem 'abīnā (*to become compact, hard*) corresponds to אָבַן, and the Aramaic verb nēgab (*to be dry*) to נָגַב.

Rem. 1. The Jewish grammarians call the stem (i. e. the 3rd pers. sing. Perf. Qal) שֹׁרֵשׁ *root*. Hence it became customary among Christian grammarians to call the stem *radix*, and its three consonants *litterae radicales*, in contradistinction to the *litterae serviles* or *formative letters*. On the correct use of the term *root*, see *g*.

<sup>1</sup> On the questions discussed here compare the bibliography at the head of § 79.

- d 2. Others regard the three stem-consonants as a *root*, in the sense that, considered as *vowelless* and *unpronounceable*, it represents the common foundation of the verbal and nominal stems developed from it, just as in the vegetable world, from which the figure is borrowed, stems grow from the hidden root, e.g.

Root : מלך, the indeterminate idea of *ruling*.

Verb-stem, מלך he has reigned.

Noun-stem, מלך king.

For the historical investigation of the language, however, this hypothesis of unpronounceable roots, with indeterminate meaning, is fruitless. Moreover, the term *root*, as it is generally understood by philologists, cannot be applied to the Semitic trilateral stem (see f).<sup>1</sup>

- e 3. The 3rd sing. Perf. Qal, which, according to the above, is usually regarded, both lexicographically and grammatically, as the ground-form, is generally in Hebrew a dissyllable, e.g. קטל. The monosyllabic forms have only arisen by contraction (according to the traditional explanation) from stems which had a weak letter (י or ו) for their middle consonant, e.g. קם from *qāwām*; or from stems whose second and third consonants are identical, e.g. צר and צר (but see below, §§ 67, 72). The dissyllabic forms have themselves no doubt arisen, through a loss of the final vowel, from trisyllables, e.g. קטל from *qātālā*, as it is in literary Arabic.

- f 2. The law of the trilateral stem is so strictly observed in the formation of verbs and nouns in Hebrew (and in the Semitic languages generally), that the language has sometimes adopted artificial methods to preserve at least an appearance of trilateralism in monosyllabic stems, e.g. שָׁבַח for the inf. constr. of verbs שׁוּב; cf. § 69 b. Conversely such nouns, as אב father, אם mother, אח brother, which were formerly all regarded as original monosyllabic forms (*nomina primitiva*), may, in some cases at least, have arisen from mutilation of a trilateral stem.

- g On the other hand, a large number of trilateral stems really point to a biliteral base, which may be properly called a *root* (*radix primaria, bilitteralis*), since it forms the starting-point for several trilateral modifications of the same fundamental idea. Though in themselves unpronounceable, these roots are usually pronounced with *a* between the two consonants, and are represented in writing by the sign √, e.g. √כר as the root of כָּרַח, כָּרַה, כָּרַח, כָּרַח. The reduction of a stem to the underlying root may generally be accomplished with certainty when the stem exhibits one weak consonant with two strong ones, or when the second and third consonants are identical. Thus e.g. the stems דָּכַח, דָּכַח, דָּכַח may all be traced to the idea of *striking, breaking*, and the root common to them all is evidently the two strong consonants דך (*dakh*). Very frequently, however, the development of the root into a stem is effected by the addition of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Philippi, 'Der Grundstamm des starken Verbums,' in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, Leipz. 1875, pp. 69-106.

a strong consonant, especially, it seems, a sibilant, liquid or guttural.<sup>1</sup> Finally, further modifications of the same root are produced when either a consonant of the root, or the letter which has been added, changes by phonetic laws into a kindred letter (see the examples below). Usually such a change of sound is accompanied by a modification of meaning.

Examples: from the root קָץ (no doubt *onomatopoeitic*, i.e. imitating the sound), which represents the fundamental idea of *carving off*, *cutting in pieces*, are derived directly: קָצַץ and קָצָה to *cut*, to *cut off*; the latter also metaph. to *decide*, to *judge* (whence קָצִין, Arab. *qāḏi*, a judge); also קָצַב to *cut off*, to *shear*, קָצַף to *tear*, to *break*, קָצַע to *cut into*, קָצַר to *cut off*, to *reap*. With a dental instead of the sibilant, קָט, קָר, whence קָטַב to *cut in pieces*, to *destroy*, קָטַל to *cut down*, to *kill*, קָטַף to *tear off*, to *pluck off*. With the initial letter softened, the root becomes כָּם, whence כָּסַח to *cut off*, and כָּסַם to *shave*; cf. also נָכַם Syr. to *slay* (*sacrifice*), to *kill*. With the greatest softening to גָּז and גָּר; גָּזוּ to *cut off*, to *shear*; גָּזַה to *hew stone*; גָּזוּ, גָּזַם, גָּזַע, גָּזַל, גָּזַר to *cut off*, to *tear off*, *eat up*; similarly גָּזַר to *cut into*, גָּזַע to *cut off*; cf. also גָּזַה, גָּזַף, גָּזַר. Allied to this root also is the series of stems which instead of a palatal begin with a guttural (ח), e.g. חָרַד to *split*, *cut*; cf. also חָרַל, חָרַק, חָרַד, חָרַשׁ, and further חָזַם, חָצִין, חָצָה, חָצַב, חָסַף, חָסַם, חָסַל, חָטַף, חָטַט, חָטַב, חָזַז, חָזַה, חָזַן, חָזַם in the Lexicon.

The root הָם expresses the sound of *humming*, which is made with the mouth closed (ῥῶ); hence הָמַם, הָמָה, הָמָה, הָמָה (הָמָם), Arab. *himhama*, to *buzz*, to *hum*, to *snarl*, &c.

As developments from the root רַע cf. the stems רָעַר, רָעַל, רָעַם, רָעַע, רָעִין, רָעַשׁ. Not less numerous are the developments of the root בַּר (בַּר, פַּל) and many others.<sup>2</sup>

Closer investigation of the subject suggests the following observations:

(a) These roots are mere *abstractions* from stems in actual use, and are themselves not used. They represent rather the hidden germs (*semina*) of the stems which appear in the language. Yet these stems are sometimes so short as to consist simply of the elements of the root itself, e.g. תָּם to *be finished*, קָל *light*. The ascertaining of the root and its meaning, although in many ways very difficult and hazardous, is of great lexicographical importance. It is a wholly different and much contested question whether there ever was a period in the development of the Semitic languages when purely *biliteral* roots, either isolated and invariable or combined with inflexions, served for the communication of thought. In such a case it would have to be admitted, that the language at first expressed extremely few elementary ideas, which were only gradually extended by additions to denote more delicate shades of meaning. At all events this process of transformation would belong to a period of the language which is entirely outside our range. At the most only the gradual multiplication of *stems* by means of phonetic change (see below) can be historically proved.

(b) Many of these monosyllabic words are clearly imitations of sounds, and *h*

<sup>1</sup> That all trilateral stems are derived from biliterals (as König, *Lehrg.* ii. 1, 370; M. Lambert in *Studies in honour of A. Kohut*, Berl. 1897, p. 354 ff.) cannot be definitely proved.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the interesting examination of the Semitic roots QR, KR, XR, by P. Haupt in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xxiii (1907), p. 241 ff.





to be *hot*. Cf. Aram. עָרָל *to roll*, expanded from עָלַל (conjugation *Paʿel*, corresponding to the Hebrew *Pfʿel*). In Latin there is a similar expansion of *fid*, *scid*, *tud*, *jug* into *findo*, *scindo*, *tundo*, *jungo*. At the end of words the commonest expansion is by means of ל and ך, e.g. גַּרְזֵן *axe*, בְּרָמֶל *garden-land* (from בָּרָם), בָּעַל *corolla* (בָּרִיעַ *cup*); cf. § 85, xi.

Rem. on (b). Forms such as צַפְרָדֵּץ *frog*, מְבַצֵּל *meadow-saffron*, צֶלֶם *shadow* <sup>1</sup> of death, were long regarded as compounds, though the explanation of them all was uncertain. Many words of this class, which earlier scholars attempted to explain from Hebrew sources, have since proved to be *loan-words* (§ 11), and consequently need no longer be taken into account.

4. A special class of formations, distinct from the fully developed stems of three or four consonants, are (a) the *Interjections* (§ 105), which, as being direct imitations of natural sounds, are independent of the ordinary formative laws; (b) the *Pronouns*. Whether these are to be regarded as the mutilated remains of early developed stems, or as relics of a period of language when the formation of stems followed different laws, must remain undecided. At all events, the many peculiarities of their formation<sup>2</sup> require special treatment (§ 32 ff.). On the other hand, most of the particles (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions) seem to have arisen in Hebrew from fully developed stems, although in many instances, in consequence of extreme shortening, the underlying stem is no longer recognizable (see § 99 ff.).

### § 31. Grammatical Structure.

P. Dörwald, 'Die Formenbildungsgesetze des Hebr.' (*Hilfsbuch für Lehrer des Hebr.*), Berlin, 1897, is recommended for occasional reference.

1. The formation of the parts of speech from the stems (derivation), *a* and their inflexion, are effected in two ways: (a) internally by changes in the stem itself, particularly in its vowels: (b) externally by the addition of formative syllables before or after it. The expression of grammatical relations (e.g. the comparative degree and some case-relations in Hebrew) periphrastically by means of separate words belongs, not to etymology, but to syntax.

The external method (b) of formation, by affixing formative syllables, *b* which occurs e.g. in Egyptian, appears on the whole to be the more ancient. Yet other families of language, and particularly the Semitic, at a very early period had recourse also to the internal method, and during their youthful vigour widely developed their power of forming derivatives. But the continuous decay of this power in the later periods of language made syntactical circumlocution more and more necessary. The same process may be seen also e.g. in Greek (including modern Greek), and in Latin with its Romance offshoots.

<sup>1</sup> So expressly Nöldeke in *ZAW.* 1897, p. 183 ff.; but most probably it is to be read צֶלְמוֹת *darkness* from the stem צָלַם [Arab. *ḡalima*, to be dark].

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hupfeld, 'System der semitischen Demonstrativbildung,' in the *Ztschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, vol. ii. pp. 124 ff., 427 ff.

c 2. Both methods of formation exist together in Hebrew. The internal mode of formation by means of vowel changes is tolerably extensive (קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל; קָטַל, קָטַל, &c.). This is accompanied in numerous cases by external formation also (הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל, &c.), and even these formative additions again are subject to internal change, e.g. הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל. The addition of formative syllables occurs, as in almost all languages, chiefly in the formation of the persons of the verb, where the meaning of the affixed syllables is for the most part still perfectly clear (see §§ 44, 47). It is also employed to distinguish gender and number in the verb and noun. Of case-endings, on the contrary, only scanty traces remain in Hebrew (see § 90).

## CHAPTER I

### THE PRONOUN

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 98 ff.; *Grundriss*, i. 296 ff. L. Reinisch, 'Das persönl. Fürwort u. die Verbalflexion in den chamito-semit. Sprachen' (*Wiener Akad. der Wiss.*, 1909).

#### § 32. *The Personal Pronoun. The Separate Pronoun.*

1. The personal pronoun (as well as the pronoun generally) belongs *a* to the oldest and simplest elements of the language (§ 30 s). It must be discussed *before* the verb, since it plays an important part in verbal inflexion (§§ 44, 47).

2. The independent principal forms of the personal pronoun serve *b* (like the Gk. ἐγώ, σὺ, Lat. *ego, tu*, and their plurals) almost exclusively to emphasize the nominative-subject (see, however, § 135 d). They are as follows:

| <i>Singular.</i>   |  | <i>Plural.</i>   |  |
|--|--|--|--|
| 1. Com. אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי; } I.  |  | 1. Com. אֲנֹכְנִי, in pause אֲנֹכְנִי } we.                            |  |
| אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי  |  | (אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי, (אֲנִי))                                       |  |
| 2. { m. אַתָּה (אַתָּה), in pause<br>אַתָּה or אַתָּה<br>f. אַתָּה (אַתָּה) properly אַתָּה, } thou. |  | 2. { m. אֲנֵם<br>f. אֲנֵנָה (אֲנֵנָה); אֲנֵנָה (אֲנֵנָה) } ye.         |  |
| 3. { m. הוּא he (it).<br>f. הִיא she (it).   |  | 3. { m. הֵם (הֵם), הֵנָּה<br>f. הֵנָּה after prefixes הֵן, הֵן } they. |  |

The forms enclosed in parentheses are the less common. A table of these pronouns with their shortened forms (*pronominal suffixes*) is given in Paradigm A at the end of this Grammar.

#### REMARKS.

##### I. *First Person.*

1. The form אֲנִי is less frequent than אֲנִי.<sup>1</sup> The former occurs in c

<sup>1</sup> On the prevalence of אֲנִי in the earlier Books compare the statistics collected by Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 251 ff., partly contested by Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, 1882, vol. xi. p. 222 ff. (but cf. his *Introduction*, ed. 6, p. 135, line 1 f.), but thoroughly established by König in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1893, pp. 464 ff. and 478, and in his *Einleitung in das A. T.*, p. 168, &c. In some of the latest books אֲנִי is not found at all, and hardly at all in the Talmud. [For details see the Lexicon, s. v. אֲנִי and אֲנִי.]

Phoenician, Moabite, and Assyrian, but in no other of the kindred dialects;<sup>1</sup> from the latter the suffixes are derived (§ 33). The *š* most probably results from an obscuring of an original *š* (cf. Aram. 𐤑𐤍𐤕, Arab. *ʿana*). The pausal form 𐤑𐤍𐤕 occurs not only with small disjunctive accents, but even with conjunctives; so always in 𐤑𐤍𐤕 𐤓 as *I live!* also Is 49<sup>18</sup> with Munaḥ, ψ 119<sup>125</sup> with Merkha (which, however, has been altered from D<sup>o</sup>hi), and twice in Mal 1<sup>6</sup>. In all these cases there is manifestly a disagreement between the vocalization already established and the special laws regulating the system of accentuation.

d 2. The formation of the plural, in this and the other persons, exhibits a certain analogy with that of the noun, while at the same time (like the pronouns of other languages) it is characterized by many differences and peculiarities. The short form 𐤑𐤍𐤕 (𐤑𐤍𐤕) from which the suffix is derived occurs only in Jer 42<sup>6</sup> *K<sup>e</sup>hibh*. The form 𐤑𐤍𐤕 (cf. § 19 h) only in Ex 167<sup>8</sup>, Nu 32<sup>32</sup>, La 3<sup>42</sup>; 𐤑𐤍𐤕 in *pause*, Gn 42<sup>11</sup>; in Arabic *nāḥnu* is the regular form. In the Mišna 𐤑𐤍𐤕 (𐤑𐤍𐤕) has altogether supplanted the longer forms.

e 3. The pronoun of the 1st person only is, as a rule in languages, of the common gender, because the person who is present and speaking needs no further indication of gender, as does the 2nd person, who is addressed (in Greek, Latin, English, &c., this distinction is also lacking), and still more the 3rd person who is absent.

## II. Second Person.

f 4. The forms of the 2nd person 𐤑𐤍𐤕, 𐤑𐤍𐤕, 𐤑𐤍𐤕, 𐤑𐤍𐤕, &c., are contracted from *'antū*, &c. The kindred languages have retained the *n* before the 𐤓, e. g. Arab. *'antā*, fem. *'antī*, thou; pl. *'antum*, fem. *'antiṇna*, ye. In Syriac 𐤑𐤍𐤕, fem. 𐤑𐤍𐤕 are written, but both are pronounced *'at*. In Western Aramaic 𐤑𐤍𐤕 is usual for both genders.

g 𐤑𐤍𐤕 (without 𐤓) occurs five times, e. g. ψ 6<sup>4</sup>, always as *K<sup>e</sup>hibh*, with 𐤑𐤍𐤕 as *Q<sup>re</sup>*. In three places 𐤑𐤍𐤕 appears as a masculine, Nu 11<sup>16</sup>, Dt 5<sup>24</sup>, Ez 28<sup>14</sup>.

h The feminine form was originally 𐤑𐤍𐤕 as in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. This form is found seven times as *K<sup>e</sup>hibh* (Ju 17<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>2</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>10,23</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, Jer 4<sup>30</sup>, Ez 36<sup>13</sup>) and appears also in the corresponding personal ending of verbs (see § 44 f), especially, and necessarily, before suffixes, as 𐤑𐤍𐤕 𐤓, § 59 a [c]; cf. also *i* as the ending of the 2nd fem. sing. of the imperative and imperfect. The final *i* was, however, gradually dropped in pronunciation, just as in Syriac (see above, f) it was eventually only written, not pronounced. The *i* therefore finally disappeared (cf. § 10 k), and hence the Masorates, even in these seven passages, have pointed the word in the text as 𐤑𐤍𐤕 to indicate the *Q<sup>re</sup>* 𐤑𐤍𐤕 (see § 17). The same final *i* appears in the rare (Aramaic) forms of the suffix 𐤑𐤍𐤕, 𐤑𐤍𐤕 (§§ 58, 91).

i 5. The plurals 𐤑𐤍𐤕 (with the second vowel assimilated to the fem. form) and 𐤑𐤍𐤕 (𐤑𐤍𐤕), with the tone on the ultima, only partially correspond to the assumed ground-forms *'antumā*, fem. *'antiṇnā*, Arab. *'antiṇ* (Aram. 𐤑𐤍𐤕, 𐤑𐤍𐤕) and *'antiṇna* (Aram. 𐤑𐤍𐤕, 𐤑𐤍𐤕). The form 𐤑𐤍𐤕 is found only in Ez 34<sup>31</sup> (so Qimḥi expressly, others 𐤑𐤍𐤕); 𐤑𐤍𐤕 (for which some MSS. have

<sup>1</sup> In Phoenician and Moabite (inscription of Mošā, line 1) it is written 𐤑𐤍𐤕, without the final *i*. In Punic it was pronounced *anec* (Plaut. *Poen.* 5, 1, S) or *anech* (5, 2, 35). Cf. Schröder, *Phöniz. Sprache*, p. 143. In Assyrian the corresponding form is *anaku*, in old Egyptian *aneh*, Coptic *anok*, *nok*.

הָנִי only four times, viz. Gn 31<sup>6</sup>, Ez 13<sup>11,20</sup>, 34<sup>17</sup>; in 13<sup>20</sup> הָנִי (before a ה) is even used as feminine.

### III. Third Person.

6. (a) In הָנִי and הִנִּי (*hā* and *hī*) the נ (corresponding to the 'Elif of pro-*k* longation in Arabic, cf. § 23 *i*) might be regarded only as an orthographic addition closing the final long vowel, as in לָנִי, בָּנִי, &c. The נ is, however, always written in the case of the separate pronouns,<sup>1</sup> and only as a toneless suffix (§ 33 *a*) does הָנִי appear as הִי, while הִנִּי becomes הִי. In Arabic (as in Syriac) they are written הִי and הִי but pronounced *hīcā* and *hīyā*, and in Vulgar Arabic even *hīnova* and *hīyya*. This Arabic pronunciation alone would not indeed be decisive, since the vowel complement might have arisen from the more consonantal pronunciation of the י and י; but the Ethiopic *we'etū* (= *hu'a-tū*) for הָנִי, *ye'etū* (= *hi'a-tū*) for הִנִּי (cf. also the Assyrian *ya-u-a* for הָנִי) show that the נ was original and indicated an original vocalic termination of the two words. According to Philippi (*ZDMG*, xxviii. 172 and xxix. 371 ff.) הָנִי arose from a primitive Semitic *ha-ra*, הִנִּי from *ha-ya*.

(b) The form הָנִי also stands in the consonantal text (*K<sup>e</sup>thibh*) of the Pentateuch<sup>2</sup> (with the exception of eleven places) for the *fem.* הִנִּי. In all such cases the Masora, by the punctuation הָנִי, has indicated the *Q<sup>re</sup>* הִנִּי (*Q<sup>re</sup> perpetuum*, see § 17). The old explanation regarded this phenomenon as an archaism which was incorrectly removed by the Masoretes. This assumption is, however, clearly untenable, if we consider (1) that no other Semitic language is without the quite indispensable distinction of gender in the separate pronoun of the 3rd pers.; (2) that this distinction does occur eleven times in the Pentateuch, and that in Gn 20<sup>6</sup>, 38<sup>28</sup>, Nu 5<sup>38,14</sup> הָנִי and הִנִּי are found close to one another; (3) that outside the Pentateuch the distinction is found in the oldest documents, so that the הִנִּי cannot be regarded as having been subsequently adopted from the Aramaic; (4) that those parts of the book of Joshua which certainly formed a constituent part of the original sources of the Pentateuch, know nothing of this epicene use of הָנִי. Consequently there only remains the hypothesis, that the writing of הָנִי for הִנִּי rests on an orthographical peculiarity which in some recension of the Pentateuch-text was almost consistently followed, but was afterwards very properly rejected by the Masoretes. The orthography was, however, peculiar to the Pentateuch-text alone, since it is unnecessary to follow the Masora in writing הָנִי for הִנִּי in 1 K 17<sup>15</sup>, Is 30<sup>32</sup>, Jb 31<sup>11</sup>, or הָנִי in ψ 73<sup>18</sup>, Ec 5<sup>8</sup>, 1 Cl 20<sup>16</sup>. The Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch has the correct form in the *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* throughout. Levy's explanation of this strange practice of the Masoretes is evidently right, viz. that originally הִי was written for both forms (see *k*, note), and was almost everywhere, irrespective of gender, expanded into הָנִי. On the whole question see Driver, *Lectures* (in *Haupt's Bible*), p. 25 f. In the text Driver always reads הִי.

7. The plural forms הֵם (הֵמָּה) and הֵנָּה (after *prefixes* הֵן, הֵן) are of doubtful origin, but הֵם, הֵמָּה have probably been assimilated to הֵנָּה which goes back to a form *hinnā*. In Western Aram. הֵמָּה, הֵמָּה, Syr. *hemān*

<sup>1</sup> In the inscription of King Mēša' (see § 2 *a*), lines 6 and 27, we find הִי for הָנִי, and in the inscription of 'Ešmun'azar, line 22, for הִי, but in the Zenjirli inscriptions (see § 1 *m*) both הָנִי and הִי occur (Hadad i, l. 29).

<sup>2</sup> Also in twelve places in the Babylonian Codex (Prophets) of 916 A. D.; cf. Baer, *Ezechiel*, p. 108 f.; Buhl, *Canon and Text of the O. T.* (Edinb. 1892), p. 240.



(*'enân*), Arab. *himû* (archaic form of *hum*), and Ethiop. *hômû*, an *ô* or *û* is appended, which in Hebrew seems to reappear in the poetical suffixes מוֹ—, מוֹ—, מוֹ— (§ 91 l, 3).

- n In some passages וְיָקָח stands for the feminine (Ze 5<sup>10</sup>, Ct 6<sup>8</sup>, Ru 1<sup>22</sup>; cf. the use of the suffix of the 3rd masc. for the 3rd fem., § 135 o and § 145 t). For the quite anomalous עָרִיכָם 2 K 9<sup>18</sup> read עָרִיכָם (Jb 32<sup>12</sup>).
- O 8. The pronouns of the 3rd person may refer to *things* as well as persons. On their meaning as *demonstratives* see § 136.

### § 33. Pronominal Suffixes.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 100 f.; *Grundriss*, i. 306 ff. J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Suffixlehre des Nordsemit.', in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, 1901, p. 193 ff.

- a 1. The independent principal forms of the personal pronoun (the *separate pronoun*), given in the preceding section, express only the nominative.<sup>1</sup> The accusative and genitive are expressed by forms, usually shorter, joined to the end of verbs, nouns, and particles (*pronominal suffixes* or simply *suffixes*); e. g. וְיָקָח (toneless) and יָ (from *āhā*) *eum* and *eius*, קָטַלְתִּירוּ I have killed him (also קָטַלְתִּי אֹהֶלְיוֹ or (with *āhā* contracted into *ō*) קָטַלְתָּו thou hast killed him; אֹהֶלְיוֹ (also אֹהֶלְיוֹ) *lux eius*.

The same method is employed in all the other Semitic languages, as well as in the Egyptian, Persian, Finnish, Tartar, and others; in Greek, Latin, and German we find only slight traces of the kind, e. g. German, *er gab's* for *er gab es*; Greek, *πατήρ μου* for *πατήρ ἐμοῦ*; Latin, *ecum, eccos*, &c., in Plautus and Terence for *ecce eum, ecce eos*.

- b 2. The case which these suffixes represent is—
- (a) When joined to verbs, the accusative (cf., however, § 117 e), e. g. קָטַלְתִּירוּ I have killed him.
- c (b) When affixed to substantives, the genitive (like *πατήρ μου, pater eius*). They then serve as *possessive pronouns*, e. g. אָבִי ('ābh-ī) *my father*, חֲסִידוֹ his horse, which may be either *equus eius* or *equus suus*.
- d (c) When joined to particles, either the genitive or accusative, according as the particles originally expressed the idea of a noun or a verb, e. g. בֵּינִי, literally *interstitium mei, between me* (cf. *mea causa*); but הִנְנִי behold me, ecce me.
- e (d) Where, according to the Indo-Germanic case-system, the dative or ablative of the pronoun is required, the suffixes in Hebrew are joined to prepositions expressing those cases (ל sign of the dative, בֵּי in, מִן from, § 102), e. g. לוֹ to him (*ei*) and to himself (*sibi*), מִי from him, מִמֶּנִּי (usually מִמִּנִּי) from me.

<sup>1</sup> On apparent exceptions see § 135 d.

3. The suffixes of the 2nd person ( $\text{ךָ}$ , &c.) are all formed with *f* a *k*-sound, not, like the *separate* pronouns of the 2nd person, with a *t*-sound.

So in all the Semitic languages, in Ethiopic even in the verbal form (*qatalka*, *thou hast killed* = Hebr.  $\text{קָטַלְתָּ}$ ).

4. The *suffix of the verb* (the accusative) and the *suffix of the noun* (the *g* genitive) coincide in most forms, but some differ, e. g.  $\text{נִי}$  — *me*,  $\text{מִי}$  — *my*.

Paradigm A at the end of the Grammar gives a table of all the forms of the *separate pronoun* and the *suffixes*; a fuller treatment of the *verbal suffix* and the mode of attaching it to the verb will be found in § 58 ff., of the *noun-suffix* in § 91, of the prepositions with suffixes in § 103, of adverbs with suffixes § 100 o.

### § 34. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

1. *Sing.*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{זֶה}^1 \\ f. \text{זֹאת} (\text{זֵה, זֵי})^2 \end{array} \right\}$  *this*. *Plur. com.*  $\text{אֵלֶּה}$  (rarely  $\text{אֵלָּה}$ ) *these*. *a*

Rem. 1. The feminine form  $\text{זֹאת}$  has undoubtedly arisen from  $\text{זֵה}$ , by *b* obscuring of an original *ā* to *ō* (for  $\text{זֵה} = \text{זֶה}$  cf. the Arab. *hā-qā*, *this*, masc.; for  $\text{זֵה}$  as the feminine ending, § 80), and the forms  $\text{זֵה}$ ,  $\text{זֵי}$ , both of which are rare,<sup>3</sup> are shortened from  $\text{זֹאת}$ . In  $\psi$  132<sup>12</sup>  $\text{זֵה}$  is used as a *relative*, cf.  $\text{זֵה}$  below. In Jer 26<sup>8</sup>, *K<sup>c</sup>thābh*,  $\text{זֹאתֵה}$  (with the article and the demonstrative termination  $\text{הָ}$ ) is found for  $\text{זֹאת}$ . The forms  $\text{אֵלֶּה}$  and  $\text{אֵלָּה}$  are the plurals of  $\text{זֶה}$  and  $\text{זֹאת}$  by usage, though not etymologically. The form  $\text{אֵלָּה}$  occurs only in the Pentateuch (but not in the Samaritan text), Gn 19<sup>8,25</sup>, 26<sup>8,4</sup>, &c. (8 times), always with the article,  $\text{אֵלֶּה הָאֵלֶּה}$  [as well as  $\text{אֵלֶּה הָאֵלֶּה}$  frequently], and in 1 Ch 2c<sup>8</sup> without the article [cf. Driver on Dt 4<sup>42</sup>].<sup>4</sup> Both the singular and the plural may refer to things as well as persons.

2. In combination with prepositions to denote the oblique case we find  $\text{לְזֶה}^c$  *to this* (cf. for  $\text{לְ}$ , § 102 *g*),  $\text{לְזֹאת}$ ,  $\text{לְזֵה}$  *to this* (fem.),  $\text{לְאֵלֶּה}$ ,  $\text{לְאֵלָּה}$  *to these*;  $\text{אֵתֶּה}$  *hunc*,  $\text{אֵתֹה}$  *hanc*,  $\text{אֵתֵה}$  *hos*, also without  $\text{אֵתֶּה}$ , even *before* the verb  $\psi$  75<sup>8</sup>, &c. Note also  $\text{זֶה מְכִיר}$  *pretium huius* (1 K 21<sup>2</sup>), &c.

<sup>1</sup> In many languages the demonstratives begin with a *d*-sound (hence called the *demonstrative sound*) which, however, sometimes interchanges with a sibilant. Cf. Aram.  $\text{זֶה, זֵה}$  *masc.*,  $\text{זֵה, זֵי}$  *fem.* (*this*); Sansk. *sa, sâ, tat*; Gothic *sa, sô, thata*; Germ. *da, der, die, das*; and Eng. *the, this, that*, &c. Cf. J. Barth, 'Zum semit. Demonstr.  $\text{זֶה}$ ', in ZDMG. 59, 159 ff., and 633 ff.; *Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen zum Semit.*, Lpz. 1907, p. 30 ff. [See the Lexicon, s. v.  $\text{זֶה}$ , and Aram.  $\text{זֶה, זֵה}$ .]

<sup>2</sup> That  $\text{זֶה}$  may stand for the feminine, cannot be proved either from Ju 16<sup>28</sup> or from the certainly corrupt passage in Jos 2<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>3</sup>  $\text{זֵה}$  2 K 6<sup>13</sup>, and in seven other places;  $\text{זֵי}$  only in Hos 7<sup>16</sup>,  $\psi$  132<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> According to Kuenen (cf. above, § 2 *n*) and Driver, on Lev 18<sup>27</sup> in Haupt's Bible, this  $\text{אֵלָּה}$  is due to an error of the punctuators. It goes back to a time when the vowel of the second syllable was not yet indicated by a vowel letter, and later copyists wrongly omitted the addition of the  $\text{ה}$ . In Phœnician also it was written  $\text{אֵלָּה}$ , but pronounced *ily* according to Plantus, *Paen.* v, 1, 9.

- d* 2. The secondary form *ו* occurs only in poetic style, and mostly for the relative, like our *that* for *who* [see Lexicon, s.v.]. Like *אֲשֶׁר* (§ 36), it serves for all numbers and genders.
- e* Rem. 1. This pronoun takes the article (*הַ*) according to the same rule as adjectives, see § 126 *u*; e.g. *הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה* *this man*, but *זֶה הָאִישׁ* *this is the man*.
- f* 2. Rarer secondary forms, with strengthened demonstrative force, are *הַזֶּה* Gn 24<sup>65</sup>, 37<sup>19</sup>; *הַזֶּה* *fem.* Ez 36<sup>35</sup>; and shortened *הֵן*, sometimes *masc.*, as in Ju 6<sup>20</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>26</sup>, 2 K 23<sup>17</sup>, Zc 2<sup>8</sup>, Dn 8<sup>16</sup>, sometimes *fem.*, 2 K 4<sup>25</sup>: cf. 1 S 14<sup>1</sup> [and 20<sup>19</sup> LXX; see Commentaries and Kittel].
- g* 3. The personal pronouns of the 3rd person also often have a demonstrative sense, see § 136.

### § 35. The Article.

J. Barth, 'Der heb. u. der aram. Artikel,' in *Sprachwiss. Untersuch. zum Semit.*, Lpz. 1907, p. 47 ff.

- a* 1. The article, which is by nature a kind of demonstrative pronoun, never appears in Hebrew as an independent word, but always in closest connexion with the word which is defined by it. It usually takes the form *הַ*, with *a* and a strengthening of the next consonant, e.g. *הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ* *the sun*, *הַיָּאֵר* *the river*, *הַלְוִיִּים* *the Levites* (according to § 20 *m* for *הַיָּאֵר*, *הַלְוִיִּים*).
- b* Rem. With regard to the *Dageš* in *הַ* after the article, the rule is, that it is inserted when a *ה* or *ע* follows the *הַ*; e.g. *הַיְהוּדִים* *the Jews*, *הַיָּעִיִּים* *the weary* (*פְּעִינִים* La 4<sup>3</sup> *Q<sup>re</sup>* is an exception), but *הַיָּאֵר*, *הַיָּלִידִים*, *הַיָּסוּד*, &c. *Dageš forte* also stands after the article in the prefix *בְּ* in certain nouns and in the participles *Pfēl* and *Pu'al* (see § 52 *c*) before *ה*, *ע*, and *ר*, except when the guttural (or *ר*) has under it a short vowel in a sharpened syllable; thus *הַמְּעִרָה* Ez 22<sup>5</sup>, *הַמְּעִרָה* *the care*, *בְּמִרְעִים* ψ 37<sup>1</sup> (cf. Jb 38<sup>40</sup>, 1 Ch 4<sup>41</sup>); but *הַמְּתַקֵּן* ψ 104<sup>3</sup> (Ec 4<sup>15</sup>, 2 Ch 23<sup>12</sup>; before *ע* ψ 103<sup>4</sup>); *הַמְּעַשֶּׂה* Is 23<sup>12</sup>; *הַמְּרַגֵּל* Jos 6<sup>22</sup>. Before letters other than gutturals this *הַ* remains without *Dageš*, according to § 20 *m*.
- c* 2. When the article stands before a guttural, which (according to § 22 *b*) cannot properly be strengthened, the following cases arise, according to the character of the guttural (cf. § 27 *g*).
- (1) In the case of the weakest guttural, *א*, and also with *ר* (§ 22 *c* and *q*), the strengthening is altogether omitted. Consequently, the *Pathah* of the article (since it stands in an open syllable) is always lengthened to *Qames*; e.g. *הָאָב* *the father*, *הָאֲחֵר* *the other*, *הָאִם* *the mother*, *הָאִישׁ* *the man*, *הָאֵר* *the light*, *הָאֵלֵהִים* *θεός*, *הָרֵגֶל* *the foot*, *הָרֹאשׁ* *the head*, *הָרָשָׁע* *the wicked*.
- d* So also *הַשְּׂפֹת* Neh 3<sup>18</sup>, because syncopated from *הַשְּׂפֹתִים* (cf. verse 14 and Baer on the passage); *הָאֲנָקִים* (as in Nu 11<sup>4</sup>, Ju 9<sup>41</sup>, 2 S 23<sup>33</sup>, with the *א*

orthographically retained, for הָאֵלֹהִים Jer 40<sup>4</sup> (cf. בָּאֵלֹהִים verse 1); הָאֵלֶּיךָ Ec 4<sup>1</sup> for הָאֵלֶּיךָ; הָרָמִים 2 Ch 22<sup>5</sup> for הָרָמִים (cf. 2 K 8<sup>28</sup>).

(2) In the case of the other gutturals either the virtual strengthening takes place (§ 22 c)—especially with the stronger sounds ה and ח, less often with ע—or the strengthening is wholly omitted. In the former case, the *Pathah* of the article remains, because the syllable is still regarded as closed; in the second case, the *Pathah* is either modified to *Sghôl* or fully lengthened to *Qames*. That is to say:—

A. When the guttural has any other vowel than *ā* (ֶ) or *ô* (ֹ), *f* then

(1) before the stronger sounds ה and ח the article regularly remains ה; e.g. הַחַיָּה *that*, הַחֹדֶשׁ *the month*, הַחֵיל *the force*, הַחֲכָמָה *the wisdom*. Before ה, *ā* occurs only in הַחַיָּה Gn 6<sup>19</sup> [not elsewhere], הַחֲרִיטִים Is 3<sup>22</sup>, הַחֲפִיזִים Is 17<sup>8</sup> [not elsewhere]; before ח, always in הַחֲפִיזָה הַחֲמָה.

(2) before ע the *Pathah* is generally lengthened to *Qames*, e.g. הָעַיִן *the eye*, הָעִיר *the city*, הָעֶבֶר *the servant*, plur. הָעֶבְרִים; 1 K 12<sup>22</sup>; also in Gn 10<sup>17</sup> הָעֶרְקִי is the better reading. Exceptions are הָעֶרְקִי Ex 15<sup>10</sup>, הָעֶרְקִים 2 S 5<sup>6,8</sup>, Is 42<sup>18</sup>, הָעֶרְקִי Is 24<sup>2</sup>, הָעֶרְקִים Is 65<sup>11</sup>, הָעֶשֶׂן Ez 22<sup>7</sup>, הָעֶשְׂרִים Pr 2<sup>13</sup> and הָעֶשְׂרִים Pr 2<sup>17</sup>, הָעֶשְׂרִים 1 S 16<sup>7</sup>, Ec 11<sup>7</sup>; but הָעֶשְׂרִים Gn 3<sup>6</sup>, Pr 10<sup>26</sup>. Cf. Baer on Is 42<sup>18</sup>.

B. When the guttural has *ā* (ֶ) then

(1) immediately before a tone-bearing ה or ע the article is always ה, otherwise it is ה; e.g. הָעָם *the people*, הָהָר *the mountain*, הָעֵין (in pause) *the eye*, הָהָרָה *towards the mountain*; but (according to § 22 c) הָהָרִים *the mountains*, הָעֵינִי *the iniquity*.

(2) before ה the article is invariably ה without regard to the tone; *i* e.g. הָחָכָם *the wise man*, הָהֵיכָל *the festival*.

C. When the guttural has ֶ the article is ה before ה; e.g. הַחֲרָשִׁים *the months*; הַחֲרָבוֹת *in the waste places* (without the article *בְּחֲרָבוֹת* *bôḥarābhôth*) Ez 33<sup>27</sup>, הַחֲרָבוֹת Ez 36<sup>35,38</sup>, cf. 2 Ch 27<sup>4</sup>; but ה before ע, as הָעֶשְׂרִים *the sheaves* Ru 2<sup>15</sup>.

The gender and number of the noun have no influence on the form of the article.

Rem. 1. The original form of the Hebrew (and the Phœnician) article ה is generally considered to have been הָל, the ל of which (owing to the proclitic nature of the article) has been invariably assimilated to the following consonant, as in יִלְקַח from *yilqah*, § 19 d. This view was supported by the form of the Arabic article هَال (pronounced *hal* by some modern Beduin), the ل of which is also assimilated at least before all letters like *s* and *t* and before *l*, *n*, and *r*, e.g. 'al-Qur'an but 'as-sānū (Beduin *has-sana*) = Hebr. הָשָׁנָה *the year*.

But Barth (*Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, 1896, p. 7 ff.), following Hupfeld and Stade, has shown that the Hebrew article is to be connected rather with the original Semitic demonstrative *hā*,<sup>1</sup> cf. Arab. *hāda*, Aram. *hādēn*, &c. The sharpening of the following consonant is to be explained exactly like the sharpening after ׀ consecutive (§ 49 f; cf. also cases like בַּמָּוֶה, בַּמָּוֶה, &c., § 102 k), from the close connexion of the *ha* with the following word, and the sharpening necessarily involved the shortening of the vowel.<sup>2</sup>

m. The Arabic article is supposed to occur in the Old Testament in אֱלֹהִים 1 K 10<sup>11,12</sup> (also אֱלֹהִימִים 2 Ch 27<sup>9-10,11</sup>), *sandal-wood* (?), and in אֱלֹהֵי שָׁמַיִם *hail*, ice = גְּבִישׁ (Arab. *gibs*) Ez 13<sup>11,13</sup>, 38<sup>22</sup>, but this explanation can hardly be correct. On the other hand, in the proper name אֱלֹהֵי מִדְבָּר Gn 10<sup>26</sup> the first syllable is probably אֵל *God*, as suggested by D. H. Müller (see *Lexicon*, s. v.) and Nöldeke, *Sitzungsber. der Berl. Akad.*, 1882, p. 1186. אֱלֹהִים Pr 30<sup>31</sup>, commonly explained as = Arab. *al-qaum*, the militia, is also quite uncertain.

n. 2. When the prefixes ה, ל, ב, ( § 102) come before the article, the ה is elided, and its vowel is thrown back to the prefix, in the place of the *šwā* (§ 19 k, and § 23 k), e. g. בַּשָּׁמַיִם *in the heaven* for בְּהַשָּׁמַיִם (so ψ 36<sup>6</sup>); לָעָם *for* לְהָעָם *to the people*, בְּהָרִים *on the mountains*, בְּחֳדָשִׁים *in the months*; also in Is 41<sup>2</sup>, read כְּעֶפֶר instead of the impossible כְּעָפֶר. Exceptions to this rule occur almost exclusively in the later Books: Ez 40<sup>25</sup>, 47<sup>22</sup>, Ec 8<sup>1</sup>, Dn 8<sup>16</sup>, Neh 9<sup>19</sup>, 12<sup>31</sup>, 2 Ch 10<sup>7</sup>, 25<sup>10</sup>, 29<sup>27</sup>; cf., however, 1 S 13<sup>21</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>20</sup>. Elsewhere, e. g. 2 K 7<sup>12</sup>, the Masora requires the elision in the *Qere*. A distinction in meaning is observed between בְּהִיּוֹם *about this time* (Gn 30<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>13</sup>, &c.) and בְּיוֹם *first of all* (Gn 25<sup>31</sup>, &c.). After the copula ו (and) elision of the ה does not take place, e. g. וְהָעָם.

o. 3. The words אֶרֶץ *earth*, הָר *mountain*, חֵג *feast*, עַם *people*, פָּר *bull*, always appear after the article with a long vowel (as in *pause*); הָאֶרֶץ, הָהָר, הַחֵג, הָעָם, הַפָּר; cf. also אֶרֶץ *ark* (so in the absol. st. in 2 K 12<sup>10</sup>, 2 Ch 24<sup>8</sup>, but to be read אֶרֶץ), with the article always הָאֶרֶץ.

### § 36. The Relative Pronoun.

The relative pronoun (cf. § 138) is usually the indeclinable אֲשֶׁר (*who, which, &c.*), originally a demonstrative pronoun; see further §§ 138 and 155. In the later books, especially Eccles. and the late Psalms, also Lam. (4 times), Jon. (1<sup>7</sup>), Chron. (twice), Ezra (once),—and always in the Canticle (cf. also Ju 7<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>26</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>11</sup>),—אֲשֶׁר is used instead; more rarely שֶׁ Ju 5<sup>7</sup>, Ct 1<sup>7</sup> (Jb 19<sup>29?</sup>); once שֶׁ before נ Ju 6<sup>17</sup> (elsewhere שֶׁ before a guttural), before ה even שֶׁ Ec 3<sup>18</sup>, and according to some (e. g. Qimhi) also in Ec 2<sup>22</sup>.<sup>3</sup> [See *Lexicon*, s. v.]

<sup>1</sup> An original form *han*, proposed by Ungnad, 'Der hebr. Art.,' in *OLZ.* x (1907), col. 210 f., and *ZDMG.* 1908, p. 80 ff., is open to grave objections.

<sup>2</sup> In the Lihyanitic inscriptions collected by Euting (ed. by D. H. Müller in *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, Wien, 1889) the article is ה, and also in a North Arabian dialect, according to E. Littmann, *Safu-inschriften*, p. 2, Rem., and p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> The full form אֲשֶׁר does not occur in Phoenician, but only אֲשֶׁ (= אֲשֶׁ?), pronounced *asse*, *esse* (also *as*, *es*, *is*, *ys*, *us*), or—especially in the later Punic

§ 37. *The Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.*

1. The interrogative pronoun is **מִי** *who?* (of persons, even before *a* plurals, Gn 33<sup>5</sup>, Is 60<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 18<sup>35</sup>, and sometimes also of things Gn 33<sup>8</sup>, Ju 13<sup>17</sup>, Mi 1<sup>6</sup>; cf. also **בֵּת־מִי** *whose daughter?* Gn 24<sup>28</sup>; **לְמִי** *to whom?* **מִי־הָאֵת** *whom?*—**מָה**, **מַה** (see *b*) *what?* (of things).—**אֵי־הָאֵת** *which? what?*

The form **מָה**, **מַי**, &c. (followed by *Dageš forte conjunct.*: even in **מַי**, Hb 2<sup>1</sup>, &c., *b* against § 20 *m*) may be explained (like the art. **הַ** § 35 *l*, and **וְ** in the *imperf. consec.*) from the rapid utterance of the interrogative in connexion with the following word. Most probably, however, the *Dageš forte* is rather due to the assimilation of an originally audible **מַ** (**מָה**, as Olshausen), which goes back through the intermediate forms *math*, *mat* to an original *mant*: so W. Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, Cambridge, 1890, p. 124, partly following Böttcher, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 261. A ground-form *mant* would most easily explain **מָן** (*what?*), used in Ex 16<sup>15</sup> in explanation of **מָן** *manna*, while **מָן** is the regular Aramaic for *who*. Socin calls attention to the Arabic *māh* (in pause with an audible *h*: *Mufasssal*, 193, 8). Observe further that—

(*a*) In the closest connexion, by means of *Maqqeph*, **מָה** takes a following *C* *Dageš* (§ 20 *d*), e.g. **מָה־לָּךְ** *what is it to thee?* and even in one word, as **מִמֶּנִּים** *what is it to you?* Is 3<sup>15</sup>; cf. Ex 4<sup>2</sup>, Mal 1<sup>13</sup>, and even before a guttural, **מָה־ם** Ez 8<sup>6</sup> *K<sup>thibh</sup>*.

(*b*) Before gutturals in close connexion, by means of *Maqqeph* or (e.g. Ju 14<sup>18</sup>, *d* 1 S 20<sup>1</sup>) a conjunctive accent, either **מָה** is used with a virtual strengthening of the guttural (§ 22 *c*), so especially before **הַ**, and, in Gn 31<sup>26</sup>, Jb 21<sup>21</sup>, before **פִּ**—or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the latter case either (cf. § 35 *e-k*) *ā* is fully lengthened to *Qames* (so always before the **הַ** of the article, except in Ec 2<sup>12</sup>; also before **הָמָה**, **הֵמָּה**, and Hb 2<sup>18</sup> before **עַ**, Gn 31<sup>32</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>13</sup> before **א** and **ר**) or modified to *Sghöl*, especially before **עַ**, **הַ**, and generally before **הַ**. The omission of the strengthening also takes place as a rule with **הַ**, **חַ**, **עַ**, when they have not *Qames*, and then the form is either **מָה** or **מַה**, the latter especially before **פִּ** or **עַ**, if *Maqqeph* follows.

The longer forms **מָה** and **מַה** are also used (**מָה** even before letters which are not gutturals) when not connected by *Maqqeph* but only by a *conjunctive accent*. As a rule **מָה** is then used, but sometimes **מַה** when at a greater distance from the principal tone of the sentence, Is 1<sup>5</sup>, *ψ* 4<sup>3</sup>. (On **מָה** in the combinations **בְּמָה**, **בְּמָה**, and even **לְמָה**, 1 S 1<sup>8</sup>, cf. § 102 *k* and *l*.)

(*c*) In the principal pause **מָה** is used without exception; also as a rule with the smaller *disjunctives*, and almost always before gutturals (**מָה** only in very few cases). On the other hand, **מַה** more often stands before letters which are not gutturals, when at a greater distance from the principal tone of the sentence, e.g. 1 S 4<sup>6</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 2 K 1<sup>7</sup>, Hag 1<sup>9</sup> (see Köhler on the passage), *ψ* 10<sup>13</sup>, Jb 7<sup>22</sup>; cf., however, Pr 31<sup>2</sup>, and Delitzsch on the passage.

2. On **מִי** and **מַה** as indefinite pronouns in the sense of *quicumque*, *g* *quodcumque*, and as relatives, *is qui*, *id quod*, &c., see § 137 *c*.

and in the *Poenulus* of Plautus—**ו** (*sa, si, sy, su*). Also in New Hebrew **וְ** has become the common form. Cf. Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, p. 162 ff. and below, § 155; also Bergsträsser, 'Das hebr. Präfix **וְ**,' in *ZAW.* 1909, p. 40 ff.



## CHAPTER II

### THE VERB

#### § 38. General View.

*a* Verbal stems are either original or derived. They are usually divided into—

(*a*) Verbal stems proper (*primitive verbs*), which exhibit the stem without any addition, e.g. מָלַךְ *he has reigned*.

*b* (*b*) Verbal derivatives, i.e. secondary verbal stems, derived from the pure stem (letter *a*), e.g. קִדְּשׁ *to sanctify*, הִתְקַדְּשׁ *to sanctify oneself*, from שָׁרַשׁ *to be holy*. These are usually called *conjugations* (§ 39).

*c* (*c*) Denominatives,<sup>1</sup> i.e. verbs derived from nouns (like the Latin *causari*, *praedari*, and Eng. *to skin*, *to stone*), or even from particles (see *d*, end) either in a primitive or derivative form, e.g. אָהַל *Qal* and פִּיֵּל *to pitch a tent*, from אֹהֶל *tent*; הִשְׁרִישׁ and שָׁרַשׁ *to take root*, and שָׁרַשׁ *to root out*, from שָׁרֵשׁ *root* (§ 52 *h*).

*d* This does not exclude the possibility that, for nouns, from which denominative verbs are derived, the corresponding (original) verbal stem may still be found either in Hebrew or in the dialects. The meaning, however, is sufficient to show that the denominatives have come from the noun, not from the verbal stem, e.g. לָבַנָה *a brick* (verbal stem לָבַן *to be white*), denomin. לָבַן *to make bricks*; דָּג *a fish* (verbal stem דָּגָה *to be prolific*), denomin. דָּגָה *to fish*; חָרַף *to winter* (from חֹרֶף *autumn, winter*, stem חָרַף *to pluck*); קִיץ *to pass the summer* (from קִיץ *summer*, stem קִיץ *to be hot*).

On 'Semitic verbs derived from particles' see P. Haupt in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xxii (1906), 257 ff.

#### § 39. Ground-form and Derived Stems.

Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 119 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 504 ff.

*a* 1. The 3rd sing. masc. of the *Perfect* in the form of the pure stem (i.e. in *Qal*, see *e*) is generally regarded, lexicographically and grammatically, as the ground-form of the verb (§ 30 *a*), e.g. קָטַל *he has killed*, כָּבֵד *he was heavy*, קָטַן *he was little*.<sup>2</sup> From this form the other

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. J. Gerber, *Die hebr. Verba denom.*, insbes. im theol. Sprachgebr. des A. T., Lpz. 1896.

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of brevity, however, the meaning in Hebrew-English Lexicons is usually given in the Infinitive, e.g. לָמַד *to learn*, properly *he has learnt*.

persons of the *Perfect* are derived, and the *Participle* also is connected with it. קָטַל or קָטֵל, like the Imperative and Infinitive construct in sound, may also be regarded as an alternative ground-form, with which the Imperfect (see § 47) is connected.

In verbs קָטַל (i.e. with ל for their second radical) the stem-form, given both in Lexicon and Grammar, is not the 3rd sing. masc. Perfect (consisting of two consonants), but the form with medial ל, which appears in the Imperative and Infinitive; e. g. שׁוּב to return (3rd pers. perf. שָׁב): the same is the case in most stems with medial ל, e. g. דָּן to judge.

2. From the pure stem, or *Qal*, the derivative stems are formed *c* according to an unvarying analogy, in which the idea of the stem assumes the most varied shades of meaning, according to the changes in its form (intensive, frequentative, privative, causative, reflexive, reciprocal; some of them with corresponding passive forms), e. g. לָמַד to learn, לָמַד to teach; שָׁב to lie, הִשָּׁב to lay; שָׁפַט to judge, נִשְׁפָּט to contend. In other languages such formations are regarded as new or derivative verbs, e. g. Germ. *fallen* (to fall), *füllen* (to fill); *trinken* (to drink), *tränken* (to drench); Lat. *lactere* (to suck, Germ. *säugen*), *lactare* (to suckle, Germ. *säugen*); *iacere* (to throw), *iacere* (to lie down); γίνωμαι, γυνάω. In Hebrew, however, these formations are incomparably more regular and systematic than (e. g.) in Greek, Latin, or English; and, since the time of Reuchlin, they have usually been called *conjugations* of the primitive form (among the Jewish grammarians בְּנֵינִים, i. e. *formations*, or more correctly *species*), and are always treated together in the grammar and lexicon.<sup>1</sup>

3. The changes in the primitive form consist either in internal *d* modification by means of vowel-change and strengthening of the middle consonant (קָטַל, קָטַל; קָטַל, קָטַל; cf. to lie, to lay; to fall, to fell), or in the repetition of one or two of the stem-consonants (קָטַל, קָטַל), or finally in the introduction of formative additions (קָטַל), which may also be accompanied by internal change (הִקָּטַל, הִקָּטַל). Cf. § 31 b.

In Aramaic the formation of the conjugations is effected more by formative additions than by vowel-change. The vocalic distinctions have mostly become obsolete, so that, e. g. the reflexives with the prefix הָהִי, הָהִי, הָהִי have entirely usurped the place of the passives. On the other hand, Arabic has preserved great wealth in both methods of formation, while Hebrew in this, as in other respects, holds the middle place (§ 1 m).

4. Grammarians differ as to the *number* and *arrangement* of these *c* conjugations. The common practice, however, of calling them by the

<sup>1</sup> The term *Conjugation* thus has an entirely different meaning in Hebrew and Greek or Latin grammar.

old grammatical terms, prevents any misunderstanding. The simple form is called *Qal* (קָל *light*, because it has no formative additions); the others (חֲבִיבִים *heavy*, being weighted, as it were, with the strengthening of consonants or with formative additions) take their names from the paradigm of *עָשָׂה* *he has done*,<sup>1</sup> which was used in the earliest Jewish grammatical works. Several of these have passives which are distinguished from their actives by more obscure vowels. The common conjugations (including *Qal* and the passives) are the seven following, but very few verbs exhibit them all:

|   | Active.  | Passive.                   |
|---|--|----------------------------|
| f | 1. <i>Qal</i> קָטַל <i>to kill</i> .   | (Of. § 52 e.)              |
|   | 2. <i>Niph'al</i> נִקְטַל <i>to kill oneself</i> (rarely passive).                                 |                            |
|   | 3. <i>Pi'el</i> קָטַל <i>to kill many, to massacre</i> .   | 4. <i>Pu'al</i> קָטַל.     |
|   | 5. <i>Hiph'il</i> הִקְטִיל <i>to cause to kill</i> .   | 6. <i>Hoph'al</i> הִקְטַל. |
|   | 7. <i>Hithpa'al</i> הִתְקַטַּל <i>to kill oneself</i> . [Very rare, <i>Hothpa'al</i> הוֹתְקַטַּל.] |                            |

g There are besides several less frequent conjugations, some of which, however, are more common in the kindred languages, and even in Hebrew (in the weak verb) regularly take the place of the usual conjugations (§ 55).

In Arabic there is a greater variety of conjugations, and their arrangement is more appropriate. According to the Arabic method, the Hebrew conjugations would stand thus: 1. *Qal*; 2. *Pi'el* and *Pu'al*; 3. *Po'el* and *Po'al* (see § 55 b); 4. *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*; 5. *Hithpa'al* and *Hothpa'al*; 6. *Hithpa'al* (see § 55 b); 7. *Niph'al*; 8. *Hithpa'al* (see § 54 d); 9. *Pi'el* (see § 55 d). A more satisfactory division would be into three classes: (1) The intensive *Pi'el* with the derived and analogous forms *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'al*. (2) The causative *Hiph'il* with its passive *Hoph'al*, and the analogous forms (*Shaph'el* and *Tiph'el*). (3) The reflexive or passive *Niph'al*.

<sup>1</sup> This paradigm was borrowed from the Arabic grammarians, and, according to Bacher, probably first adopted throughout by Abulwalid. It was, however, unsuitable on account of the guttural, and was, therefore, usually exchanged in later times for קָטַל, after the example of Moses Qimhi. This verb has the advantage, that all its conjugations are actually found in the Old Testament. On the other hand, it has the disadvantage of indistinctness in the pronunciation of some of its forms, e.g. קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל. The paradigm of קָטַל, commonly used since the time of Danz, avoids this defect, and is especially adapted for the comparative treatment of the Semitic dialects, inasmuch as it is found with slight change (Arab. and Ethiop. קָטַל) in all of them. It is true that in Hebrew it occurs only three times in *Qal*, and even then only in poetic style (ψ 139<sup>19</sup>, Jb 13<sup>15</sup>, 24<sup>14</sup>); yet it is worth retaining as a model which has been sanctioned by usage. More serious is the defect, that a number of forms of the paradigm of קָטַל leave the beginner in doubt as to whether or not there should be a *Dageš* in the *B'qadh'phath* letters, and consequently as to the correct division of the syllables.

## § 40. Tenses. Moods. Flexion.

A. Ungnad, 'Die gegenseitigen Beziehungen der Verbalformen im Grundstamm des semit. Verbs,' in *ZDMG.* 59 (1905), 766 ff., and his 'Zum hebr. Verbalsystem', in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* ed. by Fr. Delitzsch and P. Haupt, 1907, p. 55 ff.

1. While the Hebrew verb, owing to these derivative forms or *a* conjugations, possesses a certain richness and copiousness, it is, on the other hand, poor in the matter of *tenses* and *moods*. The verb has only two *tense*-forms (*Perfect* and *Imperfect*, see the note on § 47 a), besides an *Imperative* (but only in the active), two *Infinitives* and a *Participle*. All relations of time, absolute and relative, are expressed either by these forms (hence a certain diversity in their meaning, § 106 ff.) or by syntactical combinations. Of moods properly so called (besides the *Imperfect Indicative* and *Imperative*), only the *Jussive* and *Optative* are sometimes indicated by express modifications of the Imperfect-form (§ 48).

2. The *inflexion* of the *Perfect*, *Imperfect*, and *Imperative* as to *b* persons, differs from that of the Western languages in having, to a great extent, distinct forms for the two genders, which correspond to the different forms of the *personal pronoun*. It is from the union of the pronoun with the verbal stem that the personal inflexions of these *tenses* arise.

The following table will serve for the beginner as a provisional *c* scheme of the formative syllables (*afformatives* and *preformatives*) of the two *tenses*. The three stem-consonants of the strong verb are denoted by dots. Cf. § 44 ff. and the Paradigms.

| PERFECT.         |                    |
|------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Singular.</i> | <i>Plural.</i>     |
| 3. m. . . .      | 3. c. הָ . . .     |
| 3. f. הָ . . .   |                    |
| 2. m. הָ . . .   | 2. m. הֵם . . .    |
| 2. f. הָ . . .   | 2. f. הֵנָּה . . . |
| 1. c. הָ . . .   | 1. c. הֵנָּה . . . |

| IMPERFECT.       |                |
|------------------|----------------|
| <i>Singular.</i> | <i>Plural.</i> |
| 3. m. . . .      | 3. m. הָ . . . |
| 3. f. . . .      | 3. f. הָ . . . |
| 2. m. . . .      | 2. m. הָ . . . |
| 2. f. . . .      | 2. f. הָ . . . |
| 1. c. . . .      | 1. c. . . .    |

§ 41. *Variations from the Ordinary Form of the Strong Verb.*

- a* The same laws which are normally exhibited in stems with strong (unchangeable) consonants, hold good for all other verbs. Deviations from the model of the strong verb are only modifications due to the special character or weakness of certain consonants, viz. :—
- (*a*) When one of the stem-consonants (or *radicals*) is a guttural. In this case, however, the variations only occur in the vocalization (according to § 22), not in the consonants. The *guttural verbs* (§§ 62-65) are, therefore, only a variety of the *strong verb*.
- b* (*b*) When a stem-consonant (*radical*) disappears by assimilation (§ 19 b-f), or when the stem originally consisted of only two consonants (*verbs* י"ד, י"ו, and י"ז, as שָׁן, לָן, דָּן, §§ 66, 67, 72).
- c* (*c*) When one of the stem-consonants (*radicals*) is a weak letter. In this case, through aphaeresis, elision, &c., of the weak consonant, various important deviations from the regular form occur. Cf. § 68 ff. for these verbs, such as שָׁן, שָׁן, שָׁן.
- d* Taking the old paradigm לָקַח as a model, it is usual, following the example of the Jewish grammarians, to call the first radical of any stem ד, the second י, and the third ל. Hence the expressions, verb נ"ד for a verb whose first radical is נ (*primae radicalis* [sc. *literae*] נ); י"ו for *mediae radicalis* י; י"ו for a verb whose second radical is repeated to form a third.

I. The Strong Verb.

§ 42.

As the formation of the strong verb is the model also for the weak verb, a statement of the general formative laws should precede the treatment of special cases.

Paradigm B, together with the Table of the personal preformatives and affirmatives given in § 40 a, offers a complete survey of the normal forms. A full explanation of them is given in the following sections (§§ 43-55), where each point is elucidated on its first occurrence; thus e.g. the inflexion of the Perfect, the Imperfect and its modifications, will be found under Qal, &c.

A. THE PURE STEM, OR QAL.

§ 43. *Its Form and Meaning.*

- a* The common form of the 3rd sing. masc. of the *Perfect Qal* is לָקַח, with *ā* (*Pathah*) in the second syllable, especially in *transitive verbs* (but see § 44 c). There is also a form with *ē* (*Sere*, originally *i*), and another with *ō* (*Holem*, originally *ū*) in the second syllable, both of which, however, have almost always an *intransitive*<sup>1</sup> meaning,

<sup>1</sup> But cf. such instances as Jer 48<sup>5</sup>. In Arabic also, transitive verbs are found with middle *i*, corresponding to Hebrew verbs with *i* in the second

and serve to express states and qualities, e.g. קָבֵר *to be heavy*, קָטַן *to be small*.

In Paradigm B a verb *middle a*, a verb *middle ē*, and a verb *middle ō* are accordingly given side by side. The second example קָבֵר is chosen as showing, at the same time, when the *Dageš lena* is to be inserted or omitted.

Rem. 1. The vowel of the second syllable is the principal vowel, and hence *b* on it depends the distinction between the transitive and intransitive meaning. The *Qameš* of the first syllable is lengthened from an original *ā* (cf. Arabic *qātūlū*), but it can be retained in Hebrew only immediately before the tone, or at the most (with an open ultima) in the counter-tone with *Methey*; otherwise, like all the pretonic vowels (*ā, ē*), it becomes *Šwā*, e.g. קָטַלְתָּם 2nd plur. masc. In the Aramaic dialects the vowel of the first syllable is always reduced to *Šwā*, as קָטַל = Hebr. קָטַל. The intransitive forms in Arabic are *qātūlū, qātūlū*; in Hebrew (after the rejection of the final vowel) *ī* being in the tone-syllable has been regularly lengthened to *ē*, and *ū* to *ō*.

2. Examples of *denominatives* in *Qal* are: קָמַר *to cover with pitch*, from קָמַר *C pitch*; קָלַח *to salt*, from קָלַח *salt*; שָׁבַר (usually *Hiph.*) *to buy or sell corn*, from שָׁבַר *corn*; see above, § 38 c.

#### § 44. *Flexion of the Perfect of Qal.*<sup>1</sup>

1. The formation of the persons of the Perfect is effected by the *a* addition of certain forms of the personal pronoun, and marks of the 3rd fem. sing. and 3rd pl. (as *affirmatives*) to the end of the verbal-stem, which contains the idea of a predicate, and may be regarded, in meaning if not in form, as a *Participle* or *verbal adjective*. For the 3rd pers. sing. masc. Perfect, the pronominal or subject idea inherent in the finite verb is sufficient: thus, קָטַל *he has killed*, קָטַלְתָּ *thou hast killed* (as it were, *killing thou*, or *a killer thou*), *a killer wast thou* = קָטַלְתָּה; קָטַלְתָּ *he was fearing*, יָרֵאְתָּ *ye were fearing* = יָרֵאְתָּם. The ending of the 1st pers. plur. (נִי—) is also certainly connected with the termination of אֲנִי, אֲנוּ *we* (§ 32 b, d). The affirmative of the 1st pers. sing. (אֲנִי) is to be referred, by an interchange of כ and ח (cf. § 33 f), to that form of the pronoun which also underlies אֲנִי, I.<sup>2</sup> In the *third person* הִיא (originally הִיא—, cf. below, f) is the mark of the feminine, as in a great number of nouns (§ 80 c), and הֵן is the termination of the plural; cf., for the latter, the termination of the 3rd and 2nd pers. plur. Imperf. *ūna* in Arabic and *ū* (often also *ī*)

syllable. Hence P. Haupt (*Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, 1894, p. ci f.) prefers to distinguish them as *verba voluntaria* (actions which depend on the will of the subject) and *involuntaria* (actions or states independent of the will of the subject).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, 'Die Endungen des Perfects' (*Untersuchungen zur semit. Gram. ii.*), in *ZDMG.* vol. 38, p. 407 ff., and more fully in *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb. 1904, p. 15 ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to Nöldeke, *l.c.*, p. 419, the original Semitic termination of the 1st sing. Perf. was most probably *kū*; cf. the Ethiopic *qatalu*, Arabic *qatalu*.



in Hebrew, also *ana* (in the construct state *ā*) as the plural termination of masc. nouns in literary Arabic.

- b* 2. The characteristic *Pathah* of the second syllable becomes *Šewā* before an affirmative beginning with a vowel, where it would otherwise stand in an open syllable (as קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ; but in *pause* קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ). Before an affirmative beginning with a consonant the *Pathah* remains, whether in the tone-syllable קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ; in *pause* קָטְלוּ &c.) or *before* it. In the latter case, however, the *Qames* of the first syllable, being no longer a pretonic vowel, becomes vocal *Šewā*; as קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ; cf. § 27 *i* and § 43 *b*. On the retention of *ā* with *Melheg* of the counter-tone in the *Perf. consecutive*, cf. § 49 *i*.

- c* Rem. 1. Verbs *middle ē* in Hebrew (as in Ethiopic, but not in Arabic or Aramaic) generally change the *E*-sound in their inflexion into *Pathah* (frequently so even in the 3rd sing. masc. *Perf.*). This tendency to assimilate to the more common verbs *middle a* may also be explained from the laws of vocalization of the tone-bearing closed penultima, which does not readily admit of *Sere*, and never of *Ḥireq*, of which the *Sere* is a lengthening (cf. § 26 *p*). On the other hand, *Sere* is retained in an open syllable; regularly so in the weak stems לָ (§ 74 *g*), before suffixes (§ 59 *i*), and in the pausal forms of the strong stem in an open tone-syllable, e.g. דִּבְרָהּ *it cleareth*, Jb 29<sup>10</sup> (not דִּבְרָהּ, cf. 2 S 1<sup>28</sup>, Jb 41<sup>15</sup>; even (contrary to § 29 *g*) in a *closed* pausal syllable, e.g. שָׁבָן, Dt 33<sup>12</sup> (out of *pause* שָׁבָן, Is 32<sup>16</sup>); but קָטְלוּ Is 33<sup>9</sup>, &c., according to § 29 *g*.

- d* 2. In some weak stems *middle a*, the *Pathah* under the second radical sometimes, in a closed toneless syllable, becomes *—*, and, in one example, *—*. Thus from יָרַשׁ: יָרַשְׁתָּהּ and thou shalt possess it, Dt 17<sup>14</sup>; יָרַשְׁתָּם Dt 19<sup>1</sup>; יָרַשְׁתָּם Dt 4<sup>1</sup>, and frequently; from יָלַךְ to bring forth, to beget; יָלַךְ ψ 2<sup>7</sup> (cf. Nu 11<sup>12</sup>, Jer 2<sup>27</sup>, 15<sup>10</sup>); from פָּשַׁע: פָּשַׁעְתָּם Mal 3<sup>20</sup>; from שָׁאַל: שָׁאַלְתָּו I have asked him, 1 S 1<sup>20</sup> (Ju 13<sup>6</sup>), and three times שָׁאַלְתָּם 1 S 12<sup>13</sup>, 25<sup>5</sup>, Jb 21<sup>23</sup>. Qimhi already suggests the explanation, that the *ī* (*ē*) of these forms of שָׁאַל and יָרַשׁ is the original vowel, since along with שָׁאַל and יָרַשׁ are also found שָׁאַל and יָרַשׁ (see the *Lexicon*). The possibility of this explanation cannot be denied (especially in the case of יָרַשׁ, see § 69 *s*); the *ī* in these forms might, however, equally well have arisen from an attenuation of *ā* (§ 27 *s*), such as must in any case be assumed in the other instances. Moreover, it is worthy of notice that in all the above cases the *ī* is favoured by the character of the following consonant (a sibilant or dental), and in most of them also by the tendency towards assimilation of the vowels (cf. § 54 *k* and § 64 *f*).

- e* 3. In verbs *middle ā*, the *Holem* is retained in the tone-syllable, e.g. יָגַדְתָּ thou didst tremble; יָגַדְתָּ in *pause* for יָגַדְתָּ they were able; but in a toneless closed syllable the original short vowel appears in the form of a *Qames hafuṭh*; יָגַדְתָּ I have prevailed against him, ψ 13<sup>6</sup>; יָגַדְתָּ (see § 49 *h*) then shalt thou be able, Ex 18<sup>23</sup>; in a toneless open syllable it becomes vocal *Šewā*, e.g. יָגַדְתָּ,

- f* 4. Rarer forms<sup>1</sup> are: *Sing. 3rd fem.* in תָּ (as in Arabic, Ethiopic, and

<sup>1</sup> Many of these forms, which are uncommon in Hebrew, are usual in the

Aramaic), e.g. אִלְלִית *it is gone*, Dt 32<sup>30</sup>; וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ Is 23<sup>15</sup> (in the Aramaic form, for וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ); from a verb וָעַבַּר, cf. § 72 o. This original feminine ending *-ath* is regularly retained before suffixes, see § 59 a; and similarly in stems לָלַח, either in the form *āth* (which is frequent also in stems לָלַח § 74 g), or with the *Pathah* weakened to vocal *ē* before the pleonastic ending הָהֵם, e.g. גִּלְתָּה § 75 i. In Ez 31<sup>5</sup> the Aramaic form גִּלְתָּה occurs instead of גִּלְתָּה.

2nd *masc.* הָהֵם for הָהֵם (differing only orthographically), e.g. הָהֵם בְּרָחָה *thou hast dealt treacherously*, Mal 2<sup>14</sup>; cf. 1 S 15<sup>3</sup>, Gn 3<sup>12</sup> (הָהֵם which is twice as common as הָהֵם, cf. § 66 h); Gn 21<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>26</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>3</sup>, Is 2<sup>6</sup>, ψ 56<sup>9</sup> (so also in *Hiph'il*; 2 K 9<sup>7</sup>, Is 37<sup>23</sup>, ψ 60<sup>4</sup>).

2nd *fem.* has sometimes a Yodh at the end, as in הָהֵם *thou wentest*, Jer 31<sup>21</sup>; *h* cf. 2<sup>33</sup>, 3<sup>4,5</sup>, 4<sup>19</sup> (but read the ptep. שָׁמַעַתְּ, with the LXX, instead of the 2nd fem.), 46<sup>11</sup>, and so commonly in Jeremiah, and Ez (16<sup>18</sup>, &c.); see also Mi 4<sup>13</sup>, Ru 3<sup>4</sup>. הָהֵם, &c., is really intended, for the vowel signs in the text belong to the marginal reading הָהֵם (without י) <sup>1</sup> as in the corresponding pronoun הָהֵם (הָהֵם) § 32 h. The ordinary form has rejected the final *i*, but it regularly reappears when pronominal suffixes are added (§ 59 a, c).

1st *pers. comm.* sometimes without Yodh, as הָהֵם § 140<sup>13</sup>, Jb 42<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>45</sup>, i Ez 16<sup>50</sup> (all in K<sup>e</sup>thibh), ψ 16<sup>3</sup>, without a Q<sup>re</sup>; in 2 K 18<sup>20</sup> also הָהֵם is really intended, as appears from Is 36<sup>5</sup>. The Q<sup>re</sup> requires the ordinary form, to which the vowels of the text properly belong, whilst the K<sup>e</sup>thibh is probably to be regarded as the remains of an earlier orthography, which omitted vowel-letters even at the end of the word.

הָהֵם as the termination of the 2nd *plur. m.* for הָהֵם Ez 33<sup>20</sup>, might just possibly *h* be due to the following הָהֵם (cf., for an analogous case, Mi 3<sup>12</sup>, § 87 e), but is probably a copyist's error. *Plur. 2nd fem.* in הָהֵם- (according to others הָהֵם-) Am 4<sup>3</sup>, but the reading is very doubtful; since הָהֵם follows, it is perhaps merely due to dittography; cf., however, הָהֵם § 32 i.

3rd *plur. comm.* has three times the very strange termination הָהֵם; Dt 1<sup>7</sup> 33<sup>16</sup> (both before *N*, and hence, no doubt, if the text is correct, to avoid a hiatus), and in the still more doubtful form הָהֵם Is 26<sup>10</sup>; on הָהֵם in the Imperf. see § 47 m; on the affixed *N* in Jos 10<sup>24</sup>, Is 28<sup>12</sup>, see § 23 i.

It is very doubtful whether, as in most Semitic languages (see § 47 c, note), *m* the 3rd *fem. plur.* in Hebrew was originally distinguished from the 3rd *masc.*

other Semitic dialects, and may, therefore, be called Aramaisms (Syriasms) or Arabisms. They must not, however, be regarded as cases of borrowing, but as a return to original forms.

<sup>1</sup> Where the Masora apparently regards the הָהֵם as the termination of the 2nd *sing. fem.*, e.g. in Jer 2<sup>20</sup> (twice), Mi 4<sup>13</sup>, it has rather taken the form as 1st *pers. sing.* (cf. Stade, *Gramm.*, p. 253); so in Ju 5<sup>7</sup>, where הָהֵם, on account of verse 12, must either have originally been intended as 2nd *sing. fem.*, or is due to an erroneous pronunciation of the form קָמַת as קָמַת instead of 3rd *sing. fem.* קָמַת (as LXX).

<sup>2</sup> That these examples can hardly be referred to a primitive Semitic ending *ān* in the 3rd *plur. Perf.*, has been shown by Nöldeke in *ZDMG.* vol. 38, p. 409 ff.; cf. also *ZDMG.* vol. 32, p. 757 f., where G. Hoffmann proves that the terminations in *Nūn* of the 3rd *plur.* in Aramaic, formerly adduced by us, are secondary forms. [See also Driver, *Heb. Tenses*<sup>3</sup>, p. 6 note.]

plur. by the termination  $\text{ן}$ , as in Biblical Aramaic. Nöldeke (*ZDMG.* 38 [1884], p. 411) referred doubtfully to the textual readings in Dt 21<sup>7</sup>, Jos 15<sup>4</sup>, 18<sup>12,14,15</sup>, Jer 2<sup>15</sup>, 22<sup>6</sup>, where the Masora uniformly inserts the termination  $\text{ן}$ , and to Gn 48<sup>10</sup> in the Samaritan Pentateuch, Gn 49<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 4<sup>15</sup>,  $\psi$  18<sup>25</sup>, Neh 13<sup>10</sup>. In his *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 19, however, he observes that the construction of a fem. plural with the 3rd sing. fem. is not unexampled, and also that  $\text{ן}$  is often found as a mistake for  $\text{ל}$ . On the other hand Mayer Lambert (*Une série de Qerê ketib*, Paris, 1891, p. 6 ff.) explains all these K<sup>e</sup>thibh, as well as  $\psi$  73<sup>2</sup>, Jer 50<sup>6</sup> (?), and (against Nöldeke) 1 K 22<sup>40</sup> (where  $\text{ן}$  is undoubtedly the article belonging to the next word), Jb 16<sup>16</sup> (where the *masc.*  $\text{פָּנֵי}$  requires the marginal reading), also Jer 48<sup>41</sup>, 51<sup>56</sup>, Ez 26<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  68<sup>14</sup>, as remains of the 3rd *fem. plur.* in  $\text{ן}$ . The form was abandoned as being indistinguishable from the (later) form of the 3rd *fem. sing.*, but tended to be retained in the perfect of verbs  $\text{לָרָה}$ , as  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  K<sup>e</sup>thibh six times in the above examples.

n 5. The affirmatives  $\text{וְהָיָה}$ ,  $\text{וְהָיָה}$ ,  $\text{וְהָיָה}$ ,  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  are generally toneless, and the forms with these inflexions are consequently *Mil'el* ( $\text{וְהָיָה}$ , &c.); with all the other affirmatives they are *Milra'* (§ 15 c). The place of the tone may, however, be shifted: (a) by the *pause* (§ 29 i-v), whenever a vowel which has become vocal Šwā under the second stem-consonant is restored by the *pause*; as  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  for  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  ( $\text{וְהָיָה}$  for  $\text{וְהָיָה}$ ), and  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  for  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  ( $\text{וְהָיָה}$  for  $\text{וְהָיָה}$ ); (b) in certain cases after *wāw* consecutive of the Perfect (see § 49 h).

O 6. Contraction of a final  $\text{ת}$  with the  $\text{ו}$  of the affirmative occurs e. g. in  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  Hag 2<sup>5</sup>, &c.; cf. Is 14<sup>20</sup>, &c., in the Perf. Po'el; Dt 4<sup>25</sup> in the Hiph'il of  $\text{שָׁחַת}$ ; Is 21<sup>2</sup>, &c., in the Hiph'il of  $\text{שָׁחַת}$ . Contraction of a final  $\text{נ}$  with the affirmative  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  occurs in  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  Gn 34<sup>16</sup>; in *Niph.* Ezr 9<sup>7</sup>, cf. 2 Ch 14<sup>10</sup>; in *Hiph.* 2 Ch 29<sup>19</sup>; with the affirmative  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  in the Imperfect Qal Ez 17<sup>23</sup>; *Piel*  $\psi$  71<sup>20</sup>, where with Baer and Ginsburg  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  is to be read, according to others  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  (cf. in *Polel*  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  Ez 32<sup>10</sup>), but certainly not  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  with the Mantua ed., Öpitijs and Hahn; with  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  in the Imperat. Hiph. Gn 4<sup>23</sup>, Is 32<sup>9</sup>.

### § 45. The Infinitive.

F. Prätorius, 'Ueber den sog. Inf. absol. des Hebr.,' in *ZDMG.* 1902, p. 546 ff.

a 1. The Infinitive is represented in Hebrew by two forms, a shorter and a longer; both are, however, strictly speaking, independent nouns (*verbal substantives*). The shorter form, the *Infinitive construct* (in Qal  $\text{קָטַל}$ ,<sup>1</sup> sometimes incorrectly  $\text{קָטַל}$ ), is used in very various ways, sometimes in connexion with pronominal suffixes, or governing a substantive in the genitive, or with an accusative of the object (§ 115), sometimes in connexion with prepositions ( $\text{לְקָטַל}$  to kill, § 114 f), and sometimes in dependence upon substantives as genitive, or upon verbs as accusative of the object. On the other hand, the use of the longer form, the *Infinitive absolute* (in Qal  $\text{קָטַל}$ , sometimes also  $\text{קָטַל}$ , obscured from original *qāṭal*), is restricted to those cases in which it emphasizes

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the analogous forms of the noun, § 93 t.

the abstract verbal idea, without regard to the subject or object of the action. It stands most frequently as an adverbial accusative with a finite verb of the same stem (§ 113 h-s).<sup>1</sup>

The flexibility and versatility of the *Infin. constr.* and the rigidity *b* and inflexibility of the *Infin. absol.* are reflected in their vocalization. The latter has unchangeable vowels, while the *o* of the *Infin. constr.* may be lost. For קטל, according to § 84<sup>a</sup>, *e*, goes back to the ground-form *qāṭāl*.

Other forms of the *Infin. constr.* *Qal* of the strong verb are—

(a) קטל, e.g. שָׁכַב *to lie*, Gn 34<sup>7</sup>; שָׁפַל *to sink*, Ec 14<sup>4</sup>; especially with verbs which have *ā* in the second syllable of the Imperf.: hence sometimes also with those, whose second or third radical is a guttural (frequently besides the ordinary form). All the examples (except שָׁכַב, see above) occur in the closest connexion with the following word, or with suffixes (see § 61 c). In Ez 21<sup>23</sup> the Masora seems to treat לָמַח (verse 20, in pause לָמַח) as an Infinitive = לָמַח; probably לָמַח should be read.

(b) קטלה and, attenuated from it, קטלה; קטלה and קטלה (which are *d* feminine forms<sup>2</sup> of קטל and קטל, mostly from intransitive verbs, and sometimes found along with forms having no feminine ending in use), e.g. לְאַשְׁמָה *to be guilty*, Lv 5<sup>26</sup>; לְאַהֲבָה *to love*, שְׂנְאָה *to hate*; לְיִרְאָה, often in Dt., *to fear*; לְזָקֵנָה *to be old*; לְקָרְאָה *to meet* (in לְקָרְאָה § 19 k); לְרַבְעָה *to lie down*, Lv 20<sup>10</sup>; לְמַשְׁחָה *to anoint*, Ex 29<sup>29</sup>; לְרַחֲצָה *to wash*, Ex 30<sup>18</sup>, &c.; לְמַמְאָה (also a subst. = *uncleanness*, like מַמְאָה) *to be unclean*, Lv 15<sup>32</sup>; לְקַרְבָּה *to approach*, Ex 36<sup>2</sup>, &c.; cf. Lv 12<sup>4-5</sup>, Dt 11<sup>22</sup>, Is 30<sup>19</sup>, Ez 21<sup>16</sup>, Hag 1<sup>6</sup>; also לְרַחֲקָה *to be far off*, Ez 8<sup>6</sup>; לְחַמְלָה *to pity*, Ez 16<sup>9</sup>; cf. Ho 7<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand in קטלה Gn 19<sup>18</sup>, the original *ā* has been modified to *e*; cf. חֻקָּה Is 8<sup>11</sup>, &c.

(c) In the Aramaic manner (מקטל but cf. also Arab. *magtal*) there occur as *e* *Infin. Qal*: מְשַׁלֵּחַ *to send*, Est 9<sup>19</sup>; מְקַרְא *to call* and מְסַפֵּעַ *to depart*, Nu 10<sup>2</sup> (Dt 10<sup>11</sup>); מְקַח *to take*, 2 Ch 19<sup>7</sup>, &c.; מְשַׁנֵּא *to carry*, Nu 4<sup>24</sup>, &c. (cf. even לְמַשְׁאוֹת Ez 17<sup>9</sup>); also with a feminine ending מְעַלָּה *to go up*, Ezr 7<sup>2</sup>, &c.; cf. for these forms (almost all very late) Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchici sermone*, p. 50, and Strack on Nu 4<sup>24</sup>.

(d) קטלה in יִבְשֶׁת Gn 8<sup>7</sup>; יִבְשֶׁת Nu 14<sup>16</sup>; probably also חֲרַשְׁתָּה Ex 31<sup>5</sup>, 35<sup>23</sup>.

2. A kind of *Gerund* is formed by the *Infin. constr.* with the preposition ל; as לְקַטֵּל *ad interficiendum*, לְנַפֵּל *ad cadendum* (see § 28 a).

<sup>1</sup> The terms *absolute* and *construct* are of course not to be understood as implying that the *Infin. constr.* קטל forms the *construct state* (see § 89) of the *Infin. absol.* (קטל ground-form *qāṭāl*). In the Paradigms the *Infin. constr.*, as the principal form, is placed before the other, under the name of Infinitive simply.

<sup>2</sup> According to the remark of Elias Levita on Qimhi's *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenb., 14 a, these feminine forms occur almost exclusively in connexion with the preposition ל.

*g* The blending of the ל with the *Infin. constr.* into a single grammatical form seems to be indicated by the firmly closed syllable, cf. לִשְׁבֹּב Gn 34<sup>7</sup>; לִכְפֹּל ψ 118<sup>13</sup>, with *Dageš lene* in the ב = *lin-pōl*; hence, also *liq-tōl*, &c.; but בִּנְפֹל *bin-phōl*, Jb 4<sup>12</sup>; כִּנְפֹל 2 S 3<sup>34</sup>. Exceptions לִצְבָּא Nu 4<sup>23</sup>, 8<sup>24</sup>; וְלִנְתֹן Jer 1<sup>10</sup>, 18<sup>7</sup>, 31<sup>23</sup>; לְשִׁדֹּד Jer 47<sup>4</sup>; לְטָבוֹחַ Jer 11<sup>10</sup>, &c., ψ 37<sup>14</sup>; לְבָרוּךְ 2 Ch 34<sup>10</sup>; according to some also לְסָבַב Nu 21<sup>4</sup> and לְכַבֵּשׁ 2 Ch 28<sup>10</sup> (Baer לְכַבֵּשׁ); on the other hand בְּשֵׁבֶן Gn 35<sup>22</sup>; כִּנְפֹר Jer 17<sup>2</sup>. For the meaningless לְרִיזֹשׁ Ezr 10<sup>16</sup> read לְרִישׁ.

### § 46. The Imperative.

- a* 1. The ground-forms of the Imperative, קָטַל (properly *qetāl*, which is for an original *qātāl*), and קָטַל (see below, *c*), the same in pronunciation as the forms of the *Infin. constr.* (§ 45), are also the basis for the formation of the Imperfect (§ 47).<sup>1</sup> They represent the *second* person, and have both fem. and plur. forms. The third person is supplied by the Imperfect in the Jussive (§ 109 *b*); and even the second person must always be expressed by the Jussive, if it be used with a negative, e.g. אַל-תִּקְטַל *ne occidas* (not אַל-קָטַל). The passives have no Imperative, but it occurs in the reflexives, as Niph'al and Hithpa'el.<sup>2</sup>
- b* 2. The Affirmatives of the 2nd sing. fem. and the 2nd plur. masc. and fem. are identical in every case with those of the Imperfect (§ 47 *c*). In the same way, the Imperative of the 2nd sing. masc., in common with the Imperfect, admits of the lengthening by the הַ— *paragogicum* (§ 48 *i*), as, on the other hand, there are certain shortened forms of this person analogous to the Jussive (§ 48. 5).
- c* Rem. 1. Instead of the form קָטַל (sometimes also *plene*, e.g. שָׁבוּר Ec 12<sup>13</sup>; before *Maqqeph* קָטַל with *Qames hafuf*), those verbs which have an *a* in the final syllable of the *Imperf.* (i.e. especially verbs middle *ā*) make their Imperative of the form קָטַל, e.g. לְבַשׁ *dress!* (Perf. לָבַשׁ and לְבַשְׁ; לִשְׁבֹּב *lie down!* in pause לִשְׁבֹּב 1 S 3<sup>5.6.9</sup>).
- d* 2. The first syllable of the sing. fem. and plur. masc. are usually to be pronounced with *Šewa mobile* (*qitāl*, *qitālū*, and so לִשְׁכְּבִי, &c., without *Dageš lene*, and even קִישְׁבוּ with *Metheg*, Ex 12<sup>21</sup>; but cf. אִשְׁכְּבִי Jer 10<sup>17</sup>, and with the same phonetic combination קִישְׁבִי Is 47<sup>2</sup>; see analogous cases in § 93 *m*); less frequently we find an *ō* instead of the *ī*, e.g. מִלְכִי *rule*, Ju 9<sup>10</sup>; קִישְׁבוּ *draw*, Ez 32<sup>20</sup>; חָרְבוּ Jer 2<sup>12</sup> (cf. חָרְבִי Is 44<sup>27</sup>); on קָסַמְי 1 S 28<sup>8</sup> *Qere*, אִשְׁכְּבִי Jer. 22<sup>20</sup> (cf. 1 K 13<sup>7</sup>), see § 10 *g*. This *ō* arises (see above, *a*) from a singular ground-form *qitāl*, not from a retraction of the original *ā* of the second syllable. We must abandon the view that the forms with *ī* in the first syllable (cf. also

<sup>1</sup> The *Infin. absol.*, like the Greek *Infin.*, is also sometimes used for the Imperative (§ 113 *bb*). Cf. in general, Koch, *Der semitische Inf.* (Schaffhausen, 1874).

<sup>2</sup> In *Hoph'al* an Imperative is found only twice (Ez 32<sup>10</sup>, Jer. 49<sup>8</sup>), and closely approximating in meaning to the reflexive.

אָמַר, חָנַר, מָכַר, עָבַר) arise from a weakening of the characteristic vowel *ä*. They, or at least some of them, must rather be regarded with Barth (*ZDMG.* 1889, p. 182) as analogous to the original *i*-imperfects. See further analogies in §§ 47 *i* and 48 *i*; 61 *b*, 63 *n*.

The *pausal* form of the 2nd plur. masc. is אָמַרְוּ 1 K 3<sup>26</sup>; from שָׁמַע, שָׁמַעוּ, *c* &c.; similarly the 2nd sing. fem. in *pause* is עָבַרְי Is 23<sup>12</sup>; even without the *pause* מְלֹכִי Ju 9<sup>10,12</sup>, K<sup>eth</sup>.; קְסוּמִי 1 S 28<sup>8</sup>, K<sup>eth</sup>. (cf. with this also מְלֹכָה &c., § 48 *i*); from שָׁמַח, שָׁמְחוּ Jo 2<sup>21</sup>.

3. In the 2nd plur. fem. שָׁמַעְנָה occurs once, in Gn 4<sup>23</sup> (for שָׁמַעְנָה) with loss of the הָ and insertion of a helping vowel, unless it is simply to be pointed שָׁמַעְנָה. Also instead of the abnormal קְרָאָן Ex 2<sup>20</sup> (for קְרָאָה) we should perhaps read as in Ru 1<sup>20</sup> קְרָאָה (cf. מְצָאָה 1<sup>9</sup> and לָכֵן 1<sup>12</sup>).

On the examples of a 2nd plur. fem. in קְרָאָה, Is 32<sup>11</sup>, see § 48 *i*.

### § 47. The Imperfect and its Inflection.

1. The persons of the Imperfect,<sup>1</sup> in contradistinction to those of *a* the Perfect, are formed by placing abbreviated forms of the personal pronoun (preformatives) *before* the stem, or rather before the abstract form of the stem (קָטַל). As, however, the tone is retained on the characteristic vowel of the Stem-form, or even (as in the 2nd sing. fem. and the 3rd and 2nd plur. masc.) passes over to the affirmatives, the preformatives of the Imperfect appear in a much more abbreviated form than the affirmatives of the Perfect, only *one* consonant (י, ת, א, נ) remaining in each form. But as this preformative combined with the

<sup>1</sup> On the use of the Semitic Perfect and Imperfect cf. § 106 ff. and the literature cited in § 106. For our present purpose the following account will suffice:—The name *Imperfect* is here used in direct contrast to the Perfect, and is to be taken in a wider sense than in Latin and Greek grammar. The Hebrew (Semitic) *Perf.* denotes in general that which is *concluded*, *completed*, and *past*, that which has happened and has come into effect; but at the same time, also that which is *represented* as accomplished, even though it be continued into present time or even be actually still future. The *Imperf.* denotes, on the other hand, the *beginning*, the *unfinished*, and the *continuing*, that which is just happening, which is conceived as in process of coming to pass, and hence, also, that which is yet future; likewise also that which occurs repeatedly or in a continuous sequence in the past (Latin *Imperf.*). It follows from the above that the once common designation of the Imperf. as a *Future* emphasizes only one side of its meaning. In fact, the use of Indo-Germanic tense-names for the Semitic tenses, which was adopted by the Syrians under the influence of the Greek grammarians, and after their example by the Arabs, and finally by Jewish scholars, has involved many misconceptions. The Indo-Germanic scheme of three periods of time (past, present, and future) is entirely foreign to the Semitic tense-idea, which regards an occurrence only from the point of view of completed or incomplete action.—In the formation of the two tenses the chief distinction is that in the Perfect the verbal stem precedes and the indication of the person is added afterwards for precision, while in the Imperf. the subject, from which the action proceeds or about which a condition is predicated, is expressed by a prefixed pronoun.



stem-form was not always sufficient to express at the same time differences both of gender and number, the distinction had to be further indicated, in several cases, by special *affirmatives*. Cf. the table, § 40 c.

**b** 2. The derivation and meaning, both of the preformatives and the affirmatives, can still, in most cases, be recognized.

In the *first* pers.  $\text{אֶקְטַל}$ , plur.  $\text{נִקְטַל}$ ,  $\aleph$  is probably connected with  $\text{אָנִי}$ , and  $\text{נִ}$  with  $\text{נִהְיֵה}$ ; here no indication of gender or number by a special ending was necessary. As regards the vocalization, the Arabic points to the ground-forms *'äqtül* and *näqtül*: the  $\text{ä}$  of the 1st plur. is, therefore, as in the other preformatives, attenuated from *a*. The *Seghöl* of the 1st sing. is probably to be explained by the preference of the  $\aleph$  for this sound (cf. § 22 o, but also § 51 p); according to Qimhi, it arises from an endeavour to avoid the similarity of sound between  $\text{אֶקְטַל}$  (which is the Babylonian punctuation) and  $\text{אֶקַּל}$ , which, according to this view, was likewise pronounced *iqṭöl*.<sup>1</sup>

**c** The preformative  $\text{נִ}$  of the *second* persons ( $\text{תִּקְטַל}$ , ground-form *täqtül*, &c.) is, without doubt, connected with the  $\text{נִ}$  of  $\text{נָתַתָּה}$ ,  $\text{נָתַתָּ}$ , &c., and the *affirmative*  $\text{אֶקְטַלְּ$  of the 2nd fem. sing.  $\text{תִּקְטַלְּ$  with the  $\text{ä}$  of the original feminine form  $\text{תִּתִּי}$  (see § 32 h). The *affirmative*  $\text{אֶקְטַלְּ$  of the 2nd masc. plur.  $\text{תִּקְטַלְּ$  (in its more complete form,  $\text{תִּקְטַלְּכֶם}$ , see *m*) is the sign of the plural, as in the 3rd pers., and also in the Perfect (§ 44 a). In the Imperfect, however, it is restricted in both persons to the masculine,<sup>2</sup> while the affirmative  $\text{תִּקְטַלְּ$  (also  $\text{תִּקְטַלְּ$ ) of the 3rd and 2nd plur. fem. is probably connected with  $\text{תִּתִּינָה}$  *cae* and  $\text{תִּתִּינָה$  *vos* (fem.).

**d** The preformatives of the *third* persons ( $\text{יִ}$  in the masc.  $\text{יִקְטַל}$ , ground-form *yäqtül*, plur.  $\text{יִקְטַלְּ$ , ground-form *yäqtülä*;  $\text{נִ}$  in the fem.  $\text{תִּקְטַלְּ}$ , plur.  $\text{תִּקְטַלְּנָה}$ ) have not yet met with any satisfactory explanation. With  $\text{נִ}$  might most obviously be compared the original feminine

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 24 c. In favour of the above view of Qimhi may be urged the phonetic orthography  $\text{אֶקְטַל}$  (in Pr 18<sup>24</sup>  $\text{אֶקְטַל}$ ), 2 S 14<sup>19</sup> (unless, with Perles,  $\text{אֶקְטַל}$  is to be read), Mi 6<sup>10</sup>, for  $\text{אֶקְטַל}$ , and  $\text{אֶקְטַל}$  1 Ch 21<sup>18</sup> for  $\text{אֶקְטַל}$  (as verse 12). Also  $\text{הִתְקַדַּחְתָּ$  Mi 6<sup>11</sup> is probably for  $\text{הִתְקַדַּחְתָּ} = \text{הִתְקַדַּחְתָּ}$ ,  $\text{אֶפְקַד}$  Is 10<sup>12</sup> for  $\text{אֶפְקַד}$ ;  $\text{אֶנְחַמְךָ}$  Is 51<sup>18</sup> for  $\text{אֶנְחַמְךָ}$ ; and conversely  $\text{יִשְׁשַׁבֵּר}$  is for  $\text{אֶשְׁשַׁבֵּר} = \text{אֶשְׁשַׁבֵּר}$ . Similarly,  $\text{יִשְׁחַדְךָ}$  1 S 14<sup>40</sup> is probably for  $\text{אֶשְׁחַדְךָ}$  or  $\text{אֶשְׁחַדְךָ}$ ; in 2 S 23<sup>8</sup>  $\text{יִשַׁב בְּשִׁבְתָּ}$  is, according to the LXX, an error for  $\text{יִשְׁבַּשְׁתָּ} = \text{אֶשְׁבַּשְׁתָּ}$ . In Assyrian also the simple  $\text{ä}$  corresponds to the Hebrew  $\text{ä}$  as the preformative of the Impf. Qal.

<sup>2</sup> This is also the proper gender of the plural syllable  $\text{ä}$ , *ä*. In Hebrew, indeed, it is used in the 3rd plur. Perfect for both genders, but in the kindred languages even there only for the masculine, e.g. in Syriac  $\text{q'älä$ ,  $\text{q'älän}$ , with the feminine form  $\text{q'älän}$ , in Western Aram.  $\text{q'älä$ , fem.  $\text{q'älä}$ ; in Arab.  $\text{qätälä$ , fem.  $\text{qätälä}$ , Eth.  $\text{qätälä}$ ,  $\text{qätälä}$ .

ending ן— of nouns, and of the 3rd fem. sing. perfect. For the affirmatives ו (וי) and נה, see c.

3. The characteristic vowel of the second syllable becomes *S<sup>wa</sup> e* before tone-bearing affirmatives which begin with a vowel, but is retained (as being in the tone-syllable) before the toneless affirmative נה. Thus: וְקָטְלוּ, וְקָטְלוּ, וְקָטְלוּ (but in *pause* וְקָטְלוּ, &c.), וְקָטְלוּ נה.

Rem. 1. The *ō* of the second syllable (as in the inf. constr. and imperat.), being lengthened from an original *ū* in the tone-syllable, is only tone-long (§ 97). Hence it follows that: (a) it is incorrectly, although somewhat frequently, written *plene*; (b) before *Maggeph* the short vowel appears as *Qames hafufh*, e.g. וְיָכַחְתָּ שָׁם and *he wrote there*, Jos 8<sup>32</sup> (but cf. also Ex 21<sup>37</sup>, Jos 18<sup>20</sup>); (c) it becomes *S<sup>wa</sup> e* before the tone-bearing affirmatives וְ— and ו (see above, e; but Jerome still heard e.g. *iezbuleni* for וְיִבְלֶנִי; cf. ZAW. iv. 83).

Quite anomalous are the three examples which, instead of a shortening to *S<sup>wa</sup> e*, exhibit a long *ū*: הם יִשְׁפֹּטוּ Ex 18<sup>26</sup>, immediately before the principal pause, but according to Qimhi (ed. Rittenb. p. 18<sup>b</sup>), ed. Mant., Ginsb., Kittel against the other editions, with the tone on the ultima; likewise לֹא-תִעַבְדִּי מִנָּה Ru 2<sup>8</sup>; תִּשְׁמְרוּם (in principal pause) Pr 14<sup>3</sup>. In the first two cases perhaps יִשְׁפֹּטוּ and תִּעַבְדִּי (for יִשְׁפֹּטוּ, &c.) are intended, in virtue of a retrogressive effect of the pause; in Pr 14<sup>3</sup> תִּשְׁמְרוּם is to be read, with August Müller.

2. The *ō* of the second syllable is to be found almost exclusively with transitive verbs middle *a*, like קָטַל. Intransitives middle *a* and *ō* almost always take *ā* (*Pathah*)<sup>1</sup> in the imperf., e.g. יָרַבֵּן, רָבֵץ, שָׁכַב, יָשָׁב, to *lie down* (לָמַד, to *learn* is also originally intransitive = to *accustom oneself*); יָגֵדֵל, to *become great* (but cf. שָׁכַן and שָׁבָן imperf. יִשְׁכֹּן to *dwell* and to *inhabit*, נָבַל imperf. יִבָּל to *wither*); also from verbs middle *ō*, as קָטַן to *be small*, the imperf. has the form יִקְטֹן.

Sometimes both forms occur together; those with *ō* having a transitive, *i* and those with *ā* an intransitive meaning, e.g. יָקַצַר he *cuts off*, יָקַצַר he *is cut off*, i.e. *is short*; חָלַשׁ imperf. *ō*, to *overcome*, Ex 17<sup>13</sup>; imperf. *ā*, to *be overcome*, Jb 14<sup>10</sup>. More rarely both forms are used without any distinction, e.g. יִשְׁחָד he *bites*, יִשְׁחָד and יִחְפֹּץ he *is inclined* (but only the latter with a transitive meaning = *he bends*, in Jb 40<sup>17</sup>). On the *a* of the imperf. of verbs middle and third guttural, cf. § 64 b; § 65 b. In some verbs first guttural (§ 63 n), עָ"ע (§ 67 p), פָ"י (§ 69 b), and פָ"ע (§ 68 c), and in יָתַן for *yinten* from יָתַן to *give*, instead of *ā* or *ō* a movable *Sere* (originally *i*) is found in the second syllable. A trace of these *i*-imperfects<sup>2</sup> in the ordinary strong verb is probably to be found in וְיִטְטֹנוּ 2 K 7<sup>8</sup>, since טָטַן otherwise only occurs in Qal. We call these three forms of the imperfect after their characteristic vowel imperf. *a*, imperf. *a*, imperf. *e*.

3. For the 3rd sing. fem. תִּקְטֹל (= *tīq-ṭōl*), Baer requires in 1 S 25<sup>20</sup> תִּקְטֹשׁ *k* (but read with ed. Mant., &c. תִּקְטֹשׁ). For the 2nd sing. fem. (תִּקְטֹלִי) the form

<sup>1</sup> This *ā* is, however, by no means restricted to intransitive *strong* verbs; apart from verbs third guttural (§ 65 b), it is to be found in פָ"ן and עָ"ע, and in many verbs פָ"ע and פָ"י (§§ 69-71).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Barth, 'Das *i*-Imperfekt im Nordsemitischen,' ZDMG. 1889, p. 177 ff.

תִּקְטֹל is found in Is 57<sup>8</sup>, Jer 3<sup>5</sup>, Ez 22<sup>4</sup>, 23<sup>32</sup>, in every case after the regular form; but cf. also Ez 26<sup>14</sup>. In Is 17<sup>10</sup>, where the 2nd fem. precedes and follows, probably תִּקְרַעְנָּי is to be read with Marti for תִּקְרַעְנָּי.—For the 3rd plur. fem. תִּקְטֹלְנָּה we find in Jer 49<sup>11</sup>, in pause תִּקְטֹלְנָּה (for תִּקְטֹלְנָּה), and thrice (as if to distinguish it from the 2nd pers.) the form תִּקְטֹלְנָּה with the preformative י (as always in Western Aram., Arab., Eth., and Assy.), in Gn 30<sup>38</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>12</sup>, Dn 8<sup>22</sup>. On the other hand, תִּקְטֹלְנָּה appears in some cases to be incorrectly used even for the fem. of the 3rd pers. or for the masc. of the 2nd pers. sing. as תִּשְׁלַחְנָּה Ju 5<sup>20</sup> (where, however, perhaps תִּשְׁלַחְנָּה is to be read), and Ob<sup>13</sup>, for 2nd sing. masc., according to Olshausen a corruption of תִּשְׁלַח יָד; in Pr 1<sup>20</sup>, 8<sup>3</sup> for תִּרְנֶה read תִּרְנֶה as in Jb 39<sup>23</sup>; in Ex 1<sup>10</sup> read תִּקְרַעְנָּה with the Samaritan.—In Is 27<sup>11</sup>, 28<sup>8</sup>, as also in Jb 17<sup>16</sup> (if we read תִּקְרַעְנָּה with LXX for the 2nd (תִּקְרַעְנָּה)), it is equally possible to explain the form as a plural. This small number of examples hardly justifies our finding in the above-mentioned passages the remains of an emphatic form of the Impf., analogous to the Arab. *Modus energicus I*, with the termination *ānnā*.

l For נָּה we frequently find, especially in the Pentateuch and mostly after *wāw* consecutive, simply נָּה, e.g. Gn 19<sup>33,30</sup>, 37<sup>7</sup>, Ex 18<sup>19</sup>, 15<sup>20</sup>, Nu 25<sup>2</sup>, Ez 3<sup>20</sup>, 16<sup>65</sup>; in Arab. always *nā*. According to Elias Levita תִּלְכֹּשְׁנָּה (2 S 13<sup>18</sup>) is the only example of this kind in the strong verb. The form תִּתְנַבְּהֶינָּה (so also Qimhi and ed. Mant.; but Baer, Ginsb. תִּתְנַבְּהֶינָּה) for תִּתְנַבְּהֶינָּה they were high, Ez 16<sup>60</sup>, is irregular, with יָ inserted after the manner of verbs עָנַע and יָעַן, § 67 d; § 72 i; according to Olshausen it is an error caused by the following form.

m 4. Instead of the plural forms in י there are, especially in the older books, over 300 forms<sup>1</sup> with the fuller ending יָ (with *Nūn paragogicum*), always bearing the tone; cf. § 29 m and § 44 l; on its retention before suffixes, see § 60 e; also defectively יָרִיב Ex 21<sup>18</sup>, 22<sup>8</sup>, &c. This usually expresses marked emphasis, and consequently occurs most commonly at the end of sentences (in the principal pause), in which case also the (pausal) vowel of the second syllable is generally retained. Thus there arise full-sounding forms such as יִלְכְּטוּן they collect, ψ 104<sup>23</sup>; יִרְגְּזוּן they tremble, Ex 15<sup>14</sup>; יִשְׁמְעוּן ye shall hear, Dt 1<sup>17</sup>; cf. Ex 34<sup>13</sup>, with Zaqeph qaton, Athnah, and Silluq; Jos 24<sup>15</sup>, with Segolta; Is 13<sup>8</sup> and 17<sup>13</sup> with Zaqeph qaton, 17<sup>12</sup> with Athnah and Silluq, 41<sup>5</sup> after *wāw* consec. Without the pause, e.g. ψ 11<sup>2</sup> יִירְכְּנוּ קֶשֶׁת, cf. § 4<sup>3</sup>, Gn 18<sup>28,30</sup> יִשְׁאֲלֶנּוּ, 44<sup>1</sup>, Nu 32<sup>23</sup>, Jos 4<sup>6</sup> (יִשְׁאֲלֶנּוּ); Is 8<sup>12</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>13</sup>, Ru 2<sup>9</sup> יִקְצְרוּן; Ju 11<sup>18</sup> after *wāw* consec.

Some of these examples may be partly due to euphonic reasons, e.g. certainly Ex 17<sup>2</sup>, Nu 16<sup>20</sup>, 32<sup>20</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>13</sup>, 1 K 9<sup>6</sup>, and often, to avoid a hiatus before נ or ו. It was, however, the pause especially which exerted an influence on the restoration of this older and fuller termination (cf. § 159 c, note), as is manifest from Is 26<sup>11</sup>: יִתְּנוּ יָדוֹ וְיִבְּשׁוּ בָּל-יִתְּנוּ יָדוֹ they see not; may they see and become

<sup>1</sup> [See details in F. Böttcher, *Lehrb.*, § 930; and cf. Driver on 1 S 21<sup>5</sup>.]

ashamed. All this applies also to the corresponding forms in the Imperfect of the derived conjugations.<sup>1</sup> In Aramaic and Arabic this earlier נ (old Arabic *inā*) is the regular termination; but in some dialects of vulgar Arabic it has also become *ā*.

With an affixed *ā* we find (in the imperf. Niph'al) נִשְׁמָא Jer 10<sup>6</sup>, evidently *n* an error for נִשְׁמָא, caused by the preceding נִשְׁמָא.—In נִשְׁמָא Is 35<sup>1</sup>, since *n* follows, the *n* is no doubt only due to dittography.

5. Corresponding to the use of נ for נ there occurs in the 2nd sing. fem., *o* although much less frequently, the fuller ending נִ— (as in Aram. and Arab.; old Arab. *inā*), also always with the tone, for נִ—, generally again in the principal pause, and almost in all cases with retention of the vowel of the penultima; thus נִתְּרָבָקִין Ru 2<sup>8, 21</sup>, cf. 3<sup>4, 18</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>14</sup> (נִתְּרָבָקִין), Jer 31<sup>22</sup>, Is 45<sup>10</sup>.

6. On the reappearance in pause of the *ā* which had become *šwā* in the *p* forms נִתְּרָבָקִין, &c., see above, *e*; similarly, the imperfects with *ā* restore this vowel in pause and at the same time lengthen it (as a tone-vowel) to *ā*, hence, e.g. נִתְּרָבָקִין, נִתְּרָבָקִין. This influence of the pause extends even to the forms without affirmatives, e.g. נִתְּרָבָקִין, in pause נִתְּרָבָקִין. But the fuller forms in *ān* and *in* have the tone always on the ultima, since the vowels *ā* and *i* in a closed final syllable never allow of the retraction of the tone.

7. On the numerous instances of passive forms in the imperfect, mostly *q* treated as Hoph'al, see § 53 *u*.

#### § 48. *Shortening and Lengthening of the Imperfect and Imperative. The Jussive and Cohortative.*

1. Certain modifications which take place in the form of the *a* imperfect, and express invariably, or nearly so, a distinct shade of meaning, serve to some extent as a compensation for the want of special forms for the *Tempora relativa* and for certain *moods* of the verb.

2. Along with the usual form of the imperfect, there exists also *b* a lengthened form of it (the *cohortative*), and a shortened form (the *jussive*).<sup>2</sup> The former occurs (with few exceptions) only in the 1st person, while the latter is mostly found in the 2nd and 3rd persons, and less frequently in the 1st person. The laws of the tone, however, and of the formation of syllables in Hebrew, not infrequently precluded the indication of the jussive by an actual shortening of the form; consequently it often—and, in the imperfect forms with affirmatives, always—coincides with the ordinary imperfect (*indicative*) form.

In classical Arabic the difference is almost always evident. That language distinguishes, besides the indicative *yāqtūlū*, (*a*) a subjunctive, *yāqtūlū*; (*b*) a

<sup>1</sup> It is to be observed that the Chronicles often omit the *Nim*, where it is found in the parallel passage in the Books of Kings; cf. 1 K 8<sup>38, 48</sup> with 2 Ch 6<sup>29, 38</sup>; 1 K 12<sup>24</sup>, 2 K 11<sup>5</sup> with 2 Ch 11<sup>4</sup>, 23<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The perfect has only one form, since it cannot be used, like the imperfect, to express mood-relations (see § 106 *p*).

jussive, *yāqtāl*; (c) a double 'energetic' mood of the impf., *yāqtālānā* and *yāqtālūn*, in pause *yāqtālā*, the last form thus corresponding to the Hebrew cohortative.

c 3. The characteristic of the cohortative form is an *ā* (הָ) affixed to the 1st pers. sing. or plur., e.g. אֶשְׁמְרָה from אֶשְׁמֹר.<sup>1</sup> It occurs in almost all conjugations and classes of the strong and weak verb (except of course in the passives), and this final הָ has the tone wherever the affirmatives י and י־ would have it. As before these endings, so also before the הָ cohortative, the movable vowel of the last syllable of the verbal form becomes *Šwā*, e.g. in Qal אֶשְׁמְרָה *I will observe*, in Pi'el נִפְתְּקָה *let us break asunder*, ψ 2<sup>3</sup>; on אֶשְׁמְרָה Is 18<sup>4</sup> *Qrē* (cf. also 27<sup>4</sup>, Ezr 8<sup>25</sup>, &c.), see § 10 h; with the *Kethibh* of these passages, compare the analogous cases יִשְׁמְרוּ, &c., § 47 g.—On the other hand, an unchangeable vowel in the final syllable is retained as tone-vowel before the הָ, as (e.g.) in Hiph. אֶפְיֶרָה *I will praise*. In pause (as before *ā* and *i*), the vowel which became *Šwā* is restored as tone-vowel; thus for the cohortative אֶשְׁמְרָה the pausal form is אֶשְׁמְרָה ψ 59<sup>10</sup>; cf. Gn 18<sup>21</sup>, Is 41<sup>26</sup>.

d The change of הָ into the obtuse ה־ seems to occur in 1 S 28<sup>15</sup>, unless, with Nestle, we are to assume a conflate reading, וְאֶקְרָא and וְאֶקְרָה; and with the 3rd pers. ψ 20<sup>4</sup>, in a syllable sharpened by a following *Dageš forte conjunct.*; cf. similar cases of the change of הָ into the obtuse ה־ in *l* and in §§ 73 d, 80 i, 90 i. In ψ 20<sup>4</sup>, however, וְיִשְׁמְרָה—with suffix—is probably intended. An הָ cohort. is also found with the 3rd pers. in Is 5<sup>10</sup> (twice); Ez 23<sup>20</sup>, and again in verse 16 according to the *Qrē*, but in both these cases without any effect on the meaning. Probably another instance occurs in Jb 11<sup>17</sup>, although there הִתְעַפָּה might also, with Qimḥi, be regarded as 2nd masc. For the doubly irregular form תְּבוֹאֲתָה Dt 33<sup>16</sup> (explained by Olshausen and König as a scribal error, due to a confusion with תְּבוֹאֲתָה in verse 14), read תְּבוֹאֲתָה. For תְּבוֹאֲתָה Jb 22<sup>21</sup> the noun תְּבוֹאֲתָה *thine increase*, might be meant, but the Masora has evidently intended an imperfect with the ending *ath*, instead of הָ, before the suffix, on the analogy of the 3rd sing. fem. perfect, see § 59 a; on וְתְבוֹאֲתָה 1 S 25<sup>34</sup>, see § 76 h.

e The cohortative expresses the direction of the will to an action and thus denotes especially self-encouragement (in the 1st plur. an exhortation to others at the same time), a resolution or a wish, as an optative, &c., see § 108.

f 4. The general characteristic of the jussive form of the imperfect is rapidity of pronunciation, combined with a tendency to retract

<sup>1</sup> Probably this *ā* goes back to the syllable *an*, which in Arabic (see above, Rem. to b) is used for the formation of the 'energetic' mood, and in Hebrew (see the footnote to § 58 f) often stands before suffixes.

the tone from the final syllable, in order by that means to express the urgency of the command in the very first syllable. This tendency has, in certain forms, even caused a material shortening of the termination of the word, so that the expression of the command appears to be concentrated on a single syllable. In other cases, however, the jussive is simply marked by a shortening of the vowel of the second syllable, without its losing the tone, and very frequently (see above, *b*) the nature of the form does not admit of any alteration. It is not impossible, however, that even in such cases the jussive in the living language was distinguished from the indicative by a change in the place of the tone.

In the strong verb the jussive differs in *form* from the indicative *g* only in *Hiph'el* (juss. יִקְטִיל, ind. יִקְטִיל), and similarly in the weak verb, wherever the imperfect indicative has *i* in the second syllable, e. g. from יִשָּׁב impf. *Hiph.* יִשָּׁב, juss. יִשָּׁב; from יָמַת, *Qal* and יָמַת, juss. יָמַת; also in *Qal* of the verbs עָיַן and עָיַן, as יָמַת, ind. יָמַת; יָגַל, ind. יָגַל; in all conjugations of verbs לָחַץ, so that the rejection (*apocope*) of the ending הֶ- in *Qal* and *Hiph.* gives rise to monosyllabic forms, with or without a helping vowel under the second radical, e. g. *Qal* ind. יָגַל, juss. יָגַל; *Hiph.* ind. יָגַל, juss. יָגַל; and in the *Piel* יָצַץ from the indic. יָצַץ (called *apocopated imperfects*). But almost all<sup>1</sup> the plural forms of the jussive coincide with those of the indicative, except that the jussive excludes the fuller ending הֶן. Neither do the forms of the 2nd sing. fem., as תִּקְטִילי, תִּשָּׁב, תִּמַּת, &c., admit of any change in the jussive, nor any forms, whether singular or plural, to which suffixes are attached, e. g. תִּקְטִילֵי as ind. Jer 38<sup>15</sup>, as jussive Jer 41<sup>8</sup>.

The meaning of the jussive is similar to that of the cohortative, *h* except that in the jussive the command or wish is limited almost exclusively to the 2nd or 3rd pers. On special uses of the jussive, e. g. in hypothetical sentences (even in the 1st pers.), see § 109 *h*.

5. The imperative, in accordance with its other points of connexion *i* with the imperfect in form and meaning, admits of a similar lengthening (by הֶ-, Arab. *imper. energicus*, with the ending -ānuṭ or -ān, in pause -ā) and shortening. Thus in *Qal* of the strong verb, the lengthened form of שָׁמַר *guard* is שָׁמְרָה<sup>2</sup> (šāmē-rā, cf. קָטַל qāṭal, § 46 *d*); עֹבֵד, עֹבְדָה Jer 49<sup>11</sup>; שָׁכַב, שָׁכְבָה *lie down*; שָׁמַע, שָׁמְעָה *hear*, in lesser pause שָׁמְרָה

<sup>1</sup> Only in 1st plur. do we find a few shortened forms, as יִשְׁאָר 1 S 14<sup>36</sup>, parallel with cohortatives; and יִנָּח 1 S 41<sup>23</sup> *Keth.*

<sup>2</sup> On the reading שָׁמְרָה (i. e. šāmē-rā, according to the Jewish grammarians), required by the Masora in ψ 86<sup>2</sup>, 119<sup>107</sup> (cf. also Is 38<sup>14</sup>, and שָׁמְרֵי ψ 16<sup>1</sup>), see § 9 *v*; on מְלוּכָה, Ju 9<sup>8</sup> *Keth.*, see § 46 *e*.



Dn 9<sup>19</sup>; in Niph'al הִשְׁבַּעַה Gn 21<sup>23</sup>. Cf., however, also מִכְרָה *sell*, Gn 25<sup>21</sup>, notwithstanding the impf. יָמַכְרָה; יָמַכְרָה Jb 33<sup>5</sup> (cf. עָרְכִי Jer 46<sup>3</sup>), but impf. יִמְכְּרֶה; יִמְכְּרֶה *collect*, Nu 11<sup>16</sup> (for 'אֶסֶף cf. § 63 l and the plural אֶסְפִּי), but 2nd masc. אֶסְפָּה; אֶסְפָּה ψ 141<sup>3</sup>. Barth (see above, § 47 i note) finds in these forms a trace of old imperfects in *i*, cf. § 63 n. On the other hand, קָרַבָּה ψ 69<sup>19</sup> (also Imperat. קָרַב Lv 9<sup>7</sup>, &c.), but impf. יִקְרַב. Without ה, we have the form לָךְ *go*, Nu 23<sup>13</sup>, Ju 19<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 25<sup>17</sup>. The form קָטַל in pause becomes קָטַלָה, the form קָטַל becomes קָטַלָה, e. g. יִרְשָׁה Dt 33<sup>23</sup>. But also without the pause we find מָלוּכָה Ju 9<sup>8</sup> *Keth.* and יָרְוּפָה ψ 26<sup>2</sup> *Keth.*, on which see § 46 e. On the other hand רָנְנָה, פָּשְׁטָה, עָנָה Is 32<sup>11</sup> are to be explained as aramaizing forms of the 2nd plur. fem.; also for הָרְדוּ v. 11 read הָרְדָה, and for סָפְרִים v. 12 read סָפְרָה.

k. The shortened imperative is found only in verbs ל"ה, e. g. in *Pi'el* לָלֵךְ from לָלַךְ. The shade of meaning conveyed by the imperatives with ה־ is not always so perceptible as in the cohortative forms of the imperfect, but the longer form is frequently emphatic, e. g. קִים *rise up*, קִימָה *up!* הֵן *give*, הֵנָּה *give up!*

l. Rem. The form רָדָה for רָדָה, best attested in Pr 24<sup>14</sup> (where it is taken by the Masora as imperat., not as infin., רָדָה) is evidently due to the influence of the ה which follows it in close connexion (so Strack, on the analogy of Jb 31<sup>2</sup>); for other examples of this change of *a* to *S°ghol*, see above, under *d*, § 73 d, and § 80 i. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether רָבָה Ju 9<sup>23</sup> (from רָבָה) is intended for רָבָה, and not rather for the common form of the imperative *Pi'el* רָבָה. In favour of the former explanation it may be urged that the imperative יָצָא (from יָצָא) follows immediately after; in favour of the latter, that the ending ה־, with imperatives of verbs ל"ה, is not found elsewhere, and also that here no guttural follows (as in Pr 24<sup>14</sup>).

#### § 49. The Perfect and Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive.

a 1. The use of the two tense-forms, as is shown more fully in the Syntax (§§ 106, 107, cf. above, § 47, note on *a*), is by no means restricted to the expression of the past or future. One of the most striking peculiarities in the Hebrew *consecution* of tenses<sup>1</sup> is the phenomenon that, in representing a series of past events, only the first

<sup>1</sup> The other Semitic languages do not exhibit this peculiarity, excepting the Phoenician, the most closely related to Hebrew, and of course the Moabitish dialect of the *Mēša'* inscription, which is practically identical with Old Hebrew. It also appears in the inscription of זכר of Hamāth (cf. Nöldeke, *ZA.* 1908, p. 379) where we find וַיִּשָּׂא יָדִי and *I lifted up my hand*, וַיַּעֲנֵנִי and *he answered me*, after a perfect of narration.

verb stands in the perfect, and the narration is continued in the imperfect. Conversely, the representation of a series of future events begins with the imperfect, and is continued in the perfect. Thus in 2 K 20<sup>1</sup>, *In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death* (perf.), and *Isaiah . . . came* (imperf.) *to him, and said* (imperf.) *to him, &c.* On the other hand, Is 7<sup>17</sup>, *the Lord shall bring* (imperf.) *upon thee . . . days, &c.,* 7<sup>18</sup>, *and it shall come to pass* (perf. הָיָה) *in that day . . .*

This progress in the sequence of time, is regularly indicated by *b* a pregnant and (called *wāw consecutive*<sup>1</sup>), which in itself is really only a variety of the ordinary *wāw copulative*, but which sometimes (in the imperf.) appears with a different vocalization. Further, the tenses connected by *wāw consecutive* sometimes undergo a change in the tone and consequently are liable also to other variations.

2. The *wāw consecutive* of the imperfect is (a) pronounced with *c* *Pathah* and a *Dageš forte* in the next letter, as וַיַּקְטֹל and he killed; before *נ* of the 1st pers. sing. (according to § 22 c) with *Qames*, as וַיַּקְטֹל and I killed. Exceptions are, וַיַּקְטֹל Ez 16<sup>10</sup> according to the *Dikduke ha-ṭamim*, § 71; also וַיַּקְטֹל 2 S 1<sup>10</sup> according to Qimḥi; but in Ju 6<sup>9</sup> וַיַּקְטֹל should be read according to Baer, and וַיַּקְטֹל in both places in Ju 20<sup>6</sup>. *Dageš forte* is always omitted in the preformative *י*, in accordance with § 20 m.

(b) When a shortening of the imperfect form is possible (cf. § 48 g), *d* it takes effect, as a rule (but cf. § 51 n), after *wāw consec.*, e.g. in Hiphil וַיִּקְטֹל (§ 53 n). The tendency to retract the tone from the final syllable is even stronger after *wāw consec.* than in the jussive. The throwing back of the tone on to the penultima (conditional upon its being an open syllable with a long vowel, § 29 a), further involves the greatest possible shortening of the vowel of the ultima, since the vowel then comes to stand in a toneless closed syllable, e.g. וַיִּקְטֹל, juss.

<sup>1</sup> This name best expresses the prevailing syntactical relation, for by *wāw consecutive* an action is always represented as the direct, or at least temporal consequence of a preceding action. Moreover, it is clear from the above examples, that the *wāw consecutive* can only be thus used in immediate conjunction with the verb. As soon as *wāw*, owing to an insertion (e.g. a negative), is separated from the verb, the imperfect follows instead of the perfect *consecutive*, the perfect instead of the imperfect *consecutive*. The fact that whole Books (Lev., Num., Josh., Jud., Sam., 2 Kings, Ezek., Ruth, Esth., Neh., 2 Chron.) begin with the imperfect *consecutive*, and others (Exod., 1 Kings, Ezra) with *wāw copulative*, is taken as a sign of their close connexion with the historical Books now or originally preceding them. Cf., on the other hand, the independent beginning of Job and Daniel. It is a merely superficial description to call the *wāw consecutive* by the old-fashioned name *wāw converse*, on the ground that it always converts the meaning of the respective tenses into its opposite, i.e. according to the old view, the future into the preterite, and vice versa.

אָרָא, with *wāw* consec. אָרָא and he arose (§ 67 n and x, § 68 d, § 69 p, § 71, § 72 t and aa, § 73 e).<sup>1</sup>

c In the *first* pers. sing. alone the retraction of the tone and even the reducing of the long vowel in the final syllable (*ā* to *ō*, *i* to *ē*, and then to *o* and *e*) are not usual,<sup>2</sup> at least according to the Masoretic punctuation, and the apocope in verbs אָרָא occurs more rarely; e.g. always אָרָא (or אָרָא, a merely orthographic difference) and I arose; Hiph. אָרָא (but generally written אָרָא, implying the pronunciation *wā'āqem*, as אָרָא implies *wā'āqōm*); אָרָא and I saw, more frequently than אָרָא, § 75 t. On the other hand, the form with final אָ is often used in the 1st pers. both sing. and plur., especially in the later books, e.g. אָרָא and I sent, Gn 32<sup>6</sup>, 41<sup>11</sup>, 43<sup>21</sup>, Nu 8<sup>19</sup> (אָרָא, as in Ju 6<sup>9</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>28</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>28</sup>, and often, probably a sort of compensation for the lost א); Ju 6<sup>10</sup>, 12<sup>2</sup>, 2 S 22<sup>24</sup>, ψ 3<sup>6</sup>, 7<sup>5</sup>, 90<sup>10</sup>, 119<sup>55</sup>, Jb 15<sup>π</sup>, 19<sup>20</sup>, Ez 7<sup>23</sup>, 8<sup>25</sup>, 9<sup>3</sup>, Neh 2<sup>13</sup>, 5<sup>7,8,13</sup>, 6<sup>11</sup>, 13<sup>7-11,21</sup> t, &c.—Sometimes, as in ψ 3<sup>6</sup>, with a certain emphasis of expression, and probably often, as in Ju 10<sup>12</sup>, אָרָא before א, for euphonic reasons. In Is 8<sup>2</sup> אָרָא may have been originally intended; in ψ 73<sup>16</sup> אָרָא and in Jb 30<sup>26</sup> אָרָא. In Ez 3<sup>3</sup> read אָרָא or אָרָא.

f This א is in meaning a strengthened *wāw* copulative, and resembles in pronunciation the form which is retained in Arabic as the ordinary copula (*wā*).<sup>3</sup> The close connexion of this *wā* with the following consonant, caused the latter in Hebrew to take Dageš, especially as *ā* could not have been retained in an open syllable. Cf. אָרָא, אָרָא, אָרָא (for אָרָא, where the prepositions א and א, and the particle א, are closely connected with א in the same way (§ 102 k).

g The retraction of the tone also occurs in such combinations, as in אָרָא (for אָרָא § 102 l).—The identity of many consecutive forms with jussives of the same conjugation must not mislead us into supposing an intimate relation between the moods. In the consecutive forms the shortening of the vowel (and the retraction of the tone) seems rather to be occasioned solely by the strengthening of the preformative syllable, while in the jussives the shortening (and retraction) belongs to the character of the form.

h 3. The counterpart of *wāw* consecutive of the imperfect is *wāw* consecutive of the perfect, by means of which perfects are placed as

<sup>1</sup> The plural forms in א also occur less frequently after *wāw* consecutive; cf., however, אָרָא Ju 8<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>18</sup>, Am 6<sup>8</sup>, Ez 44<sup>8</sup>, Dt 4<sup>11</sup>, 5<sup>20</sup>. The 2nd fem. sing. in א never occurs after *wāw* consecutive.

<sup>2</sup> In the 1st plur. אָרָא Neh 4<sup>3</sup> is the only instance in which the vowel remains unreduced (cf. אָרָא, i. e. אָרָא, 4<sup>9</sup> K<sup>th</sup>.; אָרָא). On the treatment of the tone in the imperfect, imperative, and infinitive *Niphal*, see § 51 n.

<sup>3</sup> In usage the Hebrew *wāw* does duty for the Arabic *fā* (*wāw* apodosis, see § 143 d) as well as *wā*.

the sequels in the future to preceding actions or events regarded as incomplete at the time of speaking, and therefore in the imperfect, imperative, or even participle. This *wāw* is in form an ordinary *wāw copulative*, and therefore shares its various vocalization (י, ו, ו, as 2 K 7<sup>4</sup>, and ו); e. g. וְהָיָה, after an imperfect, &c., and so it happens = and it will happen. It has, however, the effect, in certain verbal forms, of shifting the tone from the penultima, generally on to the ultima, e. g. הָלַכְתִּי *I went*, consecutive form וְהָלַכְתִּי *and I will go*, Ju 1<sup>3</sup>, where it is co-ordinated with another *perfect consecutive*, which again is the consecutive to an *imperative*. See further on this usage in § 112.

As the first of the above examples shows, the *Qames* of the first syllable is retained in the strong perf. consec. Qal, as formerly before the tone, so now in the secondary tone, and therefore necessarily takes *Metheg*. On the other hand, the *ō* of the second syllable in verbs *middle ō* upon losing the tone necessarily becomes *ō*, e. g. וְיִכְלֹתָ Ex 18<sup>23</sup>.

The shifting forward of the tone after the *wāw consecutive* of the *perfect* is, however, not consistently carried out. It is omitted—(a) always in the 1st pers. pl., e. g. וַיֵּשְׁבֻּנָּה Gn 34<sup>16</sup>; (b) regularly in Hiph'il before the affirmatives הָ and ו, see § 53 r; and (c) in many cases in verbs נ"ל and ה"ל, almost always in the 1st sing. of נ"ל (Jer 29<sup>14</sup>), and in ה"ל if the vowel of the 2nd syllable is *i*, Ex 17<sup>6</sup>, 26<sup>4.6.7.10 ff.</sup>, Ju 6<sup>26</sup>, &c., except in Qal (only Lv 24<sup>5</sup>, before נ) and the 2nd sing. masc. of Hiph'il-forms before נ, Nu 20<sup>8</sup>, Dt 20<sup>13</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>3</sup>, 2 K 13<sup>17</sup>; similarly in Pi'el before נ, Ex 25<sup>4</sup>, Jer 27<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand the tone is generally moved forward if the second syllable has *i* (in נ"ל Gn 27<sup>10</sup> &c., in ה"ל Ex 40<sup>4</sup>, Jer 33<sup>6</sup>, Ez 32<sup>7</sup>); but cf. also וַיִּרְאֵהוּ Lv 19<sup>14.32</sup> and frequently, always before the counter-tone, Jo 4<sup>21</sup>, ψ 19<sup>14</sup>.<sup>1</sup> With *ā* in the penultima the form is וְנִשְׁמָחָה Is 14<sup>4</sup>, and probably also וְקִרְאָהָה Jer 2<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>12</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>2</sup> with little T'li<sup>25</sup>, a postpositive accent.

But before a following נ the ultima mostly bears the tone on phonetic grounds, e. g. וְנִבְרָאָה Gn 6<sup>13</sup>, Ex 3<sup>18</sup>, Zc 6<sup>10</sup> (by the side of וְנִבְרָאָה, &c. (cf., however, וְקִרְאָהָה, before נ, Gn 17<sup>19</sup>, Jer 7<sup>27</sup>, Ez 36<sup>29</sup>); וְהָיָהָה Ju 6<sup>16</sup>, cf. Ex 25<sup>11</sup>, Lv 24<sup>5</sup> (but also וְנִבְרָאָה Lv 25<sup>21</sup>). Likewise, before ה, Am 8<sup>8</sup>, and ו, e. g. Gn 26<sup>10</sup>, 27<sup>12</sup>, Lv 26<sup>25</sup> (cf., however, וְקִרְאָהָה, Ez 38<sup>21</sup>); on verbs ו"ע, see § 67 k and ea.

(d) The tone always keeps its place when such a perfect stands in *pause*, <sup>III</sup> e. g. וַיֵּשְׁבֻּנָּה Dt 6<sup>11</sup>, 11<sup>15</sup>; וַיִּבְרָאָה Is 14<sup>4</sup>, Ju 4<sup>8</sup>; sometimes even in the lesser pause, as Dt 2<sup>28</sup>, Ez 3<sup>26</sup>, 1 S 29<sup>8</sup> (where see Driver), with *Zaqeph qaton*; and frequently also immediately before a tone-syllable (according to § 29 e), as in וַיִּשְׁבְּתָה Dt 17<sup>14</sup>, Ez 14<sup>13</sup>, 17<sup>22</sup>, Am 1<sup>4.7.10.12</sup>—but also וְהָיָהָה Dt 21<sup>11</sup>, 23<sup>14</sup>, 24<sup>10</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The irregularity in the tone of these perfects manifestly results from following conflicting theories, not that of Ben Ašer alone.

## § 50. The Participle.

- a 1. Qal has both an active participle, called *Pā'āl* from its form (פָּעַל), and a passive, *Pā'ūl* (פָּעוּל).<sup>1</sup>

*Pā'ūl* is generally regarded as a survival of a passive of Qal, which still exists throughout in Arabic, but has been lost in Hebrew (see, however, § 52 e), just as in Aramaic the passives of *Pī'āl* and *Hiph'ūl* are lost, except in the participles. But instances of the form *qū'āl* are better regarded as remnants of the passive participle Qal (see § 52 s), so that פָּעוּל must be considered as an original verbal noun; cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 173 ff.

- b 2. In the intransitive verbs *mid. e* and *mid. o*, the form of the participle active of Qal coincides in form with the 3rd sing. of the perfect, e. g. שָׁן *sleeping*, from שָׁן; יָנַח (only orthographically different from the perf. יָנַח) *fearing*; cf. the formation of the participle in *Niph'al*, § 51 a. On the other hand, the participle of verbs *mid. a* takes the form קָטַל (so even from the transitive שָׂנֵא *to hate*, part. שֹׂנֵא). The *ō* of these forms has arisen through an obscuring of the *ā*, and is therefore unchangeable, cf. § 9 q. The form קָטַל (with a changeable *Qames* in both syllables), which would correspond to the forms שָׁן and יָנַח, is only in use as a noun, cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> f. The formation of the participle in *Pī'āl*, *Hiph'ūl*, and *Hithpa'ūl* follows a different method.

- c 3. Participles form their feminine (קָטְלָה or קָטְלָת) and their plural like other nouns (§ 80 e, § 84<sup>a</sup> r, s, § 94).

- d Rem. 1. From the above it follows, that the *ā* of the form שָׁן is lengthened from *ā*, and consequently changeable (e. g. fem. שֹׁנָה); and that the *ō* of קָטַל on the other hand is obscured from an unchangeable *ā*.<sup>1</sup> In Arabic the verbal adjective of the form *qātil* corresponds to the form *qātil*, and the part. *qātil* to *qātil*. In both cases, therefore, the *ā* of the second syllable is lengthened from *i*, and is consequently changeable (e. g. קָטַל, plur. קָטְלִים; קָטַל, constr. pl. קָטְלִי).

- e הוֹמִיקָה ψ 16<sup>b</sup>, instead of the form *qō'āl*, is an anomaly; it is possible, however, that הוֹמִיקָה (incorrectly written fully) is intended (cf. סִבְיָה 2 K 8<sup>21</sup>), or even the imperfect *Hiph'ūl* of הוֹמִיקָה. The form הוֹמִיקָה in Is 29<sup>14</sup>, 38<sup>5</sup> appears to stand for הוֹמִיקָה, but most probably the Masora here (as certainly in יוֹסִיָה Ec 1<sup>16</sup>) intends the 3rd sing. imperf. *Hiph.*, for which the better form would be הוֹמִיקָה; אֹמִיקָה 1 Ch 27<sup>80</sup>, being a proper name and a foreign word, need not be considered.—אֹבֶר (constr. state of אֹבֶר), with *ā* in the second syllable, occurs in Dt 32<sup>28</sup> (cf. moreover, § 65 d). On הוֹלֶם Is 41<sup>7</sup> (for הוֹלֶם, see § 29 f).

- f 2. A form like the pass. ptep. *Pā'ūl*, but not to be confused with it, is sometimes found from intransitive verbs, to denote an inherent quality, e. g. אֱמוּן *faithful*, Jer 15<sup>18</sup>, &c.; אֱמוּן *trustful*, Is 26<sup>3</sup>, ψ 112<sup>7</sup>; עָצוּם *strong*; שָׁכָר *drunken*, Is 51<sup>21</sup>; and even from transitive verbs, אֲחִיז *handling*, Ct 3<sup>8</sup>; אֲחִיז *mindful*, ψ 103<sup>14</sup>; יָדוּעַ *knowing*, Is 53<sup>3</sup>; cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> m.

<sup>1</sup> The constr. st. נָאֵם in the formula יְהוָה נָאֵם *the word* (properly the *whispering*) of the Lord, &c., is always written defectively.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vollers, 'Das Qātil-partizipium,' in ZA. 1903, p. 312 ff.

## R. VERBA DERIVATIVA, OR DERIVED CONJUGATIONS.

§ 51. *Niph'al*.<sup>1</sup>

1. The essential characteristic of this conjugation consists in a *α* prefix<sup>2</sup> to the stem. This exists in two forms: (a) the (probably original) prepositive *nā*, as in the Hebrew perfect and participle, although in the strong verb the *ā* is always attenuated to *ē*: נָקַטַל for original *nā-qāṭāl*, participle נִקְטֵל, infinitive absolute sometimes נִקְטֵל; (b) the (later) proclitic *in* (as in all the forms of the corresponding Arabic conjugation VII. *'inqāṭālā*), found in the imperfect יִקְטֵל for *yinqāṭēl*, in the imperative and infinitive construct, with a secondary *h* added, הִקְטֵל (for *hinqāṭēl*), and in the infinitive absolute הִקְטֵל. The inflexion of *Niph'al* is perfectly analogous to that of *Qal*.

The features of *Niph'al* are accordingly in the perfect and participle the *b* prefixed *Nān*, in the imperative, infinitive, and imperfect, the *Dages* in the first radical. These characteristics hold good also for the weak verb. In the case of an initial guttural, which, according to § 22 *b*, cannot take *Dages forte*, the omission of the strengthening invariably causes the lengthening of the preceding vowel (see § 63 *h*).

2. As regards its meaning, *Niph'al* bears some resemblance to the *c* Greek *middle voice*, in being—(a) primarily *reflexive* of *Qal*, e.g. נִלְחַם to thrust oneself (against), נִשְׁמַר to take heed to oneself, φυλάσσεσθαι, נִסְתַּר to hide oneself, נִגְאֵל to redeem oneself; cf. also נִעֲנֶה to answer for oneself. Equally characteristic of *Niph'al* is its frequent use to express emotions which react upon the mind; נִחַם to trouble oneself, נִאָּח to sigh (to bemoan oneself, cf. ὀδύρεσθαι, lamentari, contristari); as well as to express actions which the subject allows to happen to himself, or to have an effect upon himself (*Niph'al tolerativum*), e.g. נִדַּרַשׁ to search, to inquire, Niph. to allow oneself to be inquired of, Is 65<sup>1</sup>, Ez 14<sup>3</sup>, &c.; so the Niph. of נִצָּר to find, יִסַּר to warn, to correct, Jer 6<sup>8</sup>, 31<sup>18</sup>, &c.

(b) It expresses *reciprocal* or mutual action. e.g. נִדְבַר to speak, Niph. *d* to speak to one another; נִשְׁפַּט to judge, Niph. to go to law with one another; נִעֲזַר to counsel, Niph. to take counsel, cf. the middle and deponent verbs βουλεύεσθαι (נִוְעֵז), μάχεσθαι (נִלָּחֵם), altercari, luctari (נִלָּחַם to strive with one another) proeliari.

(c) It has also, like *Hithpa'el* (§ 54 *f*) and the Greek *middle*, the *c* meaning of the active, with the addition of to oneself (*sibi*), for one-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Rieder, *De linguae Hebr. verbis, quae vocantur derivata nifal et hitpa'el*, Gumbinnen (Progr. des Gymn.), 1884, a list of all the strong *Niph'al* forms (81) and *Hithpa'el* forms (36) in the Old Testament; and especially M. Lambert, 'L'emploi du Nifal en Hébreu,' *REJ.* 41, 196 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Philippini in *ZDMG.* 1886, p. 650, and Barth, *ibid.* 1894, p. 8 f.



self, e. g. **שָׁאַל** to ask (something) for oneself (1 S 20<sup>6,28</sup>, Neh 13<sup>6</sup>), cf. *aitroumai se touto, endúsasthai chutōna*, to put on (oneself) a tunic.

f (d) In consequence of a looseness of thought at an early period of the language, *Niph'al* comes finally in many cases to represent the passive<sup>1</sup> of *Qal*, e. g. **יָלַד** to bear, Niph. to be born; **קָבַר** to bury, Niph. to be buried. In cases where *Qal* is intransitive in meaning, or is not used, *Niph'al* appears also as the passive of *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il*, e. g. **כָּבַד** to be in honour, *Pi'el* to honour, Niph. to be honoured (as well as *Pu'al* **כִּבְּדוּ**); **פָּתַר** *Pi'el* to conceal, *Hiph.* to destroy, Niph. passive of either. In such cases *Niph'al* may again coincide in meaning with *Qal* (**קָלַה** *Qal* and Niph. to be ill) and even take an accusative.

g Examples of denominatives are, **נָכַר** to be born a male, Ex 34<sup>19</sup> (from **נָכַר**; but probably **הָנַחַר** should here be read); **נָלַב** *cordatum fieri*, Jb 11<sup>12</sup> (from **לָבַב** *cor*); doubtless also **נָבְהָה** to obtain children, Gn 16<sup>2</sup>, 30<sup>8</sup>.

h The older grammarians were decidedly wrong in representing *Niph'al* simply as the passive of *Qal*; for *Niph'al* has (as the frequent use of its imperat. shows), in no respect the character of the other passives, and in Arabic a special conjugation (*ingāṭūlū*) corresponds to it with a passive of its own. Moreover, the forms mentioned in § 52 e point to a differently formed passive of *Qal*.—The form **נָאֲלַל** Is 59<sup>3</sup>, La 4<sup>14</sup>, is not to be regarded as a passive of *Niph'al*, but with König and Cheyne as a *forma mixta*, in the sense that the punctuators intended to combine two optional readings, **נָאֲלַל**, perf. Niph., and **נָאֲלַל**, perf. *Pu'al* [cf. also Wright, *Compar. Gramm.*, p. 224]. Although the passive use of *Niph'al* was introduced at an early period, and became tolerably common, it is nevertheless quite secondary to the reflexive use.

i Rem. 1. The *infin. absol.* **נִקְטֹל** is connected in form with the perfect, to which it bears the same relation as **קָטַל** to **קָטַל** in *Qal*, the *ā* in the second syllable being obscured from an original *ā*. Examples are, **נִכְסַף** Gn 31<sup>30</sup>; **נִלְחַם** Ju 11<sup>25</sup>; **נִשְׁאָל** 1 S 20<sup>6,28</sup>, all in connexion with the perfect.

k Examples of the form **נִקְטֹל** (in connexion with imperfects) are, **הִנָּחֵן** Jer 32<sup>4</sup>; **הִנָּחֵל** Lv 7<sup>18</sup>; once **אִדְרֹשׁ** Ez 14<sup>3</sup>, where, perhaps, the subsequent **אִדְרֹשׁ** has led to the substitution of **נ** for **ה**.—Moreover, the form **נִקְטֹל** is not infrequently used also for the *infin. absol.*,<sup>2</sup> e. g. Ex 22<sup>9</sup>, Nu 15<sup>33</sup>, Dt 4<sup>26</sup>, 1 K 20<sup>39</sup>. On the other hand, **נִקְטֹרֶה** should simply be read for the wholly abnormal **נִקְטֹרֶה** ψ 68<sup>9</sup> (commonly explained as being intended to correspond in sound with the subsequent **נִקְטֹרֶה**, but probably a 'forma mixta', combining the readings **נִקְטֹרֶה** and **נִקְטֹרֶה**).

<sup>1</sup> Of. Halfmann, *Beiträge zur Syntax der hebräischen Sprache*, 1. Stück, Wittenb., 1888, 2. St. 1892 (Gymn.-Programm), statistics of the *Niph'al* (*Pu'al*, *Hoph'al*, and *qāṭūl*) forms at different periods of the language, for the purpose of ascertaining the meaning of *Niph.* and its relation to the passive; the selection of periods is, however, very questionable from the standpoint of literary criticism.

<sup>2</sup> But, like **נִקְטֹל**, only in connexion with imperfects, except Jer 7<sup>9</sup>. Barth is therefore right in describing (*Nominalbildung*, p. 74) both forms as later analogous formations (in addition to the original Semitic **נִקְטֹל**), intended to assimilate the infinitive to the imperfect which it strengthens.

Elision of the ה after prepositions is required by the Masora in בְּשָׁלוֹ Pr l 24<sup>17</sup> (for בְּהַפֵּי), בְּהָרִיב Ez 26<sup>15</sup> and בְּעֵמֶף La 2<sup>11</sup>; also in verbs לָהּ Ex 10<sup>3</sup> (לַעֲנוֹת); 34<sup>21</sup> and Is 1<sup>12</sup> (לְרִאיוֹת); in verbs עָזַר Jb 33<sup>30</sup> (לְאֹרִי). It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the *inf. Qal* of the *Kethibh* is not rather intended in all these examples; it certainly is so in La 2<sup>11</sup>, cf. ψ 61<sup>2</sup>.

2. Instead of the *Sere* in the ultima of the imperfect, *Pathah* often occurs in pause, e.g. וַיִּנָּמַל Gn 21<sup>8</sup>; cf. Ex 31<sup>17</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>25</sup> (with final יֵשׁ); 17<sup>23</sup> (with ק); Jon 1<sup>5</sup> (with מ); see § 29 g. In the 2nd and 3rd plur. form. *Pathah* predominates, e.g. תִּפְחֲרֶנָּה Is 65<sup>17</sup>; *Sere* occurs only in תִּעֲנֶנָּה Ru 1<sup>13</sup>, from עָנָה, and hence, with loss of the doubling, for תִּעֲנֶנָּה; cf. even תִּאֲמַנֶּנָּה Is 60<sup>4</sup>.—With *Nūn paragogicum* (see § 47 m) in the 2nd and 3rd plur. masc. are found, יִכְרֹדוּ, תִּלְחַמְדוּ, &c., in pause יִבְהֲלֹנָה, תִּשְׁמְדוּ, &c.; but Jb 19<sup>21</sup> (cf. 24<sup>24</sup>) יִחַצְבוּ.

3. When the imperfect, the infinitive (in *v*), or the imperative is followed *n* in close connexion by a monosyllable, or by a word with the tone on the first syllable, the tone is, as a rule (but cf. וַיִּאֲבֹק אִישׁ Gn 32<sup>26</sup>), shifted back from the ultima to the penultima, while the ultima, which thus loses the tone, takes *Sghöl* instead of *Sere*; e.g. יִשְׁעַל בָּהּ Ez 33<sup>12</sup>; לֵי וַיַּעֲדֶר Gn 25<sup>21</sup>; in the imperative, 13<sup>9</sup>.—So always הִשְׁמָר לָךְ (since לָךְ counts as one syllable) Gn 24<sup>6</sup>, &c., cf. 1 S 19<sup>2</sup>; and even with *Pathah* in the ultima, תִּעֲוֹב אֲרֵץ Jb 18<sup>4</sup> (but cf. וַיַּעֲתֵר אֶל־הֵימִים 2 S 11<sup>14</sup>). Although in isolated cases (e.g. Gn 32<sup>26</sup>, Ezr 5<sup>23</sup>) the tone is not thrown back, in spite of a tone-syllable following, the retraction has become usual in certain forms, even when the next word begins with a toneless syllable; especially after 1 consec., e.g. וַיִּשְׁאָר Gn 7<sup>23</sup>; וַיִּלָּחֶם Nu 21<sup>1</sup> and frequently, וַיִּצְטָר 25<sup>3</sup>; and always so in the imperative הִשְׁמָר Ex 23<sup>21</sup>, Jb 36<sup>21</sup>, and (before Metheg of the counter-tone) Dt 24<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>9</sup>. On the avoidance of pausal-forms in the imperative (Am 2<sup>12</sup> with *Silluq*, Zc 2<sup>11</sup> with *Athnah*), and imperfect (Pr 24<sup>4</sup>, &c.), see § 29 c, and note; on the other hand, always הִפְלִיט, &c.

In the imperative, תִּקְבְּצֵנִי, for תִּקְבְּצִי, with the rejection of the initial ה, occurs in Is 43<sup>3</sup>, and in Joel 4<sup>11</sup> in pause תִּקְבְּצֵנִי (cf. נָלִי Jer 50<sup>6</sup>); but in these examples either the reading or the explanation is doubtful. The 2nd sing. imperat. of נִשְׁבַּע is always (with ה—*paragogicum*) לִי תִשְׁבַּעָה swear to me, Gn 21<sup>23</sup>, &c. (also לִי תִשְׁבַּעָה Gn 47<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 30<sup>15</sup>).

4. For the 1st sing. of the imperfect, the form אֶשְׁמַל is as frequent as אֶשְׁמַל p e.g. אֶשְׁמַל I shall be inquired of, Ez 14<sup>3</sup>; אֶשְׁבַּע I will swear, Gn 21<sup>24</sup>; cf. 16<sup>2</sup>, Nu 23<sup>15</sup>, Ez 20<sup>36</sup>, and so always in the cohortative, e.g. אֶשְׁמַח I will avenge me, Is 1<sup>24</sup>; cf. 1 S 12<sup>7</sup>, Ez 26<sup>2</sup>, and in the impf. Niph. of וָ' (§ 69 t). The Babylonian punctuation admits only י under the preformative of the 1st person.

## § 52. Pi'el and Pu'al.

1. The characteristic of this conjugation consists in the strengthening α of the middle radical. From the simple stem *qatal* (cf. § 43 b) the form קָטַל (cf. the Arabic conj. II. *qattālā*) would naturally follow as

the *perfect* of the active (*Pi'el*). The *Pathah* of the first syllable is, however, with one exception (see *m*), always attenuated to *i* in the *perfect*. In the second syllable, *a* has been retained in the majority of cases, so that the conjugation should more correctly be called *Pi'al*; but very frequently <sup>1</sup> this *a* also is attenuated to *i*, which is then regularly lengthened to *ā*, under the influence of the tone. Cf. in Aram. קָטַל; but in Biblical Aramaic almost always קָטַל. On the three cases in which *a* before a final ר or ס has passed into *Seghol*, see below, *L*.—Hence, for the 3rd sing. masc. perfect, there arise forms like קָטַר, קָטַר, קָטַר, קָטַר, קָטַר, &c.—Before affirmatives beginning with a consonant, however, *a* is always retained, thus קָטַרְתָּ, קָטַרְתָּ, קָטַרְתָּ, &c. In the *infinitives* (*absol.* קָטַל, obscured from *qattāl*; *constr.* קָטַל), *imperfect* (קָטַל), *imperative* (קָטַל), and *participle* (קָטַל) the original *a* of the first syllable reappears throughout. The vocal *Sewa* of the preformatives is weakened from a short vowel; cf. the Arabic imperfect *yūqattil*, participle *mūqattil*.

*b* The *passive* (*Pu'al*) is distinguished by the obscure vowel *ū*, or very rarely *ō*, in the first syllable, and *a* (in pause *ā*) always in the second. In Arabic, also, the passives are formed throughout with *ū* in the first syllable. The inflexion of both these conjugations is analogous to that of *Qal*.

*c* Rem. 1. The preformative ה, which in the remaining conjugations also is the prefix of the participle, is probably connected with the interrogative or indefinite (cf. § 37) pronoun ה *quīs? quicunque* (fem. i. e. neuter, הָ, cf. § 85 e).

*d* 2. The Dageš forte, which according to the above is characteristic of the whole of *Pi'el* and *Pu'al*, is often omitted (independently of verbs *middle guttural*, § 64 d) when the middle radical has *Sewa* under it (cf. § 20 m), e. g. שָׁלַח for שָׁלַח Ez 17<sup>17</sup>; בָּקַשׁ 2 Ch 15<sup>16</sup> (but in the *imperative* always בָּקַשׁ 1 S 28<sup>7</sup>, &c.), and so always in בָּרַךְ *praise*. The vocal character of the *Sewa* under the *litera dagessanda* is sometimes in such cases (according to § 10 h) expressly emphasized by its taking the form of a *Haṭeph*, as in בָּרַךְ Gn 2<sup>23</sup>, with <sup>וְ</sup> owing to the influence of the preceding *u*, cf. בָּרַךְ for בָּרַךְ, &c.; Gn 9<sup>14</sup>, Ju 16<sup>16</sup>. In the *imperfect* and *participle* the *Sewa* under the preformatives (*Haṭeph-Pathah* under ה in the 1st sing. *imperfect*) serves at the same time as a characteristic of both conjugations (Gn 26<sup>14</sup>).

*e* 3. According to the convincing suggestion of Böttcher<sup>2</sup> (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 904 ff. and § 1022), many supposed perfects of *Pu'al* are in reality

<sup>1</sup> So in all verbs which end in *Nūn*, and in almost all which end in *Lamed* (Olsb. p. 538). Barth is probably right in supposing (*ZDMG.* 1894, p. 1 ff.) that the vowels of the strengthened perfects have been influenced by the *imperfect*.

<sup>2</sup> As Mayer Lambert observes, the same view was already expressed by Ibn Ḥanāl (see above, § 3 d) in the *Kitāb el-lumā'*, p. 161. Cf. especially Barth, 'Das passive Qal und seine Participien,' in the *Festschrift zum Jubiläum Hildesheimer* (Berlin, 1890), p. 145 ff.

passives of Qal. He reckons as such all those *perfects*, of which the *P<sup>erl</sup>* (which ought to express the corresponding active) is either not found at all, or only (as in the case of יָלַד) with a different meaning, and which form their *imperfect* from another conjugation, generally Niph'al. Such *perfects* are the *quffāl* form of the stems אִבַּל (*imperfect* תִּאְבָּלוּ Is 1<sup>20</sup>), חָפַשׁ, בָּרַךְ, יָלַד, יָצַר, שָׂפַח, שָׁטַף, שָׁמַל, עָבַד, לָקַח, נָסַח. Barth (see below) adds to the list the apparent *P<sup>erl</sup>-perfects* of אָמַר, בָּוֹז, זָנָה, כָּתַר, נָפַח, עָוָב, נָפַח, כָּתַר, הֶחַי, וְזָנָה, בָּוֹז, אָמַר, and of verbs with middle ר (hence with *ū* of the first syllable lengthened to *ō*), הָרָה, הָרָה, הָרָה Jb 3<sup>8</sup> [ורָה, see § 67 *m*], וָרַע, וָרַע, מָרַט, מָרַט, קָרָא, קָרָא; also the infinitives absolute וְהָגוּ and הֵוֹגוּ Is 59<sup>18</sup>. In these cases there is no need to assume any error on the part of the punctuators; the sharpening of the second radical may have taken place in order to retain the characteristic *ū* of the first syllable (cf. Arab. *qūtūla* as passive of *qātūla*), and the *a* of the second syllable is in accordance with the vocalization of all the other passives (see § 39 *f*). Cf. § 52 *s* and § 53 *u*.

2. The fundamental idea of *Pi'el*, to which all the various shades of meaning in this conjugation may be referred, is *to busy oneself eagerly* with the action indicated by the stem. This intensifying of the idea of the stem, which is outwardly expressed by the strengthening of the second radical, appears in individual cases as—(a) a *strengthening* and *repetition* of the action (cf. the *intensive* and *iterative* nouns with the middle radical strengthened, § 8.4<sup>b</sup>),<sup>1</sup> e. g. *לָחַץ* *to laugh*, *Pi'el to jest, to make sport* (to laugh repeatedly); *שָׂאֵל* *to ask*, *Pi'el to beg*; hence when an action has reference to *many*, e. g. *קָבַר* *to bury* (a person) Gn 23<sup>4</sup>, *Pi'el to bury* (many) 1 K 11<sup>15</sup>, and often so in Syr. and Arab. Other varieties of the *intensive* and *iterative* meaning are, e. g. *פָּתַח* *to open*, *Pi'el to loose*; *סָפַר* *to count*, *Pi'el to recount*: [cf. *חָלַף, חָשַׁב, פָּתַח, רָפָא, מָרַח, מָאָהָב, תָּפַשׁ, חָפַשׁ, רָפָא*].

The eager pursuit of an action may also consist in *urging* and *causing* others to do the same. Hence *Pi'el* has also—(b) a *causative* sense (like *Hiph'il*), e.g. לָמַד *to learn*, *Pi'el to teach*. It may often be turned by such phrases as *to permit to*, *to declare or hold as* (the *declarative Pi'el*), *to help to*, e.g. הֵיָה *to cause to live*, צִדֵּק *to declare innocent*, יָלַד *to help in child-bearing*.

(c) *Denominatives* (see § 38 b) are frequently formed in this conjugation, and generally express a being occupied with the object expressed by the noun, either to form or to make use of it, e.g. *קָנָה* *to make a nest, to nest* (from *קָן*), *עָפַר* *to throw dust, to dust* (from *עָפָר*),

<sup>1</sup> Analogous examples, in which the strengthening of a letter has likewise an intensive force, are such German words as *reichen*, *recken* (Eng. to reach, to rack); *streichen* (*stringo*), *strecken*: cf. *Strich* (a stroke), *Strecke* (a stretch); *wachen* from *wachen*; others, in which it has the causative sense, are *stechen*, *stecken*; *wachen* (*watch*), *wachen* (*wake*); *έλλω* to bring to an end (cf. the stem *τέλω* to end, in *τέλος*, *τελέω*); *γεννάω* to beget, from the stem *γίνομαι* to come into being (cf. *γένος*).

לָקַח *to gather the clouds together* (from לָקַח), לָשֵׁל *to divide in three parts*, or *to do a thing for the third time* (from לָשֵׁל); probably also דִּבֶּר *to speak*, from דִּבֶּר *a word*. Or again, the denominative may express taking away, injuring, &c., the object denoted by the noun (*privative* Pi'el, cf. our *to skin, to behead, to bone*), e.g. שָׁרַשׁ, from שָׁרַשׁ *to root out, to extirpate*, וָנֶבֶל prop. *to injure the tail* (וָנֶבֶל), hence *to rout the rear of an army, to attack it*; לָבַב *to ravish the heart*; דָּשַׁן *to remove the ashes* (דָּשַׁן); חָטֵא *to free from sin* (חָטֵא); עָצַם *to break any one's bones* (עָצַם); cf., in the same sense, גָּרַם from גָּרַם *to lop the boughs*, Is 10<sup>33</sup> (from כָּעֵר *a bough*). Some words are clearly denominatives, although the noun from which they are derived is no longer found, e.g. כָּלַל *to stone, to pelt with stones* (also used in this sense in Qal), and *to remove stones* (from a field), *to clear away stones*; cf. our *to stone*, used also in the sense of *taking out the stones* from fruit.

The meaning of the *passive* (Pu'al) follows naturally from the above, e.g. בָּשַׁח Pu'al *to seek*, Pu'al *to be sought*.

i In Pi'el the literal, concrete meaning of the verb has sometimes been retained, when Qal has acquired a figurative sense, e.g. גָּלָה, Pi'el *to uncover*, Qal *to reveal, also to emigrate*, i.e. *to make the land bare*.

lc Also with an intransitive sense Pi'el occurs as an intensive form, but only in poetic language, e.g. רָחַת in Pi'el *to be broken in pieces*, Jer 51<sup>66</sup>; פָּחַד *to tremble*, Is 51<sup>13</sup>, Pr 28<sup>14</sup>; רָוַח *to be drunken*, Is 34<sup>5,7</sup>; כָּעַט *to be fever*, Ec 12<sup>2</sup>; but in Is 48<sup>8</sup>, 60<sup>11</sup> instead of the Pi'el of פָּתַח the Niph'al is certainly to be read, with Cheyne.

l Rem. 1. The (more frequent) form of the perfect with *Pathah* in the second syllable appears especially before *Maggeph* (Ec 9<sup>15</sup>, 12<sup>2</sup>) and in the middle of sentences in continuous discourse, but at the end of the sentence (in *pause*) the form with *Sere* is more common. Cf. גָּדַל Is 49<sup>21</sup> with גָּדַל Jos 4<sup>14</sup>, Est 3<sup>1</sup>; כָּלַט Ez 33<sup>5</sup> with כָּלַט Ec 9<sup>15</sup>; קָצַן 2 K 8<sup>16</sup> with קָצַן ψ 129<sup>4</sup>; but Qames never appears in this pausal form. The 3rd sing. fem. in *pause* is always of the form קָטְלָה, except קָבְצָה Mi 1<sup>7</sup>; the 3rd plur. always as קָטְלוּ; the 2nd and 1st sing. and 1st plur. of course as קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתִּי (but always דִּבַּרְתִּי and שָׁפַרְתִּי). In the 3rd sing. perf. דִּבֶּר *to speak*, כָּפַר *to pardon*, and כָּבַשׁ *to wash clothes* (also כָּבַשׁ Gn 49<sup>11</sup>) take S<sup>ghol</sup>, but become in *pause* דִּבֶּר, כָּפַר, כָּבַשׁ (2 S 19<sup>26</sup>); the *pausal* form of כָּפַר does not occur.

m *Pathah* in the first syllable (as in Aramaic and Arabic) occurs only once, Gn 41<sup>51</sup>, נָשַׁנִּי *he made me forget*, to emphasize more clearly the play on the name מְנַשֶּׁה.

n 2. In the imperfect (and *jussive* Ju 16<sup>25</sup>), *infinitive*, and *imperative* Pi'el (as also in *Hithpa'el*) the *Sere* in the final syllable, when followed by *Maggeph*, is usually shortened into S<sup>ghol</sup>, e.g. יִבְקֶשׁ-לֹו *he seeks for himself*, Is 46<sup>20</sup>; קָדַשׁ-לִּי *sanctify unto me*, Ex 13<sup>2</sup>. *Pausal-forms* with S<sup>ghol</sup> instead of *Sere*, as יִרְחַק Dt 32<sup>11</sup>, אֶרְחַם Ho 2<sup>6</sup> (cf. Ex 32<sup>6</sup> in the infinitive, and Gn 21<sup>9</sup> in the participle), owe their origin to some particular school of Masoretes, and are wrongly accepted by Baer; cf. the analogous cases in § 75 n and hh. If the final syllable of the imperfect Pi'el has *Pathah* (before a guttural or ר), it remains

even in *pause*; cf. § 29 s and 65 e. In the 1st sing. imperfect the *e*-sound occurs in two words for *Hafeph-Pathah*, under the preformative א; אָרָה Lv 26<sup>38</sup>, Ez 5<sup>12</sup>, 12<sup>14</sup> and וְאִסְעֶרֶם Ze 7<sup>14</sup> (in accordance with § 23 h).—Before the full plural ending ן (see § 47 m) the *Sere* is retained in *pause*, e.g. הַרְבֵּיָן ψ 58<sup>2</sup> (but Gn 32<sup>20</sup> הַרְבֵּיָן), cf. 2 K 6<sup>19</sup>, Dt 12<sup>3</sup>; so before *Silluq* ψ 58<sup>3</sup>, Jb 21<sup>11</sup> and even before *Zageph gafon* Dt 7<sup>5</sup>. Instead of הַרְבֵּיָן, forms like הַרְבֵּיָן are also found, e.g. Is 3<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>18</sup>, in both cases before a sibilant and in *pause*. Also הַרְבֵּיָן ψ 55<sup>10</sup> occurs as the 2nd sing. imperative (probably an intentional imitation of the sound of the preceding הַרְבֵּיָן) and קָרַב (for *qarrabh*) Ez 37<sup>17</sup>.

3. The *infinitive absolute* of Pi'el has sometimes the special form קָטַל given in O the paradigm, e.g. יָפַר *castigando*, ψ 118<sup>18</sup>; cf. Ex 21<sup>19</sup>, 1 K 19<sup>10</sup> (from a verb אָ"ל); ψ 40<sup>2</sup> (from a verb לָ"ה); but much more frequently the form of the *infinitive construct* (קָטַל) is used instead. The latter has also, in exceptional cases, the form קָטַל (with *ā* attenuated to *ē* as in the *perfect*), e.g. in 1 Ch 8<sup>8</sup> שָׁלוּ; perhaps also (if not a substantive) קָטַר Jer 44<sup>21</sup>; and for the sake of assonance even for *infinitive absolute* in 2 S 12<sup>14</sup> (נָאֵץ נֶאֱצָה). On the other hand, שָׁלַם Dt 32<sup>35</sup> and דָּבַר Jer 5<sup>13</sup> are better regarded as substantives, while דָּבַר Ex 6<sup>28</sup>, Nu 3<sup>1</sup>, Dt 4<sup>15</sup> (in each case after בְּיוֹם), Ho 1<sup>3</sup> (after תְּהוֹלֵת), in all of which places it is considered by König (after Qimhi) to be *infinitive construct*, is really perfect of Pi'el.

The *infinitive construct* Pi'el, with the *fem.* ending (cf. § 45 d), occurs in p יָפַר Lv 26<sup>18</sup>; וְיָמְרָה ψ 147<sup>1</sup>; with ך of the *fem.* before a suffix צָדִיקָהּ Ez 16<sup>52</sup>. On the verbal nouns after the form of the Aram. inf. Pa'il (קָטַלָה), see § 84<sup>b</sup> e.

Instead of the abnormal מֵאִסְעֶרֶם (so Baer, Is 62<sup>9</sup>) as ptep. Pi'el, read מֵאִסְעֶרֶם with ed. Mant. and Ginsburg.

4. In Pu'al ō is sometimes found instead of ā in the initial syllable, e.g. q מֵאִסְעֶרֶם *ayed red*, Ex 25<sup>8</sup>, &c., Na 2<sup>4</sup>, cf. 3<sup>7</sup> שָׁדְדָה; Ez 16<sup>4</sup>, ψ 72<sup>20</sup>, So<sup>11</sup>. According to Baer's reading also in תְּרַצְחָה ψ 62<sup>4</sup>, and so also Ben Ašer, but Ben Naphtali תְּרַצְחָה. It is merely an orthographic licence when ā is written fully, e.g. יוֹלֵךְ Ju 18<sup>29</sup>.

5. As *infinitive absolute* of Pu'al we find נָבַח Gn 40<sup>15</sup>.—No instance of the *inf. r constr.* occurs in the strong verb in Pu'al; from לָ"ה with suffix עָנוּתוֹ ψ 132<sup>1</sup>.

6. A few examples occur of the *participle* Pu'al without the preformative (מְ), s e.g. אָבַל Ex 3<sup>2</sup>; יוֹלֵךְ (for מְיֹלֵךְ) Ju 13<sup>8</sup>; לָקַח 2 K 2<sup>10</sup>; סָעָרָה Is 54<sup>11</sup>. These *participles* are distinguished from the *perfect* (as in Niph'al) by the ā of the final syllable. For other examples, see Is 30<sup>24</sup>, Ec 9<sup>12</sup> (where יוֹקְשִׁים according to § 20 n, stands for יָקַ = מְיֹקַ); but, according to the Masora, not Ez 26<sup>17</sup>, since הַרְבֵּיָן as *Mit'el* can only be the *perfect*. The rejection of the מְ may be favoured by an initial מ, as in Is 18<sup>2,7</sup> (but also מְאִשֶּׁף); Pr 25<sup>19</sup> (where, however, read מוֹעֵדָה); so also in the participle Pi'el מֵאֵץ Ex 7<sup>27</sup>, 9<sup>2</sup> (always after אָם, but cf. also הַמְאִינִים Jer 13<sup>10</sup>, where, however, הַמְאִינִים = הַמְאִינִים is to be read, with Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 264 f.) and מְהַר Zp 1<sup>14</sup> (and Is 8<sup>1,3</sup>?). Notice, however, Barth's suggestion (*Nominalbildung*, p. 273) that, as the active of forms like אָבַל only occurs in Qal, they are perfect participles of former passives of Qal (see e), and in Jer 13<sup>10</sup>, 23<sup>32</sup>, perfect participles of Pi'el.—On מְרַבֵּעַ Ez 45<sup>2</sup>, see § 65 d.



§ 53. *Hiph'il and Hoph'al.*

*a* 1. The characteristic of the active (*Hiph'il*) is a prefixed ה (on its origin see § 55 i) in the perfect ה (with the *ā* attenuated to *ī*, as in *Pi'el*), which forms a closed syllable with the first consonant of the stem. The second syllable of the perfect had also originally an *ā*; cf. the Arabic conj. iv. 'aqtālā, and in Hebrew the return of the *Pathah* in the 2nd and 1st pers. הִקְטִילָהּ, &c. After the attenuation of this *ā* to *ī*, it ought by rule to have been lengthened to *ē* in the tone-syllable, as in Aramaic הִקְטִיל, beside הִקְטִיל in Biblical Aramaic. Instead of this, however, it is always replaced in the strong verb by *i*,<sup>1</sup> but sometimes written defectively —; cf. § 9 g. Similarly in the infinitive construct הִקְטִיל, and in the imperfect and participle יִקְטִיל and מִקְטִיל, which are syncopated from יִהְיֶה and מִהְיֶה; § 23 k. The corresponding Arabic forms (*juqtīl* and *muqtīl*) point to an original *ī* in the second syllable of these forms. In Hebrew the regular lengthening of this *ī* to *ē* appears in the strong verb at least in the *jussive* and in the *imperfect consecutive* (see *n*), as also in the *imperative* of the 2nd sing. masc. (see *m*); on הִקְטִילָהּ, הִקְטִילָהּ cf. § 26 p. On the return of the original *ā* in the second syllable of the *Imperat.*, *Jussive*, &c., under the influence of a guttural, cf. § 65 f.

*b* In the *passive* (*Hoph'al*) the preformative is pronounced with an obscure vowel, whilst the second syllable has *ā* (in pause *ā*), as its characteristic, thus:—*Perf.* הִקְטִיל or הִקְטִיל, *Imperf.* יִקְטִל (syncopated from יִהְיֶה) or יִקְטִל, *Part.* מִקְטִל or מִקְטִל (from מִהְיֶה); but the *infinitive absolute* has the form הִקְטִיל.

Thus the characteristics of both conjugations are the ה preformative in the *perfect*, *imperative*, and *infinitive*; in the *imperfect* and *participle* *Hiph'il*, *Pathah* under the preformatives, in the *Hoph'al* *ō* or *ū*.

*c* 2. The meaning of *Hiph'il* is primarily, and even more frequently than in *Pi'el* (§ 52 g), *causative* of *Qal*, e.g. הִנְיֹחַ to go forth, *Hiph.* to bring forth, to lead forth, to draw forth; הִקְדִּישׁ to be holy, *Hiph.* to sanctify. Under the *causative* is also included (as in *Pi'el*) the *declarative* sense, e.g. הִדְרִיץ to pronounce just; הִרְשִׁיעַ to make one an evil doer (to pronounce guilty); cf. עָשָׂה, in *Hiph'il*, Jb 9<sup>30</sup>, to represent as perverse. If *Qal* has already a transitive meaning, *Hiph'il* then takes two accusatives (see § 117 cc). In some verbs, *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il* occur side by side in the same sense, e.g. הִפְרִיחַ *perit*, *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il*, *perdidit*; as a rule,

<sup>1</sup> This *i* may have been transferred originally from the imperfects of verbs יָעַ, as a convenient means of distinction between the indicative and *jussive*, to the *imperfect* of the strong verb and afterwards to the whole of *Hiph'il*; so Stade, Philippi, Praetorius, ZAW. 1883, p. 52 f.

however, only one of these two conjugations is in use, or else they differ from one another in meaning, e.g. *כָּבֵר* *gravem esse*, Pi'el to honour, Hiph'il to bring to honour, also to make heavy. Verbs which are intransitive in Qal simply become transitive in Hiph'il, e.g. *נָטַח* to bow oneself, Hiph. to bow, to bend.

Among the ideas expressed by the *causative* and *transitive* are included, *d* moreover, according to the Hebrew point of view (and that of the Semitic languages in general, especially Arabic), a series of actions and ideas, which we have to express by periphrasis, in order to understand their being represented by the Hiph'il-form. To these *inwardly transitive* or *intensive* Hiph'is belong: (a) Hiph'il stems which express the obtaining or receiving of a concrete or abstract quality. (In the following examples the Qal stems are given, for the sake of brevity, with the addition of the meaning which—often together with other meanings—belongs to the Hiph'il.) Thus *אָהַל*, *יָפַע*, *זָהַר*, *אָהַל* to be bright, to shine (to give forth brightness); opposed to *חָשַׁךְ* to become dark; *אָמַן*, *נָבַר*, *חָזַק* to be strong (to develop strength), *עָמַף* to be weak; *אָרַךְ* to be long (to acquire length); *נָבַה* to be high; *הוּם* to be in tumult, *זָעַק* to cry out, *רָעַע* to make a noise, to exult; *חָלַף* to sprout (to put forth shoots), cf. *פָּרַח* to bloom, *עָרַף*, *שָׁקַף* to overflow; *חָרַשׁ*, *חָשָׂה*, *סָכַת*, *צָמַת* to be silent (*silentium facere*, Pliny); *מָתַק* to be sweet; *צָלַח* to have success; *שָׁפַל* to be low; *אָדַם* to become red, *לָבַן* to become white.

(b) Stems which express in Hiph'il the entering into a certain condition and, *e* further, the being in the same: *אָמַן* to become firm, to trust in; *בָּאֵשׁ* to become stinking; *וָוַר* to become boiling, to boil over; *חָלַה* to become ill; *חָסַר* to come to want; *חָרַה* to become hot; *יָבַשׁ* to become dry, to become ashamed; *יָתַר* to attain superiority; *שָׁכַן* to become familiar; *עוֹר*, *קוֹץ* to become awake; *קָשָׁה* to become hard; *שָׁקַט* to become quiet (to keep quiet); *שָׁמַם* to be astonished. The Hiph'il forms of some verbs of motion constitute a variety of this class: *נָגַשׁ* to draw near; *קָרַב* to come near; *רָחַק* to withdraw far off (all these three are besides used as causatives); *קָדַם* to come before.

(c) Stems which express action in some particular direction: *חָטָא* to err; *חָלַק* to flatter (to act smoothly); *יָטַב* to act well, to do good; *סָכַל* to act foolishly, *שָׁכַל* to act wisely; *עָרַם* to act craftily; *צָנַע* to act submissively; *רָעַע* to act wickedly, godlessly; *שָׁחַת*, *תָּעַב* to act corruptly, abominably; *שָׁלַם* to act peacefully, to be at peace, to be submissive.

Further, there are in Hiph'il a considerable number of *denominatives* which *g* express the bringing out, the producing of a thing, and so are properly regarded as causatives,<sup>1</sup> e.g. *אָצַר* to set over the treasury, Neh 13<sup>13</sup> (unless *אֶצְרָה* is to be read, as in Neh 7<sup>2</sup>); *בָּבַר* to bring forth a firstborn; *נָשַׁם* to cause to rain; *רָוַע* to produce seed; *יָמַן* (*הֵימָן*) to go to the right, cf. *הֵשִׁימָאֵל* to go to the left; *פָּרַם* to get or to have hoofs; *קָרַן* to get or to have horns; *שָׁכַל* to produce abortion; *שָׁלַג* to become snow-white; *שָׁמַן* to grow fat; *שָׂרַשׁ* to put forth roots, &c.; so also according to the ordinary acceptation *הֵאָזְנִיחוּ* Is 19<sup>6</sup>, they have become stinking, from *אָזַח* stinking or stench, with retention of the N prosthetic, § 19 m (but see below, p).

<sup>1</sup> The same ideas are also paraphrased by the verb *עָשָׂה* (to make), e.g. to make fat, for, to produce fat upon his body, Jb 15<sup>27</sup>; to make fruit, to make branches, for, to put forth, to yield, Jb 14<sup>9</sup>, Ho 8<sup>7</sup>, cf. the Lat. *corpus, robur, sobolem, divitias facere*, and the Ital. *far corpo, far force, far frutto*.

Of a different kind are the *denominatives* from: אָזן (scarcely to prick up the ears, but) to act with the ears, to hear; cf. לָשׁן to move the tongue, to slander, and the German *äugen* (to make eyes), *füsseln*, *näseln*, *schwänzeln*; שָׁבַר to sell corn; הָעָרִיב to set out early (to load the back [of the camel, &c.]?); opposed to הָעָרִיב.

*h* 3. The meaning of *Hoph'al* is (a) primarily that of a *passive* of *Hiph'il*, e.g. הִשְׁלִיךְ *proiecit*, הִשְׁלַךְ or הִשְׁלָךְ *proiectus est*; (b) sometimes equivalent to a *passive* of *Qal*, as נָקַם to *avenge*, *Hoph. to be avenged* (but see below, *u*).

*i* Rem. 1. The *i* of the 3rd sing. masc. perf. *Hiph'il* remains, without exception, in the 3rd fem. (in the tone-syllable). That it was, however, only lengthened from a short vowel, and consequently is changeable, is proved by the forms of the *imperative* and *imperfect* where *i* (or, under the influence of gutturals, *ä*) takes its place. In an open syllable the *i* is retained almost throughout; only in very isolated instances has it been weakened to *šwā* (see *n* and *o*).

*h* 2. The *infinitive absolute* commonly has *Sere* without *Yodh*, e.g. הַקְדֵּשׁ Ju 17<sup>3</sup>; less frequently it takes *Yodh*, e.g. הַשְׁמִיר Am 9<sup>8</sup>; cf. Dt 15<sup>14</sup>, Is 59<sup>4</sup>, Jer 3<sup>15</sup>, 23<sup>32</sup>, 44<sup>25</sup>, Jb 34<sup>35</sup>, Ec 10<sup>10</sup>. With *N* instead of *ן* (probably a mere scribal error, not an Aramaism) we find אֲשַׁכֵּם Jer 25<sup>2</sup>. Rare exceptions, where the form with *Sere* stands for the *infinitive construct*, are, e.g. Dt 32<sup>8</sup> (Sam. בְּהִנְחִיל; read perhaps בְּהִנְחֵל), Jer 44<sup>19,26</sup>, Pr 25<sup>2</sup>, Jb 13<sup>8</sup> (?); on the other hand, for לְעִשֹּׂר Dt 26<sup>12</sup> (which looks like an *infinitive Hiph'il* with elision of the *ן*, for לְהַעֲשִׂיר) the right reading is simply לְעִשֹּׂר, since elsewhere the *Pi'el* alone occurs with the meaning to *tithe*; for בָּעֵשֶׂר Neh 10<sup>39</sup> perhaps the inf. *Qal* (בָּעֵשֶׂר) was intended, as in 1 S 8<sup>15,17</sup> (= to take the tithe). At the same time it is doubtful whether the present punctuation does not arise from a conflation of two different readings, the *Qal* and the *Pi'el*.

*l* Instead of the ordinary form of the *infinitive construct* הַקְטִיל the form הַקְטִיל sometimes occurs, e.g. הַשְׁמִיר to destroy, Dt 7<sup>24</sup>, 28<sup>48</sup>; cf. Lv 14<sup>46</sup>, Jos 11<sup>14</sup>, Jer 50<sup>24</sup>, 51<sup>33</sup> and הַקְצוּת for הַקְצוּת Lv 14<sup>43</sup> from קָצָה; scarcely, however, Lv 7<sup>35</sup> (see § 155 *l*), 2 S 22<sup>1</sup> (ψ 18<sup>1</sup>), 1 K 11<sup>16</sup> (after עָר), and in the passages so explained by König (i. 276) where הַשְׁאִיר appears after prepositions<sup>1</sup>; [cf. Driver on Dt 3<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>15</sup>, 7<sup>24</sup>, 28<sup>55</sup>].

With *ä* in the second syllable there occurs הַשְׁפַּח Ez 21<sup>23</sup> (cf. the substantival infin. הַשְׁפַּח 1 S 15<sup>23</sup>).—In the Aram. manner הַשְׁפַּח is found in Ez 24<sup>26</sup> (as a *construct form*) for the *infinitive Hiph'il* (cf. the *infinitive Hithpa'el*, Dn 11<sup>23</sup>). On the elision of the *ן* after prefixes, see *g*.

*m* 3. In the *imperative* the *i* is retained throughout in the open syllable, according to *i*, and consequently also before suffixes (see § 61 *g*) and *paragogic*, e.g. הִשְׁמִיר attend to, נָא הִשְׁמִיעָה ψ 118<sup>26</sup>, as in ed. Mant., Jabl., Baer, not הִשְׁמִיעָה as Ginsb. and Kittel; with the tone at the end only הִשְׁמִיעָה ibid. v. 25<sup>b</sup>. On the other hand, in the 2nd sing. masc. the original *i* (cf. Arabic *'aḡḡi*) is lengthened to *ä*, e.g. הַשְׁמִיעָה make fat, and becomes *š'ghöl* before *Magqeph*, e.g. הַשְׁמִיעָה Jb 22<sup>21</sup>.—The form הַקְטִיל for הַקְטִיל appears anomalously a few times: ψ 94<sup>1</sup>, Is 43<sup>8</sup>, Jer 17<sup>18</sup> (cf. § 69 *v* and § 72 *y*); elsewhere the Masora has preferred the punctuation הַקְטִיל, e.g. 2 K 8<sup>8</sup>; cf. ψ 142<sup>3</sup>.—In La 5<sup>1</sup> הַבִּיטָה is required by the *Q'rä* for הִבִּיתָ.

<sup>1</sup> As to the doubtfulness, on general grounds, of this form of the Inf. *Hiph.*, see Robertson Smith in the *Journ. of Philol.*, xvi. p. 72 f.

4. In the *imperfect* *Hiph'il* the shorter form with *Sere* prevails for the jussive *72* in the 3rd masc. and fem. and 2nd masc. sing., e.g. *אֶל-תַּגְדֵּל* *make not great*, Ob 12; *יִכְרֵת* *let Him cut off!* ψ 12<sup>4</sup>; even incorrectly *תִּיָּד* Ex 19<sup>8</sup> and *יָיִד* Ec 10<sup>20</sup>; cf. also *יִבְעֶר* Ex 22<sup>4</sup>, where the jussive form is to be explained according to § 109 h, and *יִאָּכֵר* Jb 39<sup>26</sup> before the principal pause. Similarly, after *ו* consec., e.g. *וַיִּבְדֵּל* and *He divided*, Gn 1<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, *i* is almost always retained in the 1st sing., e.g. *וַיִּשְׁמֵר* Am 2<sup>9</sup> (but generally without *i*, as *וַיִּסְתֵּר* Ez 39<sup>23 f.</sup>, &c.); cf. § 49 e and § 74 l, but also § 72 aa; in 1st plur. only in Neh 4<sup>8</sup>; in the 3rd sing. ψ 105<sup>28</sup>. With *ā* in the principal pause *וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ* Ru 2<sup>14</sup>, and in the lesser pause, Gn 49<sup>4</sup>; before a sibilant (see § 29 g) *וַיִּנָּשֵׂא* Ju 6<sup>19</sup>; in the lesser pause *וַיִּנְקֶה* La 3<sup>5</sup>. Before *Maggeph* the *Sere* becomes *S'ghōl*, e.g. *וַיַּחֲקִיבוּ* Ju 19<sup>4</sup>. In the plural again, and before suffixes, *i* remains in the forms *יִסְמְלוּ*, *יִסְמְלוּ*, even in the jussive and after *ו* consecutive, e.g. *וַיִּדְבְּקוּ* Ju 18<sup>22</sup>. The only exceptions, where the *i* is weakened to *S'edā*, are *וַיִּדְרְכוּ* Jer 9<sup>2</sup>; *וַיִּדְבְּקוּ* 1 S 14<sup>22</sup>, 31<sup>2</sup>, 1 Ch 10<sup>2</sup>; *וַיַּעֲבְרוּ* Jer 11<sup>15</sup>; *וַיִּזְכְּרוּ* Neh 13<sup>13</sup>, if it is *Hiph'il* of *זָכַר*, but probably *וַיִּזְכְּרוּ* is to be read, as in 7<sup>2</sup>; perhaps also *וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ* Jb 19<sup>8</sup> (according to others, *imperfect Qal*). The same weakening occurs also in the imperfect in 3rd and 2nd masc. sing. before suffixes, 1 S 17<sup>20</sup>, 1 K 20<sup>33</sup>, ψ 65<sup>10</sup>, and in Jb 9<sup>20</sup>, unless the form be *Pi'el* = *וַיַּעֲשֵׂהוּ*, since the *Hiph'il* is not found elsewhere. It is hardly likely that in these isolated examples we have a trace of the ground-form, *yag'il*, or an Aramaism. More probably they are due partly to a misunderstanding of the defective writing, which is found, by a purely orthographic licence, in numerous other cases (even in 3rd sing. *וַיִּשְׁלַח* Is 44<sup>28</sup>), and partly are intended, as *formae mixtae*, to combine the forms of *Qal* and *Hiph'il*. Instead of the firmly closed syllable, the Masora requires in Gn 1<sup>11</sup> *וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ*, with euphonic *Ga'ya* (see § 16 h).

5. In the *participle*, *וּמֹצֵא* ψ 135<sup>7</sup> appears to be traceable to the ground-form, *O mag'il*; yet the *Sere* may also possibly be explained by the retraction of the tone. The Masora appears to require the weakening of the vowel to *S'edā* (see above, n) in *מְחַלְכִּים* Ze 3<sup>7</sup> (probably, however, *מְחַלְכִּים* should be read), also in *מְחַלְכִּים* Jer 29<sup>8</sup>, *מְעֻזִּים* 2 Ch 28<sup>23</sup> (but as *ם* precedes, and accordingly dittography may well have taken place, the participle *Qal* is probably to be read in both places; the reading of the text is perhaps again intended to combine *Qal* and *Hiph'il*, see above, n), and in the *Q'ere* *מְחַלְכִּים* 1 Ch 15<sup>24</sup> &c. (where the *Kethibh* *מְחַלְכִּים* is better).—The fem. is ordinarily pointed as *מְחַלְכֶּת* Nu 5<sup>15</sup>, *מְשַׁנֶּת* Lv 14<sup>21</sup>; in pause *מְשַׁנֶּת* Pr 19<sup>14</sup>.

6. In the *perfect* there occur occasionally such forms as *וַיִּחַלְמֵנִי* 1 S 25<sup>7</sup>; *p* cf. Gn 41<sup>28</sup>, 2 K 17<sup>11</sup>, Jer 29<sup>1</sup>, Mi 6<sup>8</sup>, Jb 16<sup>7</sup>; with the original *ā* in the first syllable *וַיִּחַלְמֵנִי* Na 3<sup>5</sup>.—In *וַיִּחַלְמֵנִי* 1 I have stained, Is 63<sup>3</sup>, *ā* stands at the beginning instead of *h*, cf. above, k, on *וַיִּשְׁבֵּי*. On the other hand, *וַיִּחַלְמֵנִי*

<sup>1</sup> Most probably, however, *וַיִּחַלְמֵנִי* (*perfect Pi'el*) is to be read, and the *ā* is only an indication of the change of the *perfect* into the *imperfect*, as also previously, by a change of punctuation, *וַיִּזְכְּרוּ* and *וַיִּנָּשֵׂא* (instead of *וַיִּזְכְּרֵהוּ* and *וַיִּנָּשֵׂא*) are made future instead of past. Jewish exegesis applied these Edom-oracles to the Roman (i.e. Christian) empire. So G. Moore in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1887, col. 292.

Is 19<sup>6</sup> (see above, *g*) is a mere error of the scribe, who had the Aramaic form in mind and corrected it by prefixing ה.

- q 7. In the *imperfect* and *participle* the characteristic ה is regularly elided after the preformatives, thus יִקְטִיל, מִקְטִיל; but it is retained in the *infinitive* after prepositions, e.g. לְהַקְטִיל. The exceptions are in the imperfect, הוֹשִׁיעַ. He will save for יוֹשִׁיעַ 1 S 17<sup>47</sup>, ψ 116<sup>6</sup> (in pause); יוֹדֶה He will praise for יוֹדֶה Neh 11<sup>17</sup>, ψ 28<sup>7</sup>, 45<sup>18</sup> (cf. the proper name יְהוֹכָד Jer 37<sup>3</sup>, for which 38<sup>1</sup> יִבְל [and יְהוֹכָד ψ 81<sup>6</sup>]); יְהִלֵּל (§ 70 d) Is 52<sup>5</sup>, יְהַלֵּל Jer 9<sup>4</sup>, יְהַלֵּל Jb 13<sup>9</sup> and מְהַקְצֵעוֹת Ez 46<sup>22</sup>; in the *infinitive* (where, however, as in *Niph'al*, § 51 l, the *infinitive Qal* is generally to be read) לְסַתֵּר Is 29<sup>15</sup> for לְהַסְתִּיר; לְנַפֵּל and לְצַבּוֹת Nu 5<sup>22</sup>; לְעַבִּיר 2 S 19<sup>19</sup>; לְהִלָּק Jer 37<sup>12</sup>; לְחַטֵּיא Ec 5<sup>5</sup>; לְלַבֵּן (doubly anomalous for לְהַלְבִּין) Dn 11<sup>35</sup>; לְשַׁמֵּשׁ ψ 26<sup>7</sup>; לְאַדְרִיב 1 S 23<sup>33</sup>; לְשַׁמֵּד Is 23<sup>11</sup>; וּלְשִׁבִּית Am 8<sup>4</sup> (certainly corrupt); בְּהָעִיר ψ 73<sup>20</sup> (but in the city is probably meant); לְבִיא Jer 39<sup>7</sup> (2 Ch 31<sup>10</sup>); לְמָרוֹת Is 3<sup>8</sup>, ψ 78<sup>17</sup>; לְנַחוּם Ex 13<sup>21</sup>; בְּנִלוֹת (see, however, § 20 h) Is 33<sup>1</sup>; לְרַאֲהֶם Dt 1<sup>33</sup>: cf. further, from verbs לָ"ה, Nu 5<sup>22</sup>, Jer 27<sup>20</sup>; on Dt 26<sup>12</sup> and Neh 10<sup>39</sup>, see above, *k*; for לְמַחוֹת Pr 31<sup>3</sup> read לְמַחוֹת or לְמַחוֹת.

- r 8. With regard to the tone it is to be observed that the affirmatives ו and ה in *Hiph'il* have not the tone, even in the *perfect* with *wave consecutive* (except in Ex 26<sup>33</sup> before ה, Lv 15<sup>29</sup> before ו, to avoid a hiatus); but the plural ending ון (see § 47 m) always has the tone, e.g. הִקְרִיבוּ Dt 17<sup>17</sup>.

- s 9. The passive (*Hoph'al*) has *ā* instead of *Qames* *latuph* in the first syllable (הִקְטִיל), in the strong verb less frequently in the *perfect* and *infinitive*, but generally in the *participle*, through the influence of the initial מ (but cf. מִשְׁחָה Pr 25<sup>26</sup>); e.g. הִשְׁכַּב Ez 32<sup>32</sup> (beside הִשְׁכַּבָּה 32<sup>19</sup>); הִשְׁלַף *imperf.* יִשְׁלַף *part.* מִשְׁלַף 2 S 20<sup>21</sup> (beside הִשְׁלַכְתָּ Is 14<sup>19</sup>); הִמְלַחַת Ez 16<sup>4</sup>; in the *partic.* *Hoph.* without elision of the ה: מְהַקְצֵעוֹת Ez 46<sup>22</sup>; on the other hand, verbs פ"ן always have *ā* (in a sharpened syllable): הִנָּדַר, הִנָּדַר (cf. § 9 n).

- t 10. The *infinitive absolute* has in *Hoph'al* (as in *Hiph'il*) *Sere* in the last syllable, e.g. הִחַתֵּל and הִמְלִיחַ Ez 16<sup>4</sup>; הִנָּדַר Jos 9<sup>24</sup>. An *infinitive construct* does not occur in the strong verb.

11. With regard to the *imperative Hoph'al*, see above, § 46 a, note.

- u 12. According to Böttcher (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 906) and Barth (see above, § 52 e) a number of supposed imperfects *Hoph'al* are, in fact, imperfects of the passive of *Qal*. As in the case of the perfects passive of *Qal* (see above, § 52 e) the question is again of verbs of which neither the corresponding causative (i. e. here the *Hiph'il*), nor the other tense of the same conjugation (i. e. here the perfect *Hoph'al*) is found; so with יָקַם (for יָקַם, cf. *yugillū* as imperfect *Qal* in Arabic) and יָתַן, from נָקַם and יָתַן; יָקַח from יָקַח (cf. § 66 g) and יָאָר Nu 22<sup>6</sup> from יָאָר; יָחַן from יָחַן; יָאָר Ho 10<sup>14</sup> (cf. Is 33<sup>1</sup>) from יָאָר; Barth adds the verbs יָתַן Ez 19<sup>12</sup> from נָתַתָּ Lev 11<sup>35</sup> from נָתַתָּ; the verbs יָעַן: יָחַק Jb 19<sup>23</sup> from חָקַק; יָבַח &c. from פָּתַח; the verb יָעַר from יָעַר; the verbs יָעַל, יָעַל, יָעַל from יָעַל; יָעַל and יָעַל. On יָעַל &c., § 73 f. In point of fact it would be very strange, especially in the case of יָתַן and יָקַח, that of these frequently used verbs,

amongst all the forms of Hiph'al and Hoph'al, only the *imperfect* Hoph'al should have been preserved. A passive of Qal is also indicated in the Tell-el-Amarna letters, according to Knudtzon, by a number of imperfect forms, which are undoubtedly due to Canaanite influence, cf. *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, iv. 410.

### § 54. *Hithpa'el*.

1. The *Hithpa'el*<sup>1</sup> is connected with *Pi'el*, being formed by prefixing *h* to the *Pi'el*-stem (*gatt'el*, *gatt'al*) the syllable הִתְ (Western Aramaic הִתְ, but in Biblical Aramaic הִתְ; Syr. 'et'). Like the preformative הִ (הִתְ) of *Niph'al*, הִתְ has also a reflexive force.

2. The ה of the prefix in this conjugation, as also in *Hothpa'al*<sup>b</sup> (see *h*), *Hithpa'el*, *Hithpa'el* and *Hithpa'el* (§ 55), under certain circumstances, suffers the following changes:

(a) When the stem begins with one of the harder sibilants ט, צ, or ש, the ה and the sibilant change places (cf. on this *metathesis*, § 19 n), and at the same time the ה after a צ becomes the corresponding emphatic ט: thus הִשְׁתַּמֵּר to take heed to oneself, for הִשְׁתַּמֵּר; הִשְׁתַּבֵּר to become burdensome, for הִשְׁתַּבֵּר; הִשְׁתַּבֵּר to justify oneself, from שָׁבַר. The only exception is in Jer 49<sup>3</sup>, הִשְׁתַּבֵּר, to avoid the cacophony of three successive *t*-sounds.

(b) When the stem begins with a *d*- or *t*-sound (ד, ט, ת), the ה of the preformative is assimilated to it (§ 19 d), e.g. הִדְבֵּר speaking, conversing; הִדְבֵּר to be crushed, הִדְבֵּר to purify oneself, הִדְבֵּר to defile oneself, הִדְבֵּר to act uprightly. (An exception occurs in Ju 19<sup>22</sup>.) The assimilation of the ה occurs also with נ and כ, e.g. הִנָּבֵא to prophesy, as well as הִנָּבֵא (cf. Nu 24<sup>7</sup>, Ez 5<sup>13</sup>, Dn 11<sup>14</sup>); הִנָּבֵא Nu 21<sup>27</sup> (cf. Is 54<sup>14</sup>, ψ 59<sup>6</sup>); הִנָּבֵא Pr 26<sup>26</sup>; with ש Ec 7<sup>16</sup>; with ר Is 33<sup>10</sup>.

Rem. Metathesis would likewise be expected, as in the cases under b, *el* when ה and ל come together, as well as a change of ה to ד. Instead of this, in the only instance of the kind (הִדְבֵּר Is 1<sup>10</sup>) the ה is assimilated to the ל, —unless indeed הִדְבֵּר, imperative *Niph'al* of דָּבַר, is intended.

3. As in form, so also in meaning, *Hithpa'el* is primarily (a) *reflexive* of *Pi'el*, e.g. הִתְאַוֵּר to gird oneself, הִתְקַדֵּשׁ to sanctify oneself. Although in these examples the intensive meaning is not distinctly marked, it is so in other cases, e.g. הִתְנַקֵּם to show oneself revengeful (*Niph.* simply to take revenge), and in the numerous instances where the *Hithpa'el* expresses to make oneself that which is predicated by the stem, to conduct oneself as such, to show oneself, to imagine oneself, to

<sup>1</sup> A. Stein, *Der Stamm des Hithpa'el im Hebr.* pt. 1, Schwerin, 1893, gives alphabetical statistics of the 1151 forms.

<sup>2</sup> So also in Hebrew הִתְחַבֵּר 2 Ch 20<sup>25</sup>; cf. ψ 76<sup>6</sup> (אֶשְׁתַּחֲוֶה).



affect to be of a certain character. E. g. *התגבר* to *make oneself great*, to *act proudly*; *התחכם* to *show oneself wise, crafty*; *התחלל* to *pretend to be ill*; *התעשר* to *make*, i. e. to *feign oneself rich*; *השתפר* Nu 16<sup>13</sup>, to *make oneself a prince*; *התנבא* 1 S 18<sup>10</sup>, to *act in an excited manner like a prophet, to rave*. The meaning of *Hithpa'el* sometimes coincides with that of *Qal*, both forms being in use together, e. g. *אבל* to *mourn*, in *Qal* only in poetic style, in *Hithpa'el* in prose. On the accusative after *Hithpa'el* (regarded as a transitive verb), see § 117 w.

f (b) It expresses *reciprocal* action, like *Niphal*, § 51 d, e. g. *התראו* to *look upon one another*, Gn 42<sup>1</sup>; cf. *פ* 41<sup>8</sup>;—but

(c) It more often indicates an action less directly affecting the subject, and describes it as performed *with regard to* or *for* oneself, in one's own special interest (cf. *Niphal*, § 51 e). *Hithpa'el* in such cases readily takes an accusative, e. g. *התפרק* Ex 32<sup>2</sup> and *התנצל* Ex 33<sup>6</sup> to *tear off from oneself*; *התפשט* *exuit sibi* (vestem), *התפחת* *solvit sibi* (vincula); *הצטיד* Jos 9<sup>12</sup>, to *take (something) as one's provision*; without an accusative, *התהלך* to *walk about for oneself* (ambulare); *התפלל* *sibi intercedere* (see Delitzsch on Is 1<sup>15</sup>); *התחקה* to *draw a line for oneself*, Job 13<sup>27</sup>; on Is 14<sup>2</sup>, see § 57, note.

g (d) Only seldom is it *passive*, e. g. *היא תתהלל* Pr 31<sup>30</sup> *she shall be praised*; *השתכח* to *be forgotten*, Ec 8<sup>10</sup>, where the reflexive sense (*to bring oneself into oblivion*) has altogether disappeared. Cf. *Niphal*, § 51 f.

h The passive form *Hothpa'al* is found only in the few following examples: *הטמא* to *be defiled*, Dt 24<sup>4</sup>; infinitive *הכבס* to *be washed*, Lv 13<sup>55,56</sup>; *הדשנה* (for *התדשנה*, the נה being treated as if it were the affirmative of the fem. plur.) it is *made fut*, Is 34<sup>6</sup>. On *התפקדו*, see l.

i Denominatives with a reflexive meaning are *התנהד* to *embrace Judaism*, from *יהוד* (יהודה) *Judah*; *הצטיד* to *provision oneself for a journey*, from *צידה* *provision for a journey* (see § 72 m).

k Rem. 1. As in *Piel*, so in *Hithpa'el*, the perfect very frequently (in stems ending in נ, פ, מ, ב) has retained the original *Pathah* in the final syllable (while in the ordinary form it is attenuated, as in *Piel*, to י and then lengthened to יי), e. g. *התאנה* Dt 4<sup>21</sup>, &c.; cf. 2 Ch 13<sup>7</sup>, 15<sup>8</sup>; with י consecutive Is 82<sup>1</sup>; so also in the imperfect and imperative, e. g. *תתחכם* Ec 7<sup>16</sup>; cf. Dt 9<sup>8,18</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 10<sup>12</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>9</sup>, Is 55<sup>2</sup>, 58<sup>14</sup>, 64<sup>11</sup>, *פ* 55<sup>2</sup>; *התחנך* 1 K 20<sup>32</sup>, *פ* 37<sup>4</sup>, Est 5<sup>10</sup>; *וַיִּתְחַפֵּס* 1 S 13<sup>12</sup>.—In Lv 11<sup>44</sup>, 20<sup>7</sup> and Ez 38<sup>23</sup>, י takes the place of א in the first syllable of the stem before ש (cf. § 44 d), and in the last passage before ל. In the perfect, imperfect (with the exception of Ec 7<sup>16</sup>), and imperative of *Hithpa'el* (as well as of *Hithpa'al*, *Hithpalpel*, § 55) the original א always returns in pause as *Qamats*, e. g. *התאמר* *פ* 93<sup>1</sup>; *יתאבל* Ez 7<sup>27</sup>; *יתחקה* Jb 18<sup>8</sup>; *יתלכדו* 38<sup>23</sup>; *התקדשו* Jos 3<sup>5</sup>; cf. Jb 33<sup>5</sup> and § 74 b.—The א also appears before the fuller ending י in the plural of the imperfect (cf. § 47 m) in *פ* 12<sup>9</sup>, Jb

9<sup>s</sup>, 16<sup>10</sup>.—Like the *Pi'el* הִתְקַלְּנָה (§ 52 n), forms occur in *Hithpa'el* like הִתְהַלְּכָה Ze 6<sup>7</sup>; cf. Am 8<sup>13</sup>, and so in *Hithpo'el*, Jer 49<sup>3</sup>, Am 9<sup>13</sup>; with *e* only in La 4<sup>1</sup>.—In the Aramaic manner an *infinitive Hithpa'el* הִתְהַלְּכִית occurs in Dn 11<sup>23</sup> (cf. the *Hiph'il* inf. הִשְׁמַעְתָּ in Ez 24<sup>20</sup>).

2. As instances of the *reflexive* הִתְקַלְּל (connected with *Pi'el*) a few reflexive *l* forms of the verb פָּקַד (to examine) are also probably to be reckoned. Instead of a *Pathah* in a sharpened syllable after the first radical, these take *Qameṣ* in an open syllable, e. g. הִתְפַּקְּדִי Ju 20<sup>15,17</sup>, *imperfect* יִתְפַּקֵּד 20<sup>15</sup>, 21<sup>9</sup>. The corresponding passive form הִתְפַּקְּדִי also occurs four times, Nu 1<sup>47</sup>, 2<sup>33</sup>, 26<sup>82</sup>, 1 K 20<sup>27</sup>. According to others, these forms are rather reflexives of *Qal*, in the sense of to present oneself for review, to be reviewed, like the Aramaic 'Ithpe'el (Western Aramaic אִתְּקַלְּ, Syr. اَتَكَلَّل) and the Ethiopic taqa'tla, Arab. iqtatala, the last with the *t* always placed after the first radical (cf. above, b); but they are more correctly explained, with König, as *Hithpa'el* forms, the doubling of the *p* being abnormally omitted.—Such a reflexive of *Qal*, with the *n* transposed, occurs in הִלַּחֲתָם (on the analogy of O. T. Hebrew to be pronounced הִלְחַחֲתָם) in the inscription of the Moabite king Meša', with the meaning of the O. T. *Niph'al* נִלַּחֲם to fight, to wage war: see the inscription, lines 11, 15, 19, and 32; in the first two places in the *imperfect* with *wāw* consecutive וַיִּלַּחֲתָם; in line 19 in the *infinitive* with suffix, בְּהִלַּחֲתָמָה בִּי in his fighting against me.

### § 55. Less Common Conjugations.

Of the less common conjugations (§ 39 g) some may be classed with *Pi'el*, others with *Hiph'il*. To the former belong those which arise from the lengthening of the vowel or the repetition of one or even two radicals, in fact, from an internal modification or development of the stem; to the latter belong those which are formed by prefixing a consonant, like the *n* of *Hiph'il*. Amongst the conjugations analogous to *Pi'el* are included the *passive* forms distinguished by their vowels, as well as the reflexives with the prefix הִתְ, on the analogy of *Hithpa'el*.

The following conjugations are related to *Pi'el*, as regards their *b* inflexion and partly in their meaning:

1. *Po'el* קוּטַל, passive *Po'al* קוּטַל, reflexive *Hithpo'el* הִתְקוּטַל, corresponding to the Arabic conj. III. qātūlā, pass. qūtūlā, and conj. VI. reflexive tāqātūlā; *imperfect* יִקוּטַל, *participle* מְקוּטַל, *imperfect passive* יִקוּטַל &c. Hence it appears that in Hebrew the *o* of the first syllable is in all the forms obscured from *a*, while the passive form is distinguished simply by the *a*-sound in the second syllable. In the strong verb these conjugations are rather rare. Examples: *participle* מְשַׁפְּטִי mine adversary, who would contend with me, Jb 9<sup>15</sup>; מְלוֹשְׁנִי (denominative from לָשׁוֹן the tongue) slandering (as if intent on injuring with the tongue) ψ 101<sup>5</sup> Keth. (The *Qere* requires מְלֹשְׁנִי mēlōšnā as Na 1<sup>3</sup> וַיִּנְדֹּל; וַיִּזְכְּרוּ they have poured out, ψ 77<sup>18</sup> (if not rather *Pu'al*); וַיִּדְרְעֵנִי I have appointed, 1 S 21<sup>3</sup> (unless וַיִּדְרְעֵנִי should be read); וַיִּשְׁעַר Ho 13<sup>3</sup>; וַיִּשְׁעַר to take root, passive

שָׁרֵשׁ, *denominative* from שָׁרַשׁ root (but יָרַשׁ to root out); in Hithpō'al הִתְנַעֲשׂוּ they shall be moved, Jer 25<sup>16</sup>; imperf. 46<sup>8</sup>; from a verb שָׁרַחְתִּי Is 10<sup>13</sup>. The participle מְנַאֵץ Is 52<sup>5</sup> is probably a *forma mixta* combining the readings מְנַאֵץ and מְנַאֵץ.

- c Pō'el proper (as distinguished from the corresponding conjugations of verbs ע"ע § 67 l and ע"ע § 72 m, which take the place of the ordinary causative Pō'el) expresses an aim or endeavour to perform the action, especially with hostile intent, and is hence called, by Ewald, the stem expressing aim (Ziel-stamm), endeavour (Suche-stamm) or attack (Angriffs-stamm); cf. the examples given above from Jb 9<sup>15</sup>, ψ 101<sup>5</sup>, and עוֹיֵן 1 S 18<sup>9</sup> Q<sup>re</sup> (probably for מְעוֹיֵן, cf. § 52 s; § 55 f: seeking to cast an evil eye).

With קוּטֵל is connected the formation of quadrilaterals by the insertion of a consonant between the first and second radicals (§ 30 p, § 56).

- d 2. Pō'el, generally with the ā attenuated to ī = Pō'el<sup>1</sup> (Pō'el), קוּטֵל and קוּטֵל; the ē in the final syllable also arises from ī, and this again from ā; passive Pu'al קוּטֵל, reflexive Hithpu'al הִתְקוּטֵל, like the Arabic conjugations ix. 'igtallū and xi. 'igtallū, the former used of permanent, the latter of accidental or changing conditions, e.g. of colours; cf. שָׁאֵן to be at rest, הָעֵץ to be green, passive אֲמָל to be withered, all of them found only in the perfect and with no corresponding Qal form. (For the barbarous form צִמְחֵתִי ψ 88<sup>17</sup> read צִמְחֵתִי; for נָפַל Ez 28<sup>23</sup>, which has manifestly arisen only from confusion with the following חָלַל, read נָפַל). These forms are more common in verbs ו"ע, where they take the place of Pō'el and Hithpu'al (§ 72 m). Cf. also § 75 kk.

- e 3. Pō'al'al: קוּטֵל with repetition of the last two radicals, used of movements repeated in quick succession; e.g. סָהַרְהַר to go about quickly, to palpitate (of the heart) ψ 38<sup>11</sup>, from סָהַר to go about; passive הִמְסָרְהַר to be in a ferment, to be heated, to be red, Jb 16<sup>16</sup>, La 1<sup>20</sup>, 2<sup>11</sup>. Probably this is also the explanation of הִצְוֹצֵר (denom. from הִצְוֹצֵר a trumpet, but only in the participle, 1 Ch 15<sup>24</sup> &c. K<sup>eth</sup>.) by absorption of the first ר, lengthening of ā in the open syllable, and subsequent obscuring of ā to â. On the other hand, for the meaningless אֲהַבֵּי הֵבֵי Ho 4<sup>18</sup> (which could only be referred to this conjugation if it stood for אֲהַבֵּי הֵבֵי) read אֲהַבֵּי, and for the equally meaningless יִפְּצֵי ψ 45<sup>3</sup> read יִפְּצֵי. In both these cases a scribal error (*ditlography*) has been perpetuated by the punctuation, which did not venture to alter the K<sup>eth</sup>. On the employment of Pō'al'al in the formation of nouns, cf. § 84<sup>b</sup> n. Closely related to this form is—

- f 4. Pō'el (pass. Pō'el), with a strengthening of the two essential radicals in stems ע"ע, ע"ע, and ע"ע, e.g. גָּלַל to roll, from גָּל = גָּל; reflexive הִתְגָּלַל to roll oneself down; קָלַל from קָל, passive בָּלַל; cf. also טָאֵטַט (so Baer and Ginsb. after Qimhi; others טָאֵטַט) Is 14<sup>23</sup>, and with ā in both syllables owing to the influence of ר, קָרַקַר from קָר Nu 24<sup>17</sup> (cf. however, in the parallel passage, Jer 45<sup>45</sup> קָרַקַר) and Is 22<sup>5</sup>, in the participle; שָׁנְשָׁן Is 17<sup>11</sup> to hedge in, acc. to others make to grow. Probably to this form also belongs יִלְעָלַע, the emended reading of Jb 39<sup>30</sup> instead of the impossible יִלְעָלַע; also

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wolfensohn, 'The Pō'el in Hebrew,' Amer. Journ. of Or. Studies, xxvii (1907), p. 303 ff.

כִּאֲפָא Is 27<sup>8</sup>, if that form is to be referred to an *infinitive* כִּאֲפָא; perhaps also שִׁאֲא Ez 39<sup>2</sup> for שִׁאֲא. This form also commonly expresses rapidly repeated movement, which all languages incline to indicate by a repetition of the sound,<sup>1</sup> e.g. צִפְצִף to chirp; cf. in the Lexicon the nouns derived from גָּרַר, עָף, and צָלַץ.

As *Hithpalpel* we find יִשְׁתַּקְשֹׁקִין Na 2<sup>5</sup>; וַתִּתְחַלְחַל Est 4<sup>4</sup>; וַתִּמְרַמֵּר Dn 8<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>11</sup>. Of the same form is אֶתְדַדָּה Is 38<sup>15</sup>, if contracted from אֶתְדַדְּדָה or אֶתְדַדְּדָה from the root דָּד or דִּי, and also הִתְמַמְמָה tarry ye, Is 29<sup>9</sup> (but read probably הִתְמַמְמָה, (in pause) Gn 19<sup>16</sup>, &c., if it is to be derived from מָמָה, and not Hithpa'el from מָמָה.

Only examples more or less doubtful can be adduced of—

h

5. *Tiph'el* (properly *Taph'el*<sup>2</sup>): תִּקְטֹל, with ת prefixed, cf. תִּרְגַּלְתִּי to teach to walk, to lead (denominative from רָגַל a foot?) Ho 11<sup>3</sup>; from a stem ל"ה, the imperfect יִתְחַרָּה to contend with, Jer 12<sup>5</sup>; participle, 22<sup>15</sup> (from חָרָה to be hot, eager). Similarly in Aramaic, תִּרְגַּם to interpret, whence also in Hebrew the passive participle מִתְרַגֵּם Ezr 4<sup>7</sup>.

6. *Šaph'el*: שִׁלְהַב, frequent in Syriac, e.g. שִׁלְהַב from לָהַב to flame; whence i in Hebrew שִׁלְהֶבֶת flame. Perhaps of the same form is שִׁנְיָל a snail (unless it be from the stem שָׁבַל, שָׁבַל), and שִׁקְעוּרֹת hollow strakes, cf. § 85, No. 50. This conjugation is perhaps the original of *Hiph'il*, in which case the ה, by a phonetic change which may be exemplified elsewhere, is weakened from a sibilant.

\* \* \*

Forms of which only isolated examples occur are:—

k

7. קִטְלַט, passive קִטְלַט; as מִחֲסָפִים peeled off, like scales, Ex 16<sup>14</sup>, from חָסַף, חָשַׁף to peel, to scale.

8. קִטְלַל, in וַיִּרְיַף a rain-storm, from וָרַף.

9. נִתְקַטֵּל (regularly in Mishnic Hebrew<sup>3</sup>) a form compounded of *Niph'al* and *Hithpa'el*; as וַיִּנְתְּנוּפְרוּ for וַיִּנְתְּנוּפְרוּ that they may be taught, Ez 23<sup>48</sup>; נִבְפָּר probably an error for הִתְבַּפֵּר to be forgiven, Dt 21<sup>8</sup>. On נִשְׁתַּתָּה Pr 27<sup>15</sup>, see § 75 x.

## § 56. Quadriliterals.

On the origin of these altogether secondary formations cf. § 30 p. While quadrilateral nouns are tolerably numerous, only the following examples of the verb occur:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lat. *tinnio*, *tintinno*, our *tick-tack*, *ding-dong*, and the German *wirrwarr*, *klingklang*. The repetition of the radical in verbs ע"ע also produces this effect; as in לָקַק to lick, דָּקַק to pound, מָפַף to trip along. The same thing is expressed also by *diminutive* forms, as in Latin by the termination *-illo*, e.g. *cantillo*, in German by *-eln*, *-ern*, e.g. *flimmern*, *trillern*, *tröpfeln*, to trickle.

<sup>2</sup> The existence of a *Taph'el* is contested on good grounds by Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> [See Segal, *Mishnaic Hebrew*, Oxf. 1909, p. 30 ff.]

(a) On the analogy of *Pi'el*: כָּרַסָּם, *imperfect* יְכַרְסֶנָּה *he doth ravage it*, ψ 80<sup>14</sup> from כָּרַס, cf. נָסַם. *Passive* רָחַפֵּשׁ *to grow fresh again*, Jb 33<sup>25</sup>. *Participle* מְכַרְבֵּל *girl, clothed* (cf. Aramaic כָּבַל *to bind*), 1 Ch 15<sup>27</sup>. It is usual also to include among the quadrilaterals פָּרָשׁ Jb 26<sup>9</sup>, as a *perfect* of Aramaic form with *Pathah* not attenuated. It is more correctly, however, regarded, with Delitzsch, as the *infinitive absolute* of a *Pi'el* formation, from פָּרַשׁ *to spread out*, with euphonic change of the first שׁ to פֿ, and the second to י. Moreover, the reading פָּרָשׁ also is very well attested, and is adopted by Baer in the text of Job; cf. the Rem. on p. 48 of his edition.

(b) On the analogy of *Hiph'al*: הִשְׁמָאִיל, by syncope הִשְׁמָאִיל and הִשְׁמָאִיל *to turn to the left* (denom. from שָׂמַל) Gn 13<sup>9</sup>, Is 30<sup>21</sup>, &c. On הִאָּנִיחוּ cf. § 53 p.

### C. STRONG VERB WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.<sup>1</sup>

#### § 57.

The accusative of the personal pronoun, depending on an active verb,<sup>2</sup> may be expressed (1) by a separate word, אֹת the accusative sign (before a suffix אָתָּה, אַתָּה) with the pronominal suffix, e. g. קָטַל אֹתוֹ *he has killed him*; or (2) by a mere suffix, קָטַלְתָּהּ or קָטַלְתָּ *he has killed him*. The latter is the usual method (§ 33), and we are here concerned with it alone.<sup>3</sup> Neither of these methods, however, is employed when the accusative of the pronoun is *reflexive*. In that case a reflexive verb is used, viz. *Niph'al* or *Hithpa'el* (§§ 51 and 54), e. g. הִתְקַדֵּשׁ *he sanctified himself*, not קָדַשׁ, which could only mean *he sanctified him*.<sup>4</sup>

Two points must be specially considered here: the form of the suffix itself (§ 58), and the form which the verb takes when suffixes are added to it (§§ 59-61).

<sup>1</sup> This subject of the verbal suffixes is treated here in connexion with the strong verb, in order that both the forms of the suffixes and the general laws which regulate their union with verbal forms may be clearly seen. The rules which relate to the union of the suffixes with weak verbs will be given under the several classes of those verbs.

<sup>2</sup> An accusative suffix occurs with *Niph'al* in ψ 109<sup>8</sup> (since נִלְחָם is used in the sense of *to attack*), and according to some, in Is. 44<sup>21</sup>; with *Hithpa'el* Is 14<sup>2</sup> (הִתְנַחֵל *to appropriate somebody to oneself as a possession*); cf. above, § 54 f, and § 117 w.

<sup>3</sup> On the cases where אֹת is necessary, see § 117 e.

<sup>4</sup> The exceptions in Jer 7<sup>19</sup>, Ez 34<sup>2,3,10</sup> are only apparent. In all these instances the sharp antithesis between אֹתָם (*themselves*) and another object could only be expressed by retaining the same verb; also in Ex 5<sup>10</sup> אֹתָם after an active verb serves to emphasize the idea of *themselves*.

§ 58. *The Pronominal Suffixes of the Verb.*

Cf. the statistics collected by H. Petri, *Das Verbum mit Suffixen im Hebr.*, part ii, in the *נביאים ראשונים*, Leipzig, 1890. W. Diehl, *Das Pronomen pers. suff. . . . des Hebr.*, Giessen, 1895. J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Suffixlehre des Nordsem.', *AJSL* xvii (1901), p. 205 f. Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, i. 159 f.; *Grundriss*, p. 638 ff.

1. The *pronominal suffixes* appended to the verb express the *a* accusative of the *personal pronoun*. They are the following:—

| A.                                  | B.   | C.   |
|-------------------------------------|--|--|
| <i>To a form ending in a Vowel.</i> | <i>To a form in the Perf. ending in a Consonant.</i>               | <i>To a form in the Imperf. ending in a Consonant.</i> |
| Sing. 1. com. אני <sup>c</sup>      | אני <sup>c</sup> (in pause אני <sup>c</sup> )                      | אני <sup>c</sup> me.                                   |
| 2. m. את <sup>c</sup>               | את <sup>c</sup> (in pause את <sup>c</sup> , also את <sup>c</sup> ) | את <sup>c</sup> thee.                                  |
| f. ה <sup>c</sup>                   | ה <sup>c</sup> ה <sup>c</sup> , rarely ה <sup>c</sup>              | ה <sup>c</sup>   |
| 3. m. הו <sup>c</sup> , ו           | הו <sup>c</sup> , ו (ו)  | הו <sup>c</sup> him.                                   |
| f. ה <sup>c</sup>                   | ה <sup>c</sup>   | ה <sup>c</sup> her.                                    |
| Plur. 1. com. אנ <sup>c</sup>       | אנ <sup>c</sup>  | אנ <sup>c</sup> us.                                    |
| 2. m. כ <sup>c</sup>                | כ <sup>c</sup>   | כ <sup>c</sup> you (vos).                              |
| f. . . . . <sup>1</sup>             |  |  |
| 3. m. הם <sup>c</sup> , ו           | הם <sup>c</sup> (from הם <sup>c</sup> ), הם <sup>c</sup>           | הם <sup>c</sup> (from הם <sup>c</sup> ) eos.           |
| poet. ום <sup>c</sup>               | ום <sup>c</sup>  | ום <sup>c</sup>  |
| f. ה <sup>c</sup>                   | ה <sup>c</sup> , ה <sup>c</sup>                                    | . . . . . <sup>1</sup> eas.                            |

2. That these suffixes are connected with the corresponding forms *b* of the *personal pronoun* (§ 32) is for the most part self-evident, and only a few of them require elucidation.

The suffixes אני, נני, הני, ה (and ה, when a long vowel in an open *c* syllable precedes) never have the tone, which always rests on the preceding syllable; on the other hand, כני and חני always take the tone.

In the 3rd pers. masc. הני<sup>c</sup>, by contraction of *a* and *u* after the *d* rejection of the weak ה, frequently gives rise to *o* (§ 23 *k*), ordinarily written ו, much less frequently ו (see § 7 *c*). In the *feminine*, the suffix ה should be pronounced with a preceding *a* (cf. below, *f*, note), as ה<sup>c</sup> or ה<sup>c</sup>, on the analogy of *āhā*; instead of ה<sup>c</sup>, however, it was simply pronounced ה<sup>c</sup>, with the rejection of the final vowel,

<sup>1</sup> According to Diehl (see above), p. 61, כני occurs only once with the perfect (see § 59 *e*), 7 times with the imperfect, but never in pre-exilic passages, whereas the accus. חני occurs 40 times in Jer. and 36 times in Ezek.—חני occurs only once as a *verbal suffix* (Dt 32<sup>20</sup>, unless, with Kahan, *Infinitive u. Participien*, p. 13, חני from חני is to be read), while the forms וני (2nd *f. pl.*) and וני and וני (3rd *f. pl.*), added by Qimhi, never occur.



and with *Mappiq*, since the  $\eta$  is consonantal; but the weakening to  $\eta_{-}$  is also found, see below, *g*.

*c* 3. The *variety* of the suffix-forms is occasioned chiefly by the fact that they are modified differently according to the form and tense of the verb to which they are attached. For almost every suffix three forms may be distinguished:

(a) One beginning with a consonant, as  $\eta_{-}$ ,  $\eta_{-}$ ,  $\eta$  (only after  $\dot{\imath}$ ),  $\eta_{-}$ , ( $\eta_{-}$ )  $\eta$ , &c. These are attached to verbal forms which end with a vowel, e.g.  $\eta_{-}$ ;  $\eta_{-}$ , for which by absorption of the  $\eta$  we also get  $\eta_{-}$ , pronounced *q'atlu*; cf. § 8 *m*.

*f* (b) A second and third with what are called *connecting vowels*<sup>1</sup> ( $\eta_{-}$ ,  $\eta_{-}$ ), used with verbal forms ending with a consonant (for exceptions, see § 59 *g* and § 60 *e*). This *connecting vowel* is *a* with the forms of the perfect, e.g.  $\eta_{-}$ ,  $\eta_{-}$ ,  $\eta_{-}$  (on  $\eta_{-}$ , the ordinary form of the 3rd masc. perf. with the 2nd fem. suffix, cf. below, *g*); and *e* (less frequently *a*) with the forms of the imperfect and imperative, e.g.  $\eta_{-}$ ,  $\eta_{-}$ ; also with the infinitive and participles, when these do not take noun-suffixes (cf. § 61 *a* and *h*). The form  $\eta$  also belongs to the suffixes of the perfect, since it has arisen from  $\eta_{-}$  (cf., however, § 60 *d*). With  $\eta$ ,  $\eta_{-}$ , the connecting sound is only a vocal *šewā*, which has arisen from an original short vowel, thus  $\eta_{-}$ ,  $\eta_{-}$ , e.g.  $\eta_{-}$  (*q'atlu*), or when the final consonant of the verb is a guttural,  $\eta_{-}$ , e.g.  $\eta_{-}$ . In *pause*, the original short vowel (*a*) reappears as *Seghōl* with the tone  $\eta_{-}$  (also  $\eta_{-}$ , see *g*). On the appending of suffixes to the final  $\eta$  of the imperfect (§ 47 *m*), see § 60 *e*.

*g* Rem. 1. As *rare* forms may be mentioned *sing.* and *pers. masc.*  $\eta_{-}$ . Gn 27<sup>7</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>44</sup>, &c., in *pause* also  $\eta_{-}$  (see below, *i*); *fem.*  $\eta_{-}$ ,  $\eta_{-}$   $\psi$  103<sup>4</sup>, 137<sup>6</sup>. Instead of the form  $\eta_{-}$ , which is usual even in the perfect (e.g. Ju 4<sup>20</sup>, Ez 27<sup>26</sup>),  $\eta_{-}$  occurs as *fem.* Is 60<sup>9</sup> (as *masc.* Dt 6<sup>17</sup>, 28<sup>45</sup>, Is 30<sup>19</sup>, 55<sup>5</sup> always in *pause*); with *Munab* Is 54<sup>6</sup>, Jer 23<sup>37</sup>.—In the 3rd *masc.*  $\eta$  Ex 32<sup>25</sup>, Nu 23<sup>8</sup>; in the 3rd *fem.*  $\eta_{-}$  without *Mappiq* (cf. § 91 *e*) Ex 2<sup>8</sup>, Jer 44<sup>19</sup>; Am 1<sup>11</sup>, with

<sup>1</sup> We have kept the term *connecting vowel*, although it is rather a superficial description, and moreover these vowels are of various origin. The connective *a* is most probably the remains of the old verbal termination, like the *i* in the 2nd *pers. fem. sing.*  $\eta_{-}$ . Observe e.g. the Hebrew form *q'atlat-ni* in connexion with the Arabic *qatala-ni*, contrasted with Hebrew *q'atlat-ni* and Arabic *qatalat-ni*. König accordingly prefers the expression 'vocalic ending of the stem', instead of 'connecting syllable'. The connective *e*, *a*, as Prætorius (ZDMG. 55, 267 ff.) and Barth (ibid. p. 205 f.) show by reference to the Syriac connective *ai* in the imperf. of the strong verb, is originally due to the analogy of verbs  $\eta_{-}$  ( $\eta_{-}$  =  $\eta_{-}$  from *m'haini*), in which the final *e* was used as a connecting vowel first of the imperat., then of the imperf. (besides many forms with *a*, § 60 *d*), and of the infin. and participle.

retraction of the tone before a following tone-syllable, but read certainly  $\text{שָׁמַרְךָ}$ .—The forms  $\text{מוֹ}$ ,  $\text{מוֹ}$ ,  $\text{מוֹ}$  occur 23 times, all in poetry<sup>1</sup> (except Ex 23<sup>31</sup>) [viz. with the perfect Ex 15<sup>10</sup>, 23<sup>31</sup>,  $\psi$  73<sup>6</sup>; with the imperfect Ex 15<sup>5</sup> ( $\text{מוֹ}$  for  $\text{מוֹ}$ ), 15<sup>7,9,12,15,17,17</sup>,  $\psi$  2<sup>6</sup>, 21<sup>10,13</sup>, 22<sup>6</sup>, 45<sup>17</sup>, 8c<sup>6</sup>, 14c<sup>10</sup>; with the imperative  $\psi$  5<sup>11</sup>, 59<sup>12,12</sup>, 83<sup>12</sup>]. On the age of these forms, see § 91 l 3; on  $\text{יִ}$  and  $\text{יִ}$  as suffixes of the 3rd fem. plur. of the imperfect, § 60 d.—In Gn 48<sup>9</sup>  $\text{יִיְהוָה}$  (cf.  $\text{יִיְהוָה}$  1 Ch 14<sup>11</sup> according to Baer),  $\text{יִ}$  has lost the tone before *Maggeph* and so is shortened to  $\text{יִ}$ .—In Ez 44<sup>8</sup>  $\text{יִיְהוָה}$  is probably only an error for  $\text{יִיְהוָה}$ .

2. From a comparison of these verbal suffixes with the noun-suffixes (§ 91) *h* we find that (a) there is a greater variety of forms amongst the verbal than amongst the noun-suffixes, the forms and relations of the verb itself being more various;—(b) the verbal suffix, where it differs from that of the noun, is longer; cf. e.g.  $\text{יִ}$ ,  $\text{יִ}$ ,  $\text{יִ}$  (*me*) with  $\text{יִ}$  (*my*). The reason is that the pronominal object is less closely connected with the verb than the possessive pronoun (the genitive) is with the noun; consequently the former can also be expressed by a separate word ( $\text{אֲנִי}$  in  $\text{אֲנִי}$ , &c.).

4. A verbal form with a suffix gains additional strength, and sometimes intentional emphasis, when, instead of the mere connecting vowel, a special connecting-syllable<sup>2</sup> (*ān*)<sup>3</sup> is inserted between the suffix and the verbal stem. Since, however, this syllable always has the tone, the *ā* is invariably (except in the 1st pers. sing.) modified to tone-bearing *S<sup>g</sup>hōl*. This is called the *Nūn energicum*<sup>4</sup> (less suitably *demonstrativum* or *epentheticum*), and occurs principally (see, however, Dt 32<sup>10</sup> *bis*) in pausal forms of the imperfect, e.g.  $\text{יְבָרֵךְ}$  *he will bless him* ( $\psi$  72<sup>15</sup>, cf. Jer 5<sup>22</sup>),  $\text{יִבְרַכְנִי}$  Jer 22<sup>24</sup>;  $\text{יִבְרַכְנִי}$  *he will honour me* ( $\psi$  50<sup>23</sup>) is unusual; rarely in the perfect, Dt 24<sup>13</sup>  $\text{יְבָרַכְךָ}$ . On examples like  $\text{יִבְרַכְנִי}$  Gn 30<sup>6</sup>, cf. § 26 g, § 59 f. In far the greatest number of cases, however, this *Nūn* is assimilated to the following consonant ( $\text{נ}$ ,  $\text{כ}$ ), or the latter is lost in pronunciation (so  $\text{ה}$ ), and the *Nūn* consequently sharpened. Hence we get the following series of suffix-forms:—

<sup>1</sup> Thus in  $\psi$  2  $\text{מוֹ}$  occurs five times [four times attached to a noun or preposition, §§ 91 f, 103 c], and  $\text{מוֹ}$  only twice.

<sup>2</sup> It is, however, a question whether, instead of a connecting syllable, we should not assume a special verbal form, analogous to the Arabic *energetic mood* (see *l*, at the end) and probably also appearing in the Hebrew cohortative (see the footnote on § 48 c).—As M. Lambert has shown in *REF.* 1903, p. 178 ff. ('De l'emploi des suffixes pronominaux...'), the suffixes of the 3rd pers. with the impf. without *waw* in prose are  $\text{נִי}$  and  $\text{נָה}$ , but with *waw* consec.  $\text{וִנִי}$  and  $\text{וִנָה}$  or  $\text{וִנִי}$ ; with the jussive in the 2nd and 3rd pers. always  $\text{נִי}$  and  $\text{נָה}$ , in the 1st pers. more often  $\text{נִי}$  than  $\text{נָה}$ , and always  $\text{נִי}$ .

<sup>3</sup> According to Barth 'n-haltige Suffixe' in *Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen*, Lpz. 1907, p. 1 ff., the connecting element, as in Aramaic, was originally *in*, which in Hebrew became *en* in a closed tone-syllable.

<sup>4</sup> So König, *Lehrgeb.*, i. p. 226.

1st pers.  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$  (even in pause, Jb 7<sup>14</sup>, &c.),  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$  (for  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$ ,  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$ ).

2nd pers.  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$  (Jer 22<sup>24</sup> in pause  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$ ) and, only orthographically different,

$\text{נָּֿׁ}$  (Is 10<sup>24</sup>, Pr 2<sup>11</sup> in pause).

3rd pers.  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$  (for  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$ ),<sup>1</sup> fem.  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$  for  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$ .

[1st pers. plur.  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$  (for  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$ ), see the Rem.]

In the other persons Nûn energetic does not occur.

*l* Rem. The uncontracted forms with Nûn are rare, and occur only in poetic or elevated style (Ex 15<sup>2</sup>, Dt 32<sup>10</sup> [bis], Jer 5<sup>22</sup>, 22<sup>24</sup>); they are never found in the 3rd fem. sing. and 1st plur. On the other hand, the contracted forms are tolerably frequent, even in prose. An example of  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$  as 1st plur. occurs perhaps in Jb 31<sup>15</sup> [but read  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$  and cf. § 72 c], hardly in Ho 12<sup>6</sup>; cf.  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$  behold us, Gn 44<sup>18</sup>, 50<sup>18</sup>, Nu 14<sup>40</sup> for  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$  (instead of  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$ ; see § 20 m).—In Ez 4<sup>12</sup> the Masora requires  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$ , without Dages in the Nûn.

*l* That the forms with Nûn energetic are intended to give greater emphasis to the verbal form is seen from their special frequency in pause. Apart from the verb, however, Nûn energetic occurs also in the union of suffixes with certain particles (§ 100 o).

This Nûn is frequent in Western Aramaic. In Arabic the corresponding forms are the two energetic moods (see § 48 b) ending in *an* and *anna*, which are used in connexion with suffixes (e.g. *yaghtulan-ka* or *yaghtulanna-ka*) as well as without them.

### § 59. The Perfect with Pronominal Suffixes.

*a* 1. The endings (affirmatives) of the perfect occasionally vary somewhat from the ordinary form, when connected with pronominal suffixes; viz. :—

(a) In the 3rd sing. fem. the original feminine ending  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$  or  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$  is used for  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$ .

(b) In the 2nd sing. masc. besides  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$  we find  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$ , to which the connecting vowel is directly attached, but the only clear instances of this are with  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$ .<sup>2</sup>

(c) In the 2nd sing. fem.  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$ , the original form of  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$ , appears; cf.  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$ , § 32 f; § 44 g. This form can be distinguished from the 1st pers. only by the context.

(d) 2nd plur. masc.  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$  for  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$ . The only examples are Nu 20<sup>5</sup>, 21<sup>3</sup>, Zc 7<sup>5</sup>. The fem.  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$  never occurs with suffixes; probably it had the same form as the masculine.

*b* We exhibit first the forms of the perfect *Hiph'il*, as used in connexion with suffixes, since here no further changes take place in the stem itself, except as regards the tone (see c).

<sup>1</sup> On  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$  Nu 23<sup>18</sup>, see § 67 o.

<sup>2</sup> On the  $\text{נָּֿׁ}$  as an original element of the verbal form, see § 58 f, note.

| <i>Singular.</i>             | <i>Plural.</i>   |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| 3. m. קָטַל                  | 3. c. קָטְלוּ    |
| 3. f. קָטַלְתָּ              |                  |
| 2. m. קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ   | 2. m. קָטַלְתֶּם |
| 2. f. קָטַלְתִּי, קָטַלְתִּי |                  |
| 1. c. קָטַלְתִּי             | 1. c. קָטַלְנוּ  |

The beginner should first practise connecting the suffixes with these *High'il* forms and then go on to unite them to the *Perfect Qal* (see *d*).

2. The addition of the suffix generally causes the tone to be thrown *c* forward towards the end of the word, since it would otherwise fall, in some cases, on the ante-penultima; with the *heavy* suffixes (see *e*) the tone is even transferred to the suffix itself. Considerations of tone, especially in the *Perfect Qal*, occasion certain vowel changes: (*a*) the *Qames* of the first syllable, no longer standing *before* the tone, always becomes vocal *Šewā*; (*b*) the original *Pathah* of the second syllable, which in the *3rd sing. fem.* and *3rd plur.* had become *Šewā*, reappears before the suffix, and, in an open syllable before the tone, is lengthened to *Qames*; similarly original *i* (as in the *3rd sing. masc.* without a suffix) is lengthened to *e*, e.g. אָהַבְתִּי 1 S 18<sup>22</sup>, Pr 19<sup>7</sup>.

The forms of the perfect of *Qal* consequently appear as follows:— *d*

| <i>Singular.</i>                             | <i>Plural.</i>   |
|--|------------------|
| 3. m. קָטַל                                  | 3. c. קָטְלוּ    |
| 3. f. קָטַלְתָּ (קָטַלְתָּ, see <i>g</i> )   |                  |
| 2. m. קָטַלְתָּ (קָטַלְתָּ, see <i>h</i> )   | 2. m. קָטַלְתֶּם |
| 2. f. קָטַלְתִּי (קָטַלְתִּי, see <i>h</i> ) |                  |
| 1. c. קָטַלְתִּי                             | 1. c. קָטַלְנוּ  |

The connexion of these forms with all the suffixes is shown in *Paradigm C*. It will be seen there also, how the *Šere* in the *Perfect Pēl* changes sometimes into *Šeghol*, and sometimes into vocal *Šewā*.

Rem. 1. The suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd pers. plur. כֶּם and הֶם, since they *c* end in a consonant and also always have the tone, are distinguished as *heavy* suffixes (*suffixa gravia*) from the rest, which are called *light* suffixes. Compare the connexion of these (and of the corresponding feminine forms כֵּן and הֵן) with the *noun*, § 91. With a perfect כֶּם alone occurs, ψ 118<sup>26</sup>. The form קָטַל which is usually given as the connective form of the 3rd sing. masc. before כֶּם and כֵּן is only formed by analogy, and is without example in the O. T.

2. In the *3rd sing. masc.* קָטַלְתָּ (especially in verbs לָוֶה; in the strong verb only in Jer 20<sup>15</sup> in *Pēl*) is mostly contracted to קָטְלוּ, according to § 23 *k*; likewise in the 2nd sing. masc. קָטַלְתָּ to קָטַלְתֶּם.—As a suffix of the 1st sing. וֹנִי occurs several times with the 3rd sing. masc. perf. *Qal* of verbs לָוֶה, not only in *pause* (as עָנִי ψ 118<sup>5</sup>; קָנִי Pr 8<sup>22</sup> with *Dēhi*), but even with a con-

junctive accent, as  $\text{הָרָנִי}$  Jb 30<sup>19</sup>;  $\text{עָנִי}$  1 S 28<sup>15</sup> (where, however, the reading  $\text{עָנִי}$  is also found). With a sharpened  $\text{נ}$ :  $\text{הָרָנִי}$  Gn 30<sup>6</sup>,  $\text{יִסְרָנִי}$   $\psi$  118<sup>18</sup>.

g 3. The 3rd sing. fem.  $\text{קָטְלָהּ}$  (=  $\text{קָטְלָהָ}$ ) has the twofold peculiarity that (a) the ending *ath* always takes the tone,<sup>1</sup> and consequently is joined to those suffixes which form a syllable of themselves ( $\text{נִי}$ ,  $\text{ךְ}$ ,  $\text{הָ}$ ,  $\text{הָ}$ ,  $\text{נָה}$ ), without a connecting vowel, contrary to the general rule, § 58 f; (b) before the other suffixes the connecting vowel is indeed employed, but the tone is drawn back to the penultima, so that they are pronounced with shortened vowels, viz.  $\text{הָ}$ —, e.g.  $\text{אֶהְבֶּתְךָ}$  she loves thee, Ru 4<sup>15</sup>, cf. Is 47<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{שָׁנְבָתָם}$  she has stolen them, Gn 31<sup>32</sup>;  $\text{שָׂרַבְתָּם}$  it burns them, Is 47<sup>14</sup>, Jos 2<sup>6</sup>, Ho 2<sup>14</sup>,  $\psi$  45<sup>7</sup>. For  $\text{תָּהָיָה}$ ,  $\text{תָּהָיָה}$  &c., in pause  $\text{הָיָה}$  is found, Jer 8<sup>21</sup>,  $\psi$  69<sup>10</sup>, and  $\text{תָּהָיָה}$  Ct 5<sup>5</sup>; and also without the pause for the sake of the assonance  $\text{הָיָה}$ , she was in travail with thee, ibid. The form  $\text{קָטְלָהָ}$  (e.g. Ru 4<sup>15</sup>) has arisen, through the loss of the  $\text{הָ}$  and the consequent sharpening of the  $\text{ת}$  (as in  $\text{נָה}$  and  $\text{נָה}$  for  $\text{נָהָ}$  and  $\text{נָהָ}$ , cf. § 58 i), from the form  $\text{קָטְלָהָהּ}$ , which is also found even in pause ( $\text{אֶהְבֶּתְהָ}$  1 S 18<sup>28</sup>; elsewhere it takes in pause the form  $\text{קָטְלָהָהּ}$  Is 59<sup>16</sup>); so  $\text{קָטְלָהָהּ}$  from  $\text{קָטְלָהָהּ}$ ; cf. 1 S 1<sup>6</sup>, Is 34<sup>17</sup>, Jer 49<sup>24</sup>, Ru 3<sup>6</sup>; in pause Ez 14<sup>15</sup>, always, on the authority of Qimhi, without *Mappiq* in the  $\text{הָ}$ , which is consequently always a mere vowel-letter.

h 4. In the 2nd sing. masc. the form  $\text{קָטַלְתָּ}$  is mostly used, and the suffixes have, therefore, no connecting vowel, e.g.  $\text{פָּרַצְתָּנוּ}$  thou hast cast us off, thou hast broken us down,  $\psi$  60<sup>8</sup>; but with the suff. of the 1st sing. the form  $\text{קָטַלְתָּנִי}$  is used, e.g.  $\text{חָקַרְתָּנִי}$   $\psi$  139<sup>1</sup>; in pause, however, with *Qames*, e.g.  $\text{עֲוִבְתָּנִי}$   $\psi$  22<sup>2</sup>; Ju 1<sup>15</sup> (with *Zagaph gaʿlon*); but cf. also  $\text{צָרַפְתָּנִי}$   $\psi$  17<sup>3</sup> with *Merʿkha*.—In the 2nd sing. fem.  $\text{תָּי}$  is also written defectively,  $\text{רָפִיִּיתִי}$  1 S 19<sup>17</sup>, Ju 11<sup>26</sup>, Jer 15<sup>10</sup>, Ct 4<sup>9</sup>. Occasionally the suffix is appended to the ordinary form  $\text{תָּי}$ , viz.  $\text{הִשְׁבַּעְתָּנִי}$  thou (fem.) dost adjure us, Ct 5<sup>5</sup>, Jos 21<sup>7,20</sup>; cf. Jer 2<sup>27</sup>, and, quite abnormally, with *Sere*  $\text{הוֹרַדְתָּנִי}$  thou (fem.) didst let us down, Jos 21<sup>18</sup>, where  $\text{הוֹרַדְתָּנִי}$  would be expected. In Is 8<sup>11</sup>  $\text{יִסְרָנִי}$  is probably intended as an imperfect.

i 5. In verbs middle  $\bar{e}$ , the  $\bar{e}$  remains even before suffixes (see above, c), e.g.  $\text{אֶהְבֶּתְךָ}$  Dt 15<sup>16</sup>,  $\text{אֶהְבֶּתְךָ}$  1 S 18<sup>28</sup>, cf. 18<sup>22</sup>;  $\text{יִרְאָהוּ}$  Jb 37<sup>24</sup>. From a verb middle  $\bar{o}$  there occurs  $\text{יִבְלַחֲנִי}$  I have prevailed against him,  $\psi$  13<sup>5</sup>, from  $\text{יָבַל}$  with  $\bar{o}$  instead of  $\bar{e}$  in a syllable which has lost the tone (§ 44 e).

### § 60. Imperfect with Pronominal Suffixes.

a In those forms of the imperfect Qal, which have no affirmatives, the vowel  $\bar{o}$  of the second syllable mostly becomes  $\bar{e}$  (simple *Šewā mobile*), sometimes  $\bar{a}$ ; thus in the principal pause, Nu 35<sup>20</sup>, Is 27<sup>3</sup>, 62<sup>2</sup>, Jer 31<sup>23</sup>, Ez 35<sup>6</sup>, Ho 10<sup>10</sup>; before the principal pause,  $\psi$  119<sup>33</sup>; before a secondary pause, Ez 17<sup>23</sup>; even before a conjunctive accent, Jos 23<sup>5</sup>. Before  $\text{הָ}$ ,

<sup>1</sup>  $\text{הָבִלְתָּךְ}$  Ct 8<sup>5</sup> is an exception.  $\text{כֶּם}$  would probably even here have the tone (see e); but no example of the kind occurs in the O.T. In Is 51<sup>2</sup> the imperfect is used instead of the perfect with a suffix.

כָּם, however, it is shortened to *Qames hatrúph*, e.g. יִשְׁמְרֶךָ (but in pause יִשְׁמְרֶךָ or יִשְׁמְרֶךָ; with *Nún energeticum*, see § 58 i), &c. Instead of תִּקְטְלוּ, the form תִּקְטְלוּ<sup>1</sup> is used for the 2nd and 3rd fem. plur. before suffixes in three places: Jer 2<sup>19</sup>, Jb 19<sup>15</sup>, Ct 1<sup>6</sup>.

Rem. 1. יִתְבַּרְךָ § 94<sup>20</sup> is an anomalous form for יִתְבַּרְךָ (cf. the analogous יִתְנַחֵם § 67 n) and יִתְנַחֵם (so Baer; others יִתְנַחֵם) Gn 32<sup>18</sup> for יִתְנַחֵם. To the same category as יִתְבַּרְךָ belong also, according to the usual explanation, תִּתְעַבְּרָה (from תִּתְעַבֵּר), Ex 20<sup>6</sup>, 23<sup>24</sup>, Dt 5<sup>9</sup>, and נִתְעַבֵּר Dt 13<sup>8</sup>. As a matter of fact, the explanation of these forms as imperfects of *Qal* appears to be required by the last of these passages; yet why has the retraction of the *š* taken place only in these examples (beside numerous forms like יִתְעַבְּרָנִי)? Could the Masora in the two Decalogues and in Ex 23<sup>24</sup> (on the analogy of which Dt 13<sup>8</sup> was then wrongly pointed) have intended an imperfect *Hoph'al* with the suffix, meaning *thou shalt not allow thyself to be brought to worship them*?

Verbs which have a in the second syllable of the imperfect, and imperative, *c* *Qal* (to which class especially *verba tertiæ* and *mediæ gutturalis* belong, § 64 and § 65) do not, as a rule, change the *Pathah* of the imperfect (nor of the imperative, see § 61 g) into *Šewá* before suffixes; but the *Pathah*, coming to stand in an open syllable before the tone, is lengthened to *Qames*, e.g. וְיִלְכְּשֵׁנִי Jb 29<sup>14</sup>; וְיִלְכְּשֵׁנִי<sup>3</sup> Jos 8<sup>2</sup>; וְיִלְכְּשֵׁנִי Jos 8<sup>2</sup>; but יִקְרָא Jer 23<sup>6</sup>, is probably a *forma mixta* combining the readings יִקְרָא and יִקְרָא, cf. § 74 e.

2. Not infrequently suffixes with the connecting vowel *a* are also found *d* with the imperfect, e.g. תִּתְבַּרְכֵּנִי Gn 19<sup>19</sup>, cf. 29<sup>22</sup>, Ex 33<sup>20</sup>, Nu 22<sup>23</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>24</sup> *Qere*, Is 5<sup>63</sup>, Jb 9<sup>18</sup>; also בִּי, Gn 27<sup>19,31</sup>, Jb 7<sup>14</sup>, 6<sup>24</sup>, 13<sup>21</sup> (in principal pause); וְיִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי Gn 37<sup>35</sup>, cf. 16<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 11<sup>27</sup>, Is 26<sup>6</sup>, Jb 28<sup>27</sup>, 1 Ch 20<sup>2</sup>; וְיִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי Is 63<sup>16</sup> (manifestly owing to the influence of the preceding וְיִלְכְּשֵׁנִי Ex 29<sup>14</sup>, cf. 2<sup>17</sup>, Nu 21<sup>30</sup>, Dt 7<sup>15</sup>, § 74<sup>8</sup>; even וְיִלְכְּשֵׁנִי 118<sup>10-12</sup>; וְיִלְכְּשֵׁנִי Ex 2<sup>17</sup>, and יִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי Hb 2<sup>17</sup> (where, however, the ancient versions read יִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי); even יִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי (from *āhu*) Ho 8<sup>3</sup>; cf. Ex 22<sup>20</sup>, Jos 2<sup>4</sup> (but read וְיִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי); 1 S 18<sup>1</sup> *Kere*, 21<sup>14</sup> (where, however, the text is corrupt); 2 S 14<sup>6</sup> (where read with the old versions וְיִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי); Jer 23<sup>6</sup> (see § 74 e), § 35<sup>8</sup>, Ec 4<sup>12</sup>.—On pausal *Šeghol* for *Šere* in וְיִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי Gn 48<sup>9</sup> and וְיִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Ginsb. וְיִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי) Ju 16<sup>9</sup>, see § 29 g.

3. Suffixes are also appended in twelve passages to the plural forms in *n*, *e* viz. תִּתְבַּרְכֵּנִי *will ye break me in pieces?* Jb 19<sup>2</sup>; יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶינָה (here necessarily with a connecting vowel) Is 60<sup>7,10</sup>; Pr 5<sup>22</sup> (but probably corrupt); elsewhere always without a connecting vowel; יִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי with two other examples Pr 1<sup>28</sup>, 8<sup>17</sup>, Ho 5<sup>15</sup>; cf. וְיִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי § 63<sup>4</sup>, 9<sup>12</sup>; וְיִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי Jer 5<sup>22</sup>; וְיִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי Jer 2<sup>24</sup>, all in principal pause. [See Böttcher, *Lehrb.*, § 1047 f.]

4. In *Pi'el*, *Pō'el*, and *Pō'el*, the *Šere* of the final syllable, like the *š* in *Qal*, becomes vocal *Šewá*; but before the suffixes כָּם and כָּם it is shortened to *Šeghol*, e.g. וְיִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי Dt 30<sup>4</sup>, § 34<sup>12</sup>, Is 51<sup>3</sup>. With a final guttural, however, וְיִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי Gn 32<sup>27</sup>; also in Pr 4<sup>8</sup>, where with Qimhi וְיִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי is to be read, *š* is

<sup>1</sup> This form is also found as feminine without a suffix, in Jer 49<sup>1</sup>, Ez 37<sup>7</sup>. In the latter passage וְיִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי is probably to be regarded, with König, as a clumsy correction of the original וְיִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי, intended to suggest the reading וְיִתְבַּרְכֵּנִי, to agree with the usual gender of עֲצֻמוֹת.



retained in the tone-syllable; an analogous case in *Hiph'il* is  $\text{וַיִּגְדֹּל}$  Dt 32<sup>7</sup>. Less frequently *Sore* is sharpened to *Hireq*, e.g.  $\text{וַיִּחַמְדּוּ}$  Jb 16<sup>5</sup>, cf. Ex 31<sup>13</sup>, Is 1<sup>15</sup>, 52<sup>12</sup>; so in *Pe'el*, Is 25<sup>1</sup>,  $\psi$  30<sup>2</sup>, 37<sup>34</sup>, 145<sup>1</sup>, and probably also in *Qal*  $\text{וַיִּסְפֹּךְ}$  1 S 15<sup>6</sup>; cf. § 68 h.

g 5. In *Hiph'il* the *i* remains, e.g.  $\text{וַיִּלְבֹּשׁ־נִי}$  Jb 10<sup>11</sup> (after *re'w* consecutive it is often written defectively, e.g.  $\text{וַיִּלְבֹּשׁ־נִי}$  Gn 32<sup>1</sup> and often); but cf. above, f, Dt 32<sup>7</sup>. Forms like  $\text{וַיַּעֲשֶׂךָ}$  thou enrichest it,  $\psi$  65<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>25</sup>, are rare. Cf. § 53 n.

h 6. Instead of the suffix of the 3rd plur. fem. ( $\text{ן}$ ), the suffix of the 3rd plur. masc. ( $\text{ם}$ ) is affixed to the affirmative  $\text{ו}$ , to avoid a confusion with the personal ending  $\text{וְ}$ ; cf.  $\text{וַיִּמְלֹכוּ}$  Gn 26<sup>15</sup> (previously also with a perf.  $\text{וַיִּמְלֹכוּ}$ ); Gn 26<sup>15</sup>, 33<sup>13</sup>, Ex 2<sup>17</sup> (where  $\text{וַיִּשְׁעַן}$  occurs immediately after); 39<sup>18,20</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>10</sup> (where also  $\text{וַיִּבְנֶיהֶם}$  is for  $\text{וַיִּבְנֶיהֶן}$ , a neglect of gender which can only be explained by § 135 o).—For  $\text{וַיִּהְיֶה־זֶה}$  Ze 11<sup>5</sup> read perhaps  $\text{וַיִּהְיֶה־זֶה}$  with M. Lambert.

### § 61. Infinitive, Imperative and Participle with Pronominal Suffixes.

a 1. The infinitive construct of an active verb may be construed with an accusative, and therefore can also take a verbal suffix, i.e. the accusative of the personal pronoun. The only undoubted instances of the kind, however, in the O. T. are infinitives with the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing., e.g.  $\text{לִדְרֹשׁ־נִי}$  to inquire of me, Jer 37<sup>7</sup>. As a rule the infinitive (as a noun) takes noun-suffixes (in the genitive, which may be either subjective or objective, cf. § 115 c), e.g.  $\text{עָבְרִי}$  my passing by;  $\text{מָלְכִי}$  his reigning, see § 115 a and e. The infinitive *Qal*, then, usually has the form *qāl*, retaining the original short vowel under the first radical (on the probable ground-form *qūtūl*, see § 46 a). The resulting syllable as a rule allows a following Begadkephath to be spirant, e.g.  $\text{בְּכַתְּבִי}$  in his writing, Jer 45<sup>1</sup>; cf., however,  $\text{הָפְפִי}$  Gn 19<sup>21</sup>;  $\text{נָגְבִי}$  (so ed. Mant.; others  $\text{נִגְבִי}$ ) Ex 12<sup>27</sup>;  $\text{עָצְבִי}$  1 Ch 4<sup>10</sup>; before  $\text{וְ}$ —and  $\text{כֹּם}$ —also the syllable is completely closed, e.g.  $\text{בְּאַסְפְּךָ}$  Ex 23<sup>16</sup>, Lv 23<sup>59</sup> (but in pause  $\text{לְהִרְגֶּךָ}$  Gn 27<sup>42</sup>), unless the vowel be retained in the second syllable; see d. With the form  $\text{qāl}$  generally, compare the closely allied nouns of the form  $\text{qāṭal}$  (before a suffix  $\text{qāṭil}$  or  $\text{qāṭil}$ ), § 84<sup>a</sup> a; § 93 q.

b Rem. 1. The infin. of verbs which have  $\text{ō}$  in the last syllable of the imperfect of *Qal*, sometimes takes the form *qāl* before suffixes, e.g.  $\text{בְּבָנִי}$  Ex 21<sup>8</sup>;  $\text{מְכָרִם}$  Am 2<sup>8</sup> (but  $\text{מְכָרָה}$  Ex 21<sup>8</sup>),  $\text{נָפְלוּ}$  2 S 1<sup>10</sup> (but  $\text{נָפְלוּ}$  1 S 29<sup>3</sup>),  $\text{לְשֹׁנִי}$  Ze 3<sup>1</sup>,  $\text{שִׁבְרִי}$  Lv 26<sup>24</sup>, Ez 30<sup>18</sup> &c. According to Barth (see above, § 47 i with the note) these forms with *i* in the first syllable point to former *i*-imperfects.

c Infinitives of the form  $\text{qāṭal}$  (§ 45 o) in verbs middle or third guttural (but cf. also  $\text{שִׁבְרָה}$  Gn 19<sup>33,35</sup>—elsewhere  $\text{שִׁבְרְךָ}$  and  $\text{שִׁבְרִי}$ ) before suffixes sometimes take the form *qāl*, as  $\text{וַיִּנְעֹבֵךְ}$  Jon 1<sup>15</sup> (and, with the syllable loosely closed,

פַּעַמִּי Ju 13<sup>25</sup>), מִהֲמָהּ and מִקָּעָה Ez 25<sup>6</sup>; sometimes *qit*, with the *a* attenuated to *i*, especially in verbs third guttural; as מִמְחָהּ, מִלְעִי, מִקָּעִם, מִפְּנֵי, מִתְחִי, מִרְעָה. — Contrary to § 58 *f* נִי (1 Ch 12<sup>17</sup>) and נִי (Ex 14<sup>11</sup>) are sometimes found with the *infinitive* instead of נִי and נִי. On מִרְעָה *my following* ψ 38<sup>21</sup> (but מִרְעָה), cf. the analogous examples in § 46 *a*.

2. With the suffixes הִי and כִּי, contrary to the analogy of the corresponding nouns, forms occur like אֲכָלְךָ *thy eating*, Gn 2<sup>17</sup>; אֲכָלְכֶם Gn 3<sup>5</sup>; עֲמָדְךָ (others עֲמָדְךָ) Ob 11, i.e. with *ā* shortened in the same way as in the *imperfect*, see § 60. But the analogy of the nouns is followed in such forms as קָצַרְכֶם *your harvesting*, Lv 19<sup>9</sup>, 23<sup>22</sup> (with retention of the original *ā*), and מִאֲסַבְכֶם (read *mō's-khēm*) *your despising*, Is 30<sup>12</sup>; cf. Dt 20<sup>2</sup>; on מִצַּחְכֶם Gn 32<sup>20</sup> (for מִצַּחְךָ, see § 74 *h*). — Very unusual are the infinitive suffixes of the 2nd sing. masc. with *energeticum* (on the analogy of suffixes with the *imperfect*, § 58 *i*), as מִפְּרָךְ Dt 4<sup>26</sup>, cf. 23<sup>5</sup>, Jb 33<sup>22</sup>, all in principal pause.

Examples of the *infinitive Niph'al* with suffixes are, הִפְכִּי Ex 14<sup>18</sup>; הִשְׁמָךְ Dt 28<sup>20</sup> (in *pause*, הִשְׁמָךְ verse 24); הִשְׁפָּמוֹ ψ 37<sup>33</sup>; הִזְכִּרְכֶם Ez 21<sup>20</sup>; הִשְׁמָךְ Dt 7<sup>20</sup>. In the *infinitive* of *Piel* (as also in the *imperfect*, see § 60 *f*) the *ā* before the suff. הִי, כִּי, becomes *Sghöl*, e.g. הִפְכִּי Ex 4<sup>10</sup>, and with a sharpening to *i* הִפְכִּי Is 1<sup>15</sup> (see § 60 *f*). In the *infinitive Pöel*, הִשְׁמָכֶם occurs (with *a* for *ā* or *i*) Am 5<sup>11</sup>, but probably הִשְׁמָכֶם, with Wellhausen, is the right reading; the correction *h* has crept into the text alongside of the *corrigendum* *h*.

2. The leading form of the *imperative Qal* before suffixes (קָטַלְךָ) is *f* due probably (see § 46 *d*) to the retention of the original short vowel of the first syllable (ground-form *qūtūl*). In the *imperative* also *ā* is not followed by *Dages lene*, e.g. קָטַלְכֶם *kōthbhēm* (not *kōthbēm*), &c.<sup>1</sup> As in the *imperfect* (§ 60 *d*) and *infinitive* (see above, *c*), so also in the *imperative*, suffixes are found united to the stem by an *a*-sound; e.g. קָטַלְכֶם Is 30<sup>8</sup>; cf. 2 S 12<sup>28</sup>. — The forms קָטַלְךָ, קָטַלְכֶם, which are not exhibited in Paradigm C, undergo no change. Instead of קָטַלְכֶם the masc. form (קָטַלְךָ) is used, as in the *imperfect*.

In verbs which form the *imperative* with *a*, like שָׁלַח (to which class *g* belong especially verbs *middle* and *third guttural*, §§ 64 and 65), this *a* retains its place when pronominal suffixes are added, but, since it then stands in an open syllable, is, as a matter of course, lengthened to *Qames* (just as in *imperfects Qal* in *a*, § 60 *c*), e.g. שָׁלַחֲנִי Is 6<sup>8</sup>, קָטַלְנִי ψ 26<sup>2</sup>, קָטַלְנִי ψ 50<sup>15</sup>, שָׁמַעֲנִי Gn 23<sup>8</sup>. In Am 9<sup>1</sup>, בָּצַעֲם (so ed. Mant., Baer, Ginsb., instead of the ordinary reading בָּצַעֲם) is to be explained, with Margolis, *AJSL*. xix, p. 45 ff., from an original בָּצַעֲמוֹ, as הִרְגַּתֶּם Am 9<sup>4</sup> from original הִרְגַּתֶּמוֹ. — In the *imperative Hiph'il*, the form used in conjunction with suffixes is not the 2nd sing. masc.

<sup>1</sup> שָׁמַעֲנִי *šām'renī* required by the Masora in ψ 16<sup>1</sup> (also שָׁמַעֲנִי ψ 86<sup>3</sup>, 119<sup>17</sup>; cf. Is 38<sup>14</sup> and שָׁמַעֲנִי Ob 11), belongs to the disputed cases discussed in § 9 *c* and § 48 *i* note.

הַקָּטָל, but הַקָּטִיל (with *i* on account of the open syllable, cf. § 60 g), e. g. הַקָּטִירָהוּ *present it*, Mal 1<sup>8</sup>.

*h* 3. Like the infinitives, the participles can also be united with either verbal or noun-suffixes; see § 116 f. In both cases the vowel of the participles is shortened or becomes *Šwā* before the suffix, as in the corresponding noun-forms, e. g. from the form קָטַל: קָטִיל, &c.; but before *Šwā mobile* יָצַר, &c., or with the original *z*, אָיִרָךְ Ex 23<sup>1</sup>, &c., קָטַלְךָ 2 K 22<sup>20</sup> (coinciding in form with the 1st sing. imperfect *Qal*, 1 S 15<sup>6</sup>; cf. § 68 h); with a middle guttural (יָצַלְךָ, יָצַלְךָ; with a third guttural, בָּרַחְךָ Is 43<sup>1</sup>, but שָׁלַחְךָ, שָׁלַחְךָ Jer 28<sup>16</sup>, cf. § 65 d. The form מִשְׁפָּל, with suffix מִשְׁפָּלְךָ; before *Šwā* sometimes like מִלְפָּדְךָ Is 48<sup>17</sup>, מִנְחָמְךָ 51<sup>12</sup>, sometimes like מִאֲפָפְךָ 52<sup>12</sup>. In Is 47<sup>10</sup> רָאִי is irregular for רָאִי; instead of the meaningless מִשְׁפָּלְךָ Jer 15<sup>10</sup> read בָּלַחְךָ קָטִילְךָ.

Also unusual (see above, d) with participles are the suffixes of the 2nd sing. masc. with *energicum*, as עֹנֶךְ Jb 5<sup>1</sup>; cf. Dt 8<sup>5</sup>, 12<sup>14.23</sup>.

### § 62. Verbs with Gutturals.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 584 ff.

Verbs which have a guttural for one of the three radicals differ in their inflexion from the ordinary strong verb, according to the general rules in § 22. These differences do not affect the consonantal part of the stem, and it is, therefore, more correct to regard the guttural verbs as a subdivision of the strong verb. At the most, only the entire omission of the strengthening in some of the verbs *middle guttural* (as well as in the *imperfect Niphal* of verbs *first guttural*) can be regarded as a real weakness (§§ 63 h, 64 e). On the other hand, some original elements have been preserved in guttural stems, which have degenerated in the ordinary strong verb; e. g. the *ā* of the initial syllable in the *imperfect Qal*, as in יִהְיֶה, which elsewhere is attenuated to *z*, יִהְיֶה.—In guttural verbs *א* and *ה* are only taken into consideration when they are actual consonants, and not vowel-letters like the *א* in some verbs אָפַח (§ 68), in a few אָע (§ 73 g), and in most אָל (§ 74). In all these cases, however, the *א* was at least originally a full consonant, while the *ה* in verbs אָה was never anything but a vowel letter, cf. § 75. The really consonantal *ה* at the end of the word is marked by *Mappiq*.—Verbs containing a *ך* also, according to § 22 g, r, share some of the peculiarities of the guttural verbs. For more convenient treatment, the cases will be distinguished, according as the guttural is the first, second, or third radical. (Cf. the Paradigms D, E, F, in which only those conjugations are omitted which are wholly regular.)

§ 63. *Verbs First Guttural*, e.g. עָמַד to stand.

In this class the deviations from the ordinary strong verb may be *a* referred to the following cases:—

1. Instead of a *simple Šwā mobile*, the initial guttural takes a *compound Šwā* (*Ḥateph*, § 10 f, § 22 l). Thus the *infinitives* אָמַר, אָכַל to eat, and the *perfects*, 2nd plur. masc. אָמַרְתֶּם, אָכַלְתֶּם from אָמַן to be inclined, correspond to the forms אָמַל and אָכַלְתֶּם; also אָכַלְוּ to eat, and so always with initial א before a suffix for an original *ā*, according to § 22 o.

2. When a preformative is placed before an initial guttural, either *b* the two may form a closed syllable, or the vowel of the preformative is repeated as a *Ḥateph* under the guttural. If the vowel of the preformative was originally *a*, two methods of formation may again be distinguished, according as this *a* remains or passes into *Sēghōl*.

Examples: (*a*) of firmly closed syllables after the original vowel *c* of the preformative (always with *ō* in the second syllable, except אָמַרְתֶּם Ez 23<sup>5</sup>, אָמַרְתָּ &c. from אָמַר to adorn oneself, and אָמַרְתָּ; but cf. *e*): אָמַר, אָכַל, אָשַׁב, אָשַׁף, אָקַב, Jer 9<sup>3</sup> (probably to distinguish it from the name אָקַב, just as in Jer 10<sup>19</sup>, &c., the participle fem. Niph'al of אָקַב is אָקַבְתָּ to distinguish it from אָקַבְתָּ), &c., and so generally in the *imperfect Qal* of stems beginning with א, although sometimes parallel forms exist, which repeat the *ā* as a *Ḥateph*, e.g. אָשַׁב, &c. The same form appears also in the *imperfect Hiph'il* אָשַׁבְתִּי, &c. Very rarely the original *ā* is retained in a closed syllable under the preformative א of the *perfect Niph'al*: אָמַרְתָּ Gu 31<sup>27</sup>; cf. אָשַׁבְתָּ Jos 2<sup>16</sup>; also the *infinitive absolute* אָמַרְתוּ Est 8<sup>8</sup>, אָשַׁבְתוּ 1 Ch 5<sup>20</sup>, and the *participle fem.* אָמַרְתָּ (see above), plur. אָמַרְתֶּן Pr 27<sup>6</sup>. In these forms the original *ā* is commonly kept under the preformative and is followed by *Ḥateph-Pataḥ*; thus in the *perfect* of some verbs אָמַרְתָּ, e.g. אָשַׁבְתָּ, &c.; in the *infinitive absolute*, אָמַרְתוּ Est 9<sup>1</sup>; in the *participle* אָמַרְתָּ, ψ 89<sup>8</sup>, &c.

(*b*) Of the corresponding *Ḥateph* after the original vowel: אָמַרְתָּ *d* (but אָמַרְתָּ Jb 5<sup>18</sup> in pause), אָמַרְתָּ, אָשַׁבְתָּ, and so almost always with *y* and often with א in the *imperfects* of *Qal* and *Hiph'il*; in *Hoph'al*, אָמַרְתָּ, אָשַׁבְתָּ; but cf. also אָמַרְתָּ Is 42<sup>22</sup>, אָשַׁבְתָּ Ez 16<sup>4</sup>.

The *ā* of the preformative before a guttural almost always (§ 22 i, c cf. § 27 p) becomes *Sēghōl* (cf., however, *q*). This *Sēghōl* again appears sometimes

(*c*) in a closed syllable, e.g. אָמַרְתָּ, אָשַׁבְתָּ, אָמַרְתָּ, אָשַׁבְתָּ, always with *ā* in the second syllable, corresponding to the imperfects of verbs אָמַרְתָּ,

with original *i* in the first and *a* in the second syllable, § 67 n, and also to the imperfects of verbs יָעַד, § 72 h; but cf. also יָאָמַר, יָאָמַרְתָּ, and יָהִי; in *ʿAphl*, e. g. נָחֵלְךָ; נָחֵלְךָ Am 6<sup>e</sup>, &c.; in *Hiph*, הִחֲסִיר, הִחֲסִירָה, &c.; sometimes

(d) followed by *Haʿeph-Sʿghöl*, e. g. יָהִי, יָאָמַר, יָהִי, יָעַב, in *imperfect Qal*; הִחֲסִיר *Hiphʿl*; יָעַב *Niphʿl*.

*f* Rem. With regard to the above examples the following points may also be noted: (1) The forms with a firmly closed syllable (called the hard combination) frequently occur in the same verb with forms containing a loosely closed syllable (the soft combination). (2) In the 1st *sing. imperfect Qal* the preformative *ʾ* invariably takes *Sʿghöl*, whether in a firmly or loosely closed syllable, e. g. אָחַבְתָּ (with the cohortative אָחַבְתָּה, &c. In *Jb* 32<sup>17</sup> אָחַבְתָּ must unquestionably be *Hiphʿl*, since elsewhere the pointing is always אָחַבְתָּ. Cohortatives like אָחַבְתָּה Gn 27<sup>41</sup> and אָחַבְתָּה *Jb* 16<sup>e</sup>, are explained by the next remark. (3) The shifting of the tone towards the end frequently causes the *Pathah* of the preformative to change into *Sʿghöl*, and vice versa, e. g. נָעַשְׂתָּה but נָעַשְׂתָּה 3rd *sing. fem.*; יָאָמַר but יָאָמַרְתָּ; but with *wāw consecutive* נָעַשְׂתָּה, &c.; so יָהִיְתָּה Gn 8<sup>3</sup> the plur. of יָהִיְתָּה, cf. Gn 11<sup>8</sup>; and thus generally a change of the stronger *Haʿeph-Sʿghöl* group (—) into the lighter *Haʿeph-Pathah* group takes place whenever the tone is moved one place toward the end (cf. § 27 v).

*g* 3. When in forms like יָעַמַּד, נָעַמַּד, the vowel of the final syllable becomes a *vocal ʾ* in consequence of the addition of an affirmative (י, ו, ה, ת) or suffix, the *compound ʾ* of the guttural is changed into the corresponding short vowel, e. g. יָעַמַּד, plur. יָעַמְדוּ (*ya-ʾa-mē-dhū* as an equivalent for *ya-mē-dhū*); נָעַמַּד she is forsaken. But even in these forms the hard combination frequently occurs, e. g. יָהִיְתָּה they take as a pledge (cf. in the *sing.* יָהִיְתָּה, also יָהִיְתָּה); יָהִיְתָּה (also יָהִיְתָּה) they are strong. Cf. *m* and, in general, § 22 m, § 28 c.

*h* 4. In the *infinitive, imperative, and imperfect Niphʿl*, where the first radical should by rule be strengthened (יָקַמַּל, יָקַמַּל), the strengthening is always omitted, and the vowel of the preformative lengthened to *Sere*; יָעַמַּד for *yi-ʾāmād*, &c. Cf. § 22 c.—For הִיָּעַשְׂתָּה Ex 25<sup>31</sup> (according to Dillmann, to prevent the pronunciation הִיָּעַשְׂתָּה, which the LXX and Samaritan follow) read הִיָּעַשְׂתָּה.

## REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

*i* 1. In verbs נָפַח the *infinitive construct* and *imperative* take *Haʿeph-Sʿghöl* in the first syllable (according to § 22 o), e. g. נָפַחְתָּ *gird thou*, *Jb* 38<sup>3</sup>, אָחַבְתָּ *love thou*,

<sup>1</sup> אָחַבְתָּה *Jb* 19<sup>7</sup> (so even the Mantua ed.) is altogether abnormal: read אָחַבְתָּה, with Baer, Ginsb.

Ho 3<sup>1</sup>, אָחַז *seize thou*, Ex 4<sup>1</sup> (on אָפּוּ *bake ye*, Ex 16<sup>23</sup>, see § 76 *d*); אָכַל *to eat*; infinitive with a prefix אֹכֵל, לֹאֲכַל, בֹּאֲכַל Is 5<sup>24</sup>; לֹאֲהֹב Ec 3<sup>8</sup>. Sometimes, however, *Hatafph-Pathah* is found as well, e.g. *infinitive* אָחַז 1 K 6<sup>6</sup>; בֹּאֲכַל הָאֵשׁ Nu 26<sup>10</sup> (before a suffix אֲכַלְךָ, אֲמַרְךָ, אֲכַלְכֶם, אֲמַרְכֶם § 61 *d*); cf. Dt 7<sup>20</sup>, 12<sup>28</sup>, Ez 25<sup>8</sup>, ψ 102<sup>5</sup>, Pr 25<sup>7</sup> (אֲמַרְלֶךָ), Jb 34<sup>18</sup>, always in close connexion with the following word. With a firmly closed syllable after ל cf. לְחַסוֹת Is 30<sup>2</sup>; לְחַפֵּר Jos 2<sup>2f</sup>. (on Is 2<sup>20</sup>, cf. § 84<sup>b</sup> *n*); לְחַתוֹת Is 30<sup>14</sup>, Hag 2<sup>16</sup>; קָהֵשׁ Ex 31<sup>4</sup>, &c.; לְעוֹר 2 S 18<sup>9</sup> *Qere*, but also בְּעוֹר 1 Ch 15<sup>26</sup>.

הִתְהַלֵּיתִי Ju 9<sup>9,11,18</sup> is altogether anomalous, and only a few authorities give *k* הִתְהַלֵּיתִי (*Hiph'il*), adopted by Moore in Haupt's Bible. According to Qimhi, Olshausen, and others, the Masora intended a *perfect Hoph'al* with syncope of the preformative after the ה interrogative = הִתְהַלֵּיתִי, or (according to Olshausen) with the omission of the ה interrogative. But since the *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* of הִתְהַלֵּיתִי nowhere occur, it is difficult to believe that such was the intention of the Masora. We should expect the *perfect Qal*, הִתְהַלֵּיתִי. But the *Qames* under the ה, falling between the tone and counter-tone, was naturally less emphasized than in הִתְהַלֵּיתִי, without the ה interrogative. Consequently it was weakened, not to simple *S'wā*, but to *wa*, in order to represent the sound of the *Qames* (likewise pronounced as *ā*) at least in a shortened form. The *S'ghōl* of the ה interrogative is explained, in any case, from § 100 *n* (cf. the similar pointing of the article, e.g. in הַהֲרָשִׁים § 35 *k*). For the accusative after הִתְהַלֵּיתִי, instead of the usual כֵּן, Jb 3<sup>17</sup> affords sufficient evidence.

Also in the other forms of the *imperative* the guttural not infrequently influences the vowel, causing a change of *i* (on this *i* cf. § 48 *i*) into *S'ghōl*, e.g. אִסְפָּה *gather thou*, Nu 11<sup>16</sup>; עֲרְכָה *set in order*, Jb 33<sup>5</sup>; חֲשֵׁפֵי *strip off*, Is 47<sup>2</sup> (on this irregular *Dageš* cf. § 46 *d*), especially when the second radical is also a guttural, e.g. אִהְבֵּנִי Am 5<sup>15</sup>, ψ 31<sup>24</sup>; cf. Zc 8<sup>10</sup>; אִחְוֵנוּ Ct 2<sup>15</sup>; cf. also in verbs לִהְיוֹת *sing ye*, Nu 21<sup>17</sup>, ψ 147<sup>7</sup> (compared with עֲנֵנוּ *answer ye*, 1 S 12<sup>8</sup>) and אִלֵּי Jo 1<sup>8</sup>.—*Pathah* occurs in חִבְּלֵהוּ *hold him in pledge*, Pr 20<sup>16</sup>, and probably also in ψ 9<sup>14</sup> (חִבְּלֵנִי).—As a pausal form for חֲרַבִּי (cf. the *plur.* Jer 2<sup>12</sup>) we find in Is 44<sup>27</sup> חֲרַבִּי (cf. the *imperf.* יִחַרַב) with the *ō* repeated in the form of a *Hatafph-Qames*. For other examples of this kind, see § 10 *h* and § 46 *e*.

2. The pronunciation (mentioned above, No. 2) of the *imperfects* in *ā* with *m* *S'ghōl* under the preformative in a firmly closed syllable (e.g. יִחַרְבֶּם (*יהרבם*)) regularly gives way to the soft combination in verbs which are at the same time *l'*, e.g. יִחַרְבֶּהּ &c. (but cf. יִחַרְבֶּהּ &c., יִחַרְבֶּהּ Pr 6<sup>27</sup>, יִחַרְבֶּהּ ed. Mant., Ex 3<sup>20</sup>). Even in the strong verb יִחַרְבֶּהּ is found along with יִחַרְבֶּהּ. Cf. also וַיַּעֲבֹד Ez 23<sup>5</sup>; וַיַּעֲבֹדֵנִי Gn 27<sup>86</sup> (so Ben-Asher; but Ben-Naphtali וַיַּעֲבֹד); וַיַּחֲלֶקם Neh 9<sup>22</sup>, and so always in the *imperfect Qal* of עוֹר with suffixes, Gn 49<sup>28</sup>, &c.—תִּאֲהַבֵּנִי Pr 1<sup>22</sup> is to be explained from the endeavour to avoid too great an accumulation of short sounds by the insertion of a long vowel, but it is a question whether we should not simply read תִּאֲהַבֵּנִי with Haupt in his Bible, *Proverbs*, p. 34, l. 44 ff.; cf. the analogous instances under *p*, and



such nouns as בָּאֵר, נֶאֱבָר, § 93 *t*.—On יִתְבַּרְךָ § 94<sup>20</sup> for יִתְבַּרְךָ (according to Qimhi, and others, rather *Pu'al*) cf. § 60 *b*.

- n* יִתְבַּרְךָ § 58<sup>o</sup> and יִתְבַּרְךָ to deal subtilly, 1 S 23<sup>22</sup>, Pr 15<sup>5</sup>, 19<sup>25</sup>, may be explained with Barth (*ZDMG*, 1889, p. 179) as *i*-imperfects (see above, § 47 *i*),—the latter for the purpose of distinction from the causative יַעֲרִים § 83<sup>4</sup>.—Instead of the unintelligible form יִתְבַּרְךָ (so ed. Mant.; Baer and Ginsb. as in 24<sup>3</sup>) 1 Ch 23<sup>6</sup> and יִתְבַּרְךָ 24<sup>3</sup> (partly analogous to תַּעֲבֹדָם § 60 *b*) the Qal יִתְבַּרְךָ is to be read. The form יִתְבַּרְךָ which is, according to Qimhi (in *Mikhlol*; but in his Lexicon he explains it as *Hithpa'el*), a composite form of Qal (יִתְבַּרְךָ) and *Pi'el* (יִתְבַּרְךָ), can only be understood as a development of יִתְבַּרְךָ (cf. § 64 *h* on יִתְבַּרְךָ, and § 69 *x* on תַּחֲלֹף Ex 9<sup>22</sup>, § 73<sup>9</sup>). Pathah has taken the place of *Hateph-Pathah*, but as a mere helping-vowel (as in שָׁמַעְתָּ § 28 *e*, note 2) and without preventing the closing of the syllable. It is much simpler, however, to take it as a *forma mixta*, combining the readings יִתְבַּרְךָ (impf. Qal) and יִתְבַּרְךָ (impf. *Pi'el*).

## II. On *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*.

- O* 3. The above-mentioned (*f*, 3) change of  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  to  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  occurs in the perfect *Hiph'il*, especially when *uaw* consecutive precedes, and the tone is in consequence thrown forward upon the affirmative, e.g. הֵעֲמִירְתָּ, but הֵעֲמִירְתָּ Nu 3<sup>6</sup>, 8<sup>13</sup>, 27<sup>19</sup>; הֵעֲבַרְתָּ, but הֵעֲבַרְתָּ Jer 15<sup>14</sup>, Ez 20<sup>37</sup>; even in the 3rd sing. הֵעֲמִירָה § 72<sup>2</sup>.—On the contrary  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  occurs instead of  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  in the imperative *Hiph'il*, Jer 49<sup>8,30</sup>; and in the infinitive Jer 31<sup>32</sup>. The preformative of עָתָר in *Hiph'il* always takes *a* in a closed syllable: Ex 8<sup>4</sup> הֵעֲתִירָה; verse 5 אֶעֱתִיר; also verse 25 and Jb 22<sup>27</sup>.

- P* 4. In the perfect *Hiph'il*  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  is sometimes changed into  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ , and in *Hoph'al*  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  into  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  (cf. § 23 *h*); הֵעֲבַרְתָּ Jos 7<sup>7</sup>, הֵעֲלָה Hb 1<sup>16</sup>, הֵעֲלָה Ju 6<sup>28</sup>, 2 Ch 20<sup>34</sup>, Na 2<sup>8</sup>, always before *u*, and hence evidently with the intention of strengthening the countertone-syllable (הֵ or הֵ) before the guttural. On a further case of this kind (וְעָמָה) see § 64 *c*. Something similar occurs in the formation of segholate nouns of the form *qāl*; cf. § 93 *q*, and (on אָמַן &c. for אָמַן) § 84<sup>a</sup> *q*.—In the imperfect consecutive בֹּוּ הַחֹק the tone is thrown back on to the first syllable. On the *Hoph'al* תַּעֲבֹדָם Ex 20<sup>5</sup>, &c., see § 60 *b*.

## III. הָיָה and חָיָה.

- Q* 5. In the verbs הָיָה to be, and חָיָה to live, the guttural hardly ever affects the addition of preformatives; thus imperfect Qal הָיָה and חָיָה, *Niph'al* נִהְיָה but in the perfect *Hiph'il* הָיָה (2nd plur. הָיִיתֶם Jos 2<sup>18</sup>, and even without *uaw* consecutive, Ju 8<sup>19</sup>). Initial ה always has *Hateph-Seghol* instead of vocal *Segol*; הָיָה, הָיִיתֶם, 1 S 25<sup>7</sup>, הָיִיתֶם (except הָיִי be thou! fem. Gn 24<sup>60</sup>). The 2nd sing. fem. imperative of חָיָה is חַיִּי live thou, Ez 16<sup>6</sup>; the infinitive, with suffix, חַיִּיתֶם Jos 5<sup>8</sup>. After the prefixes ה, ב, כ, ל, מ (= מן) both ה and ח retain the simple *Segol* (§ 28 *b*) and the prefix takes *i*, as elsewhere before strong consonants with *Segol*; hence in the perfect Qal הָיִיתֶם, imperative חַיִּיתֶם, infinitive לְחַיִּיתָ &c. (cf. § 16 *f*, *e*). The only exception is the 2nd sing. masc. of the imperative after *uaw*; וְחַיִּי Gn 12<sup>2</sup>, &c., וְחַיִּי Gn 20<sup>7</sup>.

§ 64. Verbs Middle Guttural, e.g. שָׁחַט *to slaughter*.

The slight deviations from the ordinary inflexion are confined *a* chiefly to the following<sup>1</sup>:—

1. When the guttural would stand at the beginning of a syllable with simple *S<sup>wa</sup>*, it necessarily takes a *Haṭeph*, and almost always *Haṭeph-Pathah*, e.g. perfect שָׁחַט, imperfect יִשְׁחַט, imperative *Niph'al* הִשְׁחַט. In the imperative *Qal*, before the affirmatives *ʔ* and *ʕ*, the original *Pathah* is retained in the first syllable, and is followed by *Haṭeph-Pathah*, thus, וְעָקֵי, וְעָקֵי, &c.; in אֶחָבוּ the preference of the *ʕ* for *S<sup>ghol</sup>* (but cf. also אֶחָיוּךָ Jer 13<sup>21</sup>) has caused the change from *ā* to *ē*; in שְׁחַרְרֵי Jb 6<sup>22</sup>, even *š* remains before a *hard* guttural.

So in the infinitive *Qal fem.*, e.g. לְאַהֲבָה *to love*, לְאַכֵּל *to pine*; and in the infinitive with a suffix לְכַעֲרָה Is 9<sup>6</sup>; the doubtful form שְׁחַטָּה Ho 5<sup>2</sup>, is better explained as infinitive *Pi'el* (= שְׁחַתָּה).

2. Since the preference of the gutturals for the *a*-sound has less *b* influence on the following than on the preceding vowel, not only is *Holem* retained after the middle guttural in the infinitive *Qal* שָׁחַט (with the fem. ending and retraction and shortening of the *o* וְחָצָה and וְחָצָה, cf. § 45 *b*), but generally also the *Sere* in the imperfect *Niph'al* and *Pi'el*, e.g. יִלָּחֵם *he fights*, יִנַּחֵם *he comforts*, and even the more feeble *S<sup>ghol</sup>* after *wāw* consecutive in such forms as וַיִּלָּחֶם, וַיִּנַּחֵם Gn 41<sup>8</sup> (cf., however, וַיִּנָּחֵם 1 K 12<sup>6</sup>, &c. But in the imperative and imperfect *Qal*, the final syllable, through the influence of the guttural, mostly takes *Pathah*, even in transitive verbs, e.g. שָׁחַט, יִשְׁחַט; וְעָקֵי, יִבְחַר, יִבְחַר; with suffixes (according to § 60 *c*), imperative יִבְחַלְנִי, יִבְחַלְנִי, imperfect יִבְחַלְנִי.

With *ō* in the imperative *Qal*, the only instances are נָעַל 2 S 13<sup>17</sup>; *c* חָלָה Ex 4<sup>4</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>21</sup>, fem. חָלָה Ru 3<sup>15</sup> (with the unusual repetition of the lost *ō* as *Haṭeph-Qames*; 2nd plur. masc. in pause חָלָה Neh 7<sup>3</sup>; without the pause חָלָה Ct 2<sup>15</sup>); קָעַר Ju 19<sup>8</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Finally וְעָמָה for וְעָמָה, Nu 23<sup>7</sup>, is an example of the same kind, see § 63 *p*. Just as rare are the imperfections in *ō* of verbs middle guttural, as יִנַּחֵם, יִנַּחֵם, יִנַּחֵם Lv 5<sup>15</sup>, Nu 5<sup>27</sup> (but וְיִמְעַל 2 Ch 26<sup>16</sup>); cf. וְיִשְׁחַרְרֵי Ez 16<sup>28</sup>; וְיִבְחַלְנִי Jb 35<sup>6</sup>. Also in the perfect *Pi'el*, *Pathah* occurs somewhat more frequently than in the strong verb, e.g. בָּחַשׁ, בָּחַשׁ, בָּחַשׁ *to comfort* (cf., however, בָּחַשׁ, בָּחַשׁ);

<sup>1</sup> *Hoph'al*, which is not exhibited in the paradigm, follows the analogy of *Qal*; *Hiph'il* is regular.

<sup>2</sup> Also Ju 19<sup>5</sup> (where Qimhi would read *s<sup>ad</sup>*), read *s<sup>ad</sup>*, and on the use of the conjunctive accent (here *Darga*) as a substitute for Metheg, cf. § 9 *u* (*c*) and § 16 *b*.

but *ṣ* and *y* always have *ē* in 3rd *sing.*—On the *infinitive* with suffixes, cf. § 61 b.

d 3. In *Pi'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el*, the *Dageš forte* being inadmissible in the middle radical, the preceding vowel, especially before ה, ח, and ע, nevertheless, generally remains short, and the guttural is consequently to be regarded as, at least, *virtually* strengthened, cf. § 22 c; e.g. *Pi'el* שָׁחַק Jos 14<sup>1</sup>, יָבַעְרָהּ 1 K 14<sup>10</sup>, נָהַג Ex 10<sup>13</sup> (cf., however, יָנַחַל Gn 34<sup>19</sup>; נָחַלַּת Ex 15<sup>13</sup>, but in the *imperfect* and *participle* יָנַחַל, &c.; in verbs לָהֵךְ, e.g. יָרַעַה, *infinitive* שָׁחַק, *Pu'al* רָחַץ (but cf. דָּוָה ψ 36<sup>13</sup> from דָּוָה, also the unusual position of the tone in בָּחַן<sup>1</sup> Ez 21<sup>18</sup>, and in the *perfect* *Hithpa'el* הִתְרַחֵץ Jb 9<sup>30</sup>); *Hithpa'el perfect* and *imperative* הִפְתָּרִי, &c.; in *pause* (see §§ 22 c, 27 q, 29 v, 54 k) הִפְתָּרִי Nu 8<sup>7</sup>, 2 Ch 30<sup>18</sup>; יִתְנַחֵם Nu 23<sup>19</sup>, &c.

e The complete omission of the strengthening, and a consequent lengthening of the preceding vowel, occurs invariably only with ר (פָּרַח Ez 16<sup>4</sup> is an exception; פָּרַחַה also occurs, Ju 6<sup>28</sup>), e.g. פָּרַח (in *pause* פָּרַחַה), *imperfect* יִפְרַח, *Pu'al* יִפְרַח. Before א it occurs regularly in the stems פָּאֵר, נָאֵל, מָאֵן, פָּאֵר, and in the *Hithpa'el* of בָּאֵשׁ, רָאָה, and שָׂאָה; on the other hand, א is *virtually* strengthened in the *perfects*, נָאָה (once in the *imperfect*, Jer 29<sup>23</sup>) to commit adultery, נִאֵץ to despise (in the *participle*, Nu 14<sup>23</sup>, Is 60<sup>14</sup>, Jer 23<sup>17</sup>; according to Baer, but not ed. Mant., or Ginsb., even in the *imperfect* יִנְאֵץ ψ 74<sup>10</sup>), נָאָר to abhor La 2<sup>7</sup> (also נִאֲרָה ψ 89<sup>40</sup>) and שָׂאָל ψ 109<sup>10</sup>; moreover, in the *infinitive* יִאֵשׁ Ec 2<sup>20</sup>, according to the best reading. On the *Mappiq* in the *Pu'al* רָאָה Jb 33<sup>21</sup>, cf. § 14 d.

f Rem. 1. In the verb שָׂאל to ask, to beg, some forms of the *perfect Qal* appear to be based upon a secondary form *middle e*, which is *Sere* when the vowel of the א stands in an open syllable, cf. שָׂאֵלָה Gn 32<sup>18</sup>, Ju 4<sup>20</sup>; שָׂאֵלָהּ ψ 137<sup>3</sup>; but in a closed syllable, even without a suffix, שָׂאֵלָם 1 S 12<sup>18</sup>, 25<sup>5</sup>, Jb 21<sup>20</sup>; שָׂאֵלָהּ Ju 13<sup>9</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>20</sup>. Cf., however, similar cases of attenuation of an original *ā*, § 69 s, and especially § 44 d. In the first three examples, if explained on that analogy, the *i* attenuated from *ā* would have been lengthened to *ē* (before the tone); in the next three *i* would have been modified to *ē*. Also in the *Hiph'il*-form הִשְׁאֵלָהּ 1 S 1<sup>28</sup> the א is merely attenuated from א.

g 2. In *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el* the lengthening of the vowel before the guttural causes the tone to be thrown back upon the penultima, and consequently the *Sere* of the ultima to be shortened to *S'ghol*. Thus (a) before monosyllables, according to § 29 e, e.g. לְשָׂרָחָה to minister there, Dt 17<sup>12</sup>, even in the case of a guttural which is *virtually* strengthened, Gn 39<sup>14</sup>, Jb 8<sup>18</sup> (see § 29 g). (b) after *two consecutive*, e.g. וַיְבָרֶךְ and he blessed, Gn 1<sup>22</sup> and frequently, וַיִּגְרַשׁ and he drove out, Ex 10<sup>11</sup>, וַיִּתְפַּעֵם Dn 2<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> בָּחַן is explained by Abulwalid as the 3rd pers. *perfect Pu'al*, but by Qimhi as a noun.

3. The following are a few rarer anomalies; in the *imperfect Qal* יִצְחָק Gn 21<sup>6</sup> *h* (elsewhere יִצְחָק, &c., in *pause* יִצְחָק, cf. § 10 g (c) and § 63 n); יִצְחָק Gn 32<sup>5</sup> (for יִצְחָק); in the *perfect Piel* אֶחָדָה Ju 5<sup>28</sup> (perhaps primarily for אֶחָדָה; according to Gn 34<sup>19</sup> אֶחָדָה would be expected), and similarly יִצְחָקָה ψ 51<sup>7</sup> for יִצְחָקָה; in the *imperative Piel* קָרַב Ez 37<sup>17</sup> (cf. above, § 52 n); finally, in the *imperative Hiph'il* הֲרַחֵק Jb 13<sup>21</sup> and הֲמַעַד ψ 69<sup>24</sup>, in both cases probably influenced by the closing consonant, and by the preference for *Pathah* in *pause* (according to § 29 q); without the *pause* הֲרַחֵק Pr 4<sup>24</sup>, &c.; but also הֲנַחֵת Jo 4<sup>11</sup>.

4. As *infinitive Hithpa'el* with a suffix we find הִתְיַחֵשׁ Ezr 8<sup>1</sup>, &c., with *z* a firmly closed syllable, also the *participle* מְתַיַחֵשׁ Neh 7<sup>64</sup>; Baer, however, reads in all these cases, on good authority, הִתְיַחֵשׁ, &c.—The quite meaningless *Kethibh* וְנִאֲשָׂא Ez 9<sup>8</sup> (for which the *Qere* requires the equally unintelligible וְנִשְׂאָר) evidently combines two different readings, viz. וְנִשְׂאָר (*part. Niph.*) and וְנִאֲשָׂא (*imperf. consec.*); cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. p. 266 f.—In יִתְאַרְרוּ Is 44<sup>18</sup> (also יִתְאַרְרוּ in the same verse) an *imperfect Piel* appears to be intended by the Masora with an irregular shortening of the *o* for יִתְאַרְרוּ; cf. § 55 b מְלִישֵׁי ψ 101<sup>5</sup> *Qere*; on the other hand Qimhi, with whom Delitzsch agrees, explains the form as *Piel*, with an irregular יִתְ for יִתְ, as in the reading אֶלְקָמָה Ru 2<sup>27</sup>; cf. § 10 h.

5. A few examples in which *h*, as middle radical, entirely loses its consonantal value and quiesces in a vowel, will be found in § 73 g.

§ 65. *Verbs Third Guttural*, e.g. שָׁלַח to send.<sup>1</sup>

1. According to § 22 d, when the last syllable has a vowel incommensurable with the guttural (i.e. not an *a*-sound), two possibilities present themselves, viz. either the regular vowel remains, and the guttural then takes *furtive Pathah*, or *Pathah* (in *pause* *Qames*) takes its place. More particularly it is to be remarked that—

(a) The unchangeable vowels *ā*, *i*, *u* (§ 25 b) are always retained, even under such circumstances; hence *inf. abs. Qal* שְׁלֹחַ, *part. pass.* שְׁלֹחַ, *Hiph.* הֲשִׁלִּיחַ, *imperf.* יִשְׁלִיחַ, *part.* מִשְׁלִּיחַ. So also the less firm *ō* in the *inf. constr.* שְׁלֹחַ is almost always retained: cf., however, שְׁלַח, in close connexion with a substantive, Is 58<sup>9</sup>, and שְׁלַח Nu 20<sup>3</sup>. Examples of the *infinitive* with suffixes are שְׁלֹחֶךָ Gn 35<sup>1</sup>; שְׁלֹחֵי Nu 35<sup>10</sup>; לְרַבְעָה Lv 18<sup>23</sup>, &c.

(b) The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* almost always have *ā* in the second syllable, sometimes, no doubt, due simply to the influence of the guttural (for a tone-long *ō*, originally *ā*), but sometimes as being the original vowel, thus יִשְׁלַח, שְׁלַח, &c.; with suffixes יִשְׁלַחֲנִי, שְׁלַחֲנִי, see § 60 c.

<sup>1</sup> Verbs שָׁלַח in which the ה is consonantal obviously belong also to this class, e.g. שָׁלַח to be high, שָׁלַח to be astonished, שָׁלַח (only in *Hithpa'el*) to delay.

Exceptions, in the *imperfect* אסלוח Jer 5<sup>7</sup>, *Keth.* (אסלוח *Q<sup>re</sup>*); in the *imperative* טבח Gn 43<sup>16</sup>. On such cases as אשעה Is 27<sup>4</sup>, cf. § 10 h.

c (c) Where *Sere* would be the regular vowel of the final syllable, both forms (with *ē* and *ā*) are sometimes in use; the choice of one or the other is decided by the special circumstances of the tone, i. e.:—

d Rem. 1. In the *absolute state* of the *participle Qal*, *P<sup>er</sup>el* and *Hitp<sup>er</sup>al*, the forms שלח (with suff. שלחו, but שלחך), משלח (with suff. משלחך), and משתע are used exclusively; except in verbs ליע where we find, in close connexion, also נטע ψ 94<sup>9</sup>, רנע Is 51<sup>15</sup>, Jer 31<sup>35</sup>, רסע Is 42<sup>5</sup>, 44<sup>24</sup>, רוקע ψ 136<sup>6</sup>, שבע Lv 11<sup>7</sup>, all with the tone on the last syllable.—The part. Pu'al is מרבע Ez 45<sup>2</sup> according to the best authorities (Kittel מרבע).

c 2. Similarly, in the *imperf.* and *inf. Niph'al*, and in the *perf. inf.* and *imperf. P<sup>er</sup>el* the (probably more original) form with *ā* commonly occurs in the body of the sentence, and the fuller form with *ē* in *pause* (and even with the lesser distinctives, e.g. with *Dehi* ψ 86<sup>4</sup> in the *imperative P<sup>er</sup>el*; with *Tiphla* 1 K 12<sup>32</sup> in the *infinitive P<sup>er</sup>el*; Jer 4<sup>51</sup> *imperfect Hitp<sup>er</sup>al*; Jer 16<sup>6</sup> *imperfect Niph'al*), cf. e.g. יפרע Nu 27<sup>4</sup>, with יפרע 36<sup>3</sup>; וישבע Dt 1<sup>34</sup>, even with retraction of the tone in the *inf. abs. Niph'al* השרע Nu 30<sup>8</sup> (elsewhere השרע Jer 7<sup>9</sup>, 12<sup>16</sup> twice, in each case without the pause); הפער Hb 3<sup>9</sup>, with הפער Ez 13<sup>11</sup>; בפע to devour Hb 1<sup>13</sup>, Nu 4<sup>20</sup> with בפע La 2<sup>8</sup>; for *infinitive Hitp<sup>er</sup>al*, cf. Is 28<sup>20</sup>. The *infinitive absolute P<sup>er</sup>el* has the form שלח Dt 22<sup>7</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>22</sup>; the *infinitive construct*, on the other hand, when without the pause is always שלח except לשה Ex 10<sup>4</sup>.—Hb 1<sup>16</sup> has ē, though not in *pause*, and even ויבה 2 K 16<sup>4</sup>, 2 Ch 28<sup>4</sup>; but *a* in *pause* in the *imperative Niph'al* האבה Ez 21<sup>11</sup>; *jussive P<sup>er</sup>el* תאחר 40<sup>18</sup>; cf. § 52 n. An example of *ā* in the *imperative P<sup>er</sup>el* under the influence of a final *ḥ* is בחר 36<sup>3</sup>, in the *imperfect Niph'al* ויחצר Nu 17<sup>13</sup>, &c.—In יפרח Jb 14<sup>9</sup> (cf. ψ 92<sup>14</sup>, Pr 14<sup>11</sup>), Barth (see above, § 63 n) finds an *i-imperfect* of *Qal*, since the intransitive meaning is only found in *Qal*.

f 3. In the 2nd *sing. masc.* of the *imperative*, and in the forms of the *jussive* and *imperfect consecutive* of *Hiph'il* which end in gutturals, *a* alone occurs, e.g. הצלח prosper thou, יבחה let him make to trust, ויצבה and he made to grow (so in *Hitp<sup>er</sup>al* ותמכה, &c., Hb 2<sup>3</sup>); even in *pause* ויצלח 1 Ch 29<sup>23</sup>, and, with the best authorities, ויבה 1 Ch 12<sup>17</sup>; וישעם Is 35<sup>4</sup> is perhaps to be emended into וישע (= וישע).—In the *infinitive absolute Sere* remains, e.g. הבה to make high; as *infinitive construct* הבה also occurs in close connexion (Jb 6<sup>20</sup>); on הישע as *infinitive construct* (1 S 25<sup>26, 33</sup>), cf. § 53 k.

g 2. When the guttural with *quiescent S<sup>ewa</sup>* stands at the end of a syllable, the ordinary strong form remains when not connected with suffixes, e.g. שלחתי, שלחת. But in the 2nd *sing. fem. perfect* a *helping-Pathah* takes the place of the *S<sup>ewa</sup>*, שבתה Jer 13<sup>25</sup> (§ 28 e); also in 1 K 14<sup>3</sup>, לקחת is to be read, not לקחת.

h Rem. The soft combination with compound *S<sup>ewa</sup>* occurs only in the 1st *plur. perfect* with suffixes, since in these forms the tone is thrown one place farther forward, e.g. ידענו we know thee, Ho 8<sup>2</sup> (cf. Gn 26<sup>20</sup>, ψ 44<sup>18</sup>, 132<sup>6</sup>). Before the suffixes ך and ךם, the guttural must have ך, e.g. אשלחך I will send thee, 1 S 16<sup>1</sup>; ואשלחך Gn 31<sup>27</sup>; אשמיעך Jer 18<sup>2</sup>.

On the weak verbs ל, see especially § 74.

II. The Weak Verb.<sup>1</sup>

§ 66. *Verbs Primae Radicalis Nûn* (נ), e.g. נָשַׁב to approach.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 138 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 595 ff.

The weakness of initial נ consists chiefly in its suffering *aphaeresis* *a* in the *infinitive construct* and *imperative* in some of these verbs (cf. § 19 h). On the other hand, the *assimilation* of the נ (see below) cannot properly be regarded as weakness, since the trilateral character of the stem is still preserved by the strengthening of the second consonant. The special points to be noticed are—

1. The *aphaeresis* of the Nûn (a) in the *infinitive construct*. This *b* occurs only (though not necessarily) in those verbs which have *a* in the second syllable of the *imperfect*. Thus from the stem נָשַׁב, *imperfect* נִשְׁבַּ, *infinitive* properly נִשְׁבּ, but always lengthened by the feminine termination ת to the segholate form נִשְׁבַּת<sup>2</sup>; with *suffix* נִשְׁבַּתוּ Gn 33<sup>3</sup>; with the concurrence of a guttural נִשְׁבַּח to touch, *imperfect* נִשְׁבַּח, *infinitive* נִשְׁבַּח (also נִשְׁבַּח, see below); נִשְׁבַּע to plant, *infinitive* נִשְׁבַּע (also נִשְׁבַּע, see below); on the verb נָתַן to give, see especially h and i. On the other hand, *aphaeresis* does not take place in verbs which have *o* in the *imperfect*, e.g. נָפַל to fall, *imperfect* נִפֹּל, *infinitive* נִפֹּל, with *suffix* נִפֹּלוּ, also נִפֹּלוּ; נָהַר Nu 6<sup>2</sup>, &c.; cf., moreover, נִהַי Gn 20<sup>6</sup>, &c., נִהַי Ex 19<sup>12</sup> (even נִהַי Jb 6<sup>7</sup>; cf. Jer 1<sup>10</sup>); with *suffix* נִהַיִּי Lv 15<sup>23</sup>. Also נִשְׁמַע Is 51<sup>18</sup> (but נִשְׁמַע Ec 3<sup>2</sup>); נִשְׁא Is 1<sup>14</sup>, 18<sup>3</sup>; with *suffix* נִשְׁאִי ψ 28<sup>2</sup> (elsewhere נִשְׁאִי, cf. § 74 i and § 76 b), נִשְׁקָר 2 S 20<sup>9</sup>.

(b) In the *imperative*. Here the Nûn is always dropped in verbs *c* with *a* in the *imperfect*, e.g. נָשַׁב, *imperative* נִשְׁבּ (more frequently with *paragogic* א, נִשְׁבָּה; before *Maqqeph* also נִשְׁבּ Gn 19<sup>9</sup>), *plur.* נִשְׁבּוּ, &c. Parallel with these there are the curious forms with *o*, נִשְׁבּ Ru 2<sup>14</sup> (with *retarding* Metheg in the second syllable, and also *nasog* 'ahor, according to § 29 e, before נִשְׁבּ and נִשְׁבּ Jos 3<sup>9</sup> (before נִשְׁבּ), 1 S 14<sup>34</sup> (before נִשְׁבּ) and 2 Ch 29<sup>31</sup>; in all these cases without the *pause*. With Nûn retained, as if in a strong verb, נִשְׁבּ drive, 2 K 4<sup>24</sup> (*imperfect* נִשְׁבּ, without assimilation of the Nûn), נִשְׁבּ 2 K 19<sup>29</sup>, Is 37<sup>30</sup>, Jer 29<sup>5,28</sup>; cf. also the verbs נִשְׁבּ, which are at the same time נִשְׁבּ Ez 32<sup>18</sup> (usually נִשְׁבּ); cf. Ex 32<sup>34</sup>, נִשְׁבּ Ex 8<sup>1</sup>, &c.; the verb נִשְׁבּ ψ 10<sup>12</sup> (usually נִשְׁבּ); cf. § 76 b. But, as in the *infinitive*, the *aphaeresis* never takes place in verbs which have *o* in the *imperfect*, e.g. נָצַר, נִצֵּר, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the summary, § 41.

<sup>2</sup> The law allowing the addition of the feminine termination to the unlengthened form, instead of a lengthening of the vowel, is suitably called by Barth 'the law of compensation' (*Nominalbildung*, p. xiii).



*d* 2. When, through the addition of a *preformative*, *Nûn* stands at the end of a syllable, it is readily assimilated to the second radical (§ 19 c); thus in the *imperfect Qal*,<sup>1</sup> e.g. יִפֹּל for *yinpāl*, *he will fall*; שִׁי for *yingaš*; יִתֵּן for *yintēn*, *he will give* (on this single example of an *imperfect* with original *i* in the second syllable, cf. *h*)<sup>2</sup>; also in the *perfect Niph'al* שָׁנָה for *ningaš*; throughout *Hiph'il* (הִשִּׁי, &c.) and *Hoph'al* (which in these verbs always has *Qibbus*, in a sharpened syllable, cf. § 9 n) הִשִּׁי.

The other forms are all quite regular, e.g. the *perfect, infinitive absolute* and *participle Qal*, all *Pi'el*, *Pu'al*, &c.

In Paradigm H, only those conjugations are given which differ from the regular form.

*e* The characteristic of these verbs in all forms with a *preformative* is *Dageš* following it in the second radical. Such forms, however, are also found in certain verbs פָּחַד (§ 71), and even in verbs עָנָה (§ 67). The *infinitive* עָנֶה and the *imperative* עֲנֵה, also עָנֵה (Gn 19<sup>9</sup>) and עָנִי, resemble the corresponding forms of verbs פָּחַד (§ 69).—On יָקַח, קָח, and קָחָה, from לָקַח *to take*, see *g*.—In יָקִים (*imperfect Niph'al* of קָם), and in similar forms of verbs יָעַץ (§ 72), the *fall* writing of the *ô* indicates, as a rule, that they are not to be regarded as *imperfects Qal* of קָם, &c.—Also אָסַף (ψ 139<sup>8</sup>) is not to be derived from אָסַף, but stands for אָסַף (with a sharpening of the *â* as compensation for the loss of the *l*), from אָסַף *to ascend*, see § 19 f, and Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 44. Similarly the *Hiph'il*-forms הִשִּׁי Ez 39<sup>9</sup>, הִשִּׁי Is 44<sup>15</sup>, and the *Niph'al* הִשִּׁי ψ 78<sup>21</sup> are most probably from a stem שָׁלַק, not שָׁשַׁק.

*f* Rem. 1. The instances are comparatively few in which the forms retain their *Nûn* before a firm consonant, e.g. נָטַר, *imperfect* יִנְטָר Jer 3<sup>6</sup> (elsewhere יָטַר); also from נָצַר the pausal form is always יִנְצָר (without the *pause* יָצַר Pr 20<sup>28</sup>); similarly in Is 29<sup>1</sup>, 55<sup>8</sup>, ψ 61<sup>8</sup>, 68<sup>3</sup> (where, however, הִנְצָר is intended), 140<sup>2,5</sup>, Pr 2<sup>11</sup>, Jb 40<sup>21</sup>, the retention of the *Nûn* is always connected with the *pause*. In *Niph'al* this never occurs (except in the irregular *inf.* הִנְצָר ψ 68<sup>8</sup>, cf. § 51 k), in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* very seldom; e.g. לִהְנִיחַ Ez 22<sup>20</sup>, הִנְחִיָּה Ju 20<sup>31</sup>; for לִנְחֵל Nu 5<sup>22</sup> read לִנְחֵל, according to § 53 q. On the other hand, the *Nûn* is regularly retained in all verbs, of which the second radical is a guttural, e.g. יִנְחֵל *he will possess*, although there are rare cases like יִחַח (also יִנְחַח) *he will descend*, Jer 21<sup>18</sup> (even יִנְחַח Pr 17<sup>10</sup>; without apparent reason accented as *Mi'el*, plur. יִנְחִיָּה Jb 21<sup>18</sup> (cf. § 20 i; the Masora, however, probably regards יִחַח and יִנְחִיָּה as *imperfect Niph'al* from יִחַח); *Niph'al* נָחַם for נִנְחַם *he has grieved*.

*g* 2. The *l* of לָקַח *to take* is treated like the *Nûn* of verbs פָּחַד (§ 19 d). Hence *imperfect Qal* יָקַח, cohortative (§ 20 m) אָקַחָה, *imperative* קָח, in *pause* and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mayer Lambert, 'Le futur qal des verbes פָּחַד, פָּחַן, פָּחַ, פָּחַ' in the *REV.* xxvii. 136 ff.

<sup>2</sup> An *imperfect* in *a* (שָׁשַׁק) is given in the Paradigm, simply because it is the actual form in use in this verb.

before *suffixes* קח (on נָחַם־Gn 48<sup>9</sup>, see § 61 g), *paragogic form* קָחָה; קָחִי, &c. (but cf. also לָקַח Ex 29<sup>1</sup>, Ez 37<sup>16</sup>, Pr 20<sup>16</sup>, לָקַחִי 1 K 17<sup>11</sup>, perhaps a mistake for קָחִי לָקַח, cf. LXX and Lucian); *infinitive construct* קָחַת (once קָחַת 2 K 12<sup>9</sup>, cf. § 93 h); with לְ, לְקַחַת; with suffix קָחַתִּי; *Hoph'al* (cf., however, § 53 u) *imperfect* יִקַּח; *Niph'al*, however, is always נִלְקַח.—The meaningless form קַח Ez 17<sup>5</sup> is a mistake; for the equally meaningless קָחַם Ho 11<sup>8</sup> read וְקָחַם.

3. The verb נָתַן *to give*, mentioned above in a, is the only example of a *h* verb נ"ח with *imperfect* in ע (יִתֵּן for *yintên*; יִתֵּן<sup>1</sup> only in Ju 16<sup>5</sup>, elsewhere before *Magqeph* יִתֵּן, &c.), and a corresponding *imperative* יֵת or (very frequently) הֵתָה (but in ψ 8<sup>2</sup> the very strange reading הֵתָה is no doubt simply meant by the Masora to suggest נִתְּנָה); before *Magqeph* יִתֵּן, *sem.* יִתֵּן, &c. Moreover, this very common verb has the peculiarity that its final *Nûn*, as a weak nasal, is also assimilated; נִתְּנָה for *nāthānā*, נִתְּנָה or, very frequently, נִתְּנָה, with a kind of orthographic compensation for the assimilated *Nûn* (cf. § 44 g); *Niph'al perfect* נִתְּנָה Lv 26<sup>25</sup>, Ezr 9<sup>7</sup>.

In the *infinitive construct Qal* the ground-form *tint* is not lengthened to *tēneth* i. (as נִתְּנָה from נִתְּנָה), but contracted to *titt*, which is then correctly lengthened to תֵּתָה, with the omission of *Dageš forte* in the final consonant, see § 201; but with suffixes הֵתָה, תֵּתָה, &c.; before *Magqeph* with the prefix לְ=לִתְּנָה, e. g. Ex 5<sup>21</sup>, and even when closely connected by other means, e. g. Gn 15<sup>7</sup>. However, the strong formation of the *infinitive construct* also occurs in נָתַן Nu 20<sup>21</sup> and נָתַן Gn 38<sup>9</sup>; cf. § 69 m, note 2. On the other hand, for לִתְּנָה 1 K 6<sup>19</sup> read either לִתְּנָה or simply לִתְּנָה, just as the *Q'rē*, 1 K 17<sup>14</sup>, requires תֵּתָה for תֵּתָה.

In other stems, the נ is retained as the third radical, e. g. נִתְּנָה, cf. § 19 c and § 44 n. On the entirely anomalous aphaeresis of the *Nûn* with a strong vowel in תֵּתָה (for תֵּתָה) 2 S 22<sup>41</sup>, cf. § 19 i.—On the *passive imperfect* יִתֵּן, cf. § 53 u.

### § 67. *Verbs ע"ע*, e. g. סָבַב *to surround*.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 155 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 632 ff.

1. A large number of Semitic stems have verbal forms with only *a* two radicals, as well as forms in which the stem has been made triliteral by a *repetition of the second radical*, hence called verbs ע"ע. Forms with two radicals were formerly explained as being due to contraction from original forms with three radicals. It is more correct

<sup>1</sup> P. Haupt on Ju 16<sup>5</sup> in his Bible, compares the form of the Assyrian imperfect *iddan* or *ittan* (besides *indūin*, *indūmāin*) from *nadānu*=נָתַן. But could this one passage be the only trace left in Hebrew of an imperf. in *a* from נָתַן?

to regard them as representing the original stem (with two radicals), and the forms with the second radical repeated as subsequently developed from the monosyllabic stem.<sup>1</sup> The appearance of a general contraction of trilateral stems is due to the fact that in biliteral forms the second radical regularly receives *Dageš forte* before affirmatives, except in the cases noted in § 22 b and q. This points, however, not to an actual doubling, but merely to a strengthening of the consonant, giving more body to the monosyllabic stem, and making it approximate more to the character of trilateral forms.

The development of biliteral to trilateral stems (ע'') generally takes place in the 3rd *sing. masc.* and *fem.* and 3rd *plur. perfect* Qal of transitive verbs, or at any rate of verbs expressing an activity, e.g. קָבַב, קָבְבָה, קָבְבוּ : קָבַב Gn 33<sup>6</sup> (but with suffix קָבַבְנִי, ver. 11); sometimes with an evident distinction between transitive and intransitive forms, as צָרַר to *make strait*, צָר to *be in a strait*; see further details, including the exceptions, in aa. The development of the stem takes place (a) necessarily whenever the strengthening of the 2nd radical is required by the character of the form (e.g. חָלַל, חָלְלָה, חָלְלוּ), and (b) as a rule, whenever the 2nd radical is followed or preceded by an essentially long vowel, as, in Qal, קָבַב, קָבְבָה, קָבְבוּ, in Pó'el and Pó'al, סוֹבֵב, סוֹבְבָה, סוֹבְבוּ.

b 2. The biliteral stem always (except in *Hiph'il* and the *imperfect Niph'al*, see below) takes the vowel which would have been required between the *second* and *third* radical of the ordinary strong form, or which stood in the ground-form, since that vowel is characteristic of the form (§ 43 b), e.g. חָמַל answering to חָמַל to the ground-form *qāṭālāt*, חָמַל to the ground-form *qāṭālū*; *infinitive*, חָמַל to חָמַל.

c 3. The insertion of *Dageš forte* (mentioned under a), for the purpose of strengthening the second radical, never takes place (see § 20 l) in the final consonant of the word, e.g. חָמַל, חָמַל, not חָמַל; but it appears again on the addition of affirmatives or suffixes, e.g. חָמַלְנִי, חָמַלְתָּ, &c.

d 4. When the affirmative begins with a consonant (ג, ה), and hence the strongly pronounced second radical would properly come at the end of a closed syllable, a *separating vowel* is inserted between the stem-syllable and the affirmative. In the *perfect* this vowel is *i*, in the *imperative* and *imperfect* *e*, e.g. סָבַחְתָּ, סָבַחְתְּ, *imperfect* סָבַחְתְּ, סָבַחְתְּ (for *sabb-tā*, *sabb-nā*, *tasöbb-nā*). The artificial opening of the syllable

<sup>1</sup> So (partly following Ewald and Böttcher) A. Müller, *ZDMG.* xxxiii. p. 698 ff.; Stade, *Lehrbuch*, § 385 b, c; Nöldeke, and more recently Wellhausen, 'Ueber einige Arten schwacher Verba im Hebr.' (*Skizzen u. Vorarb.* vi. 250 ff.). Against Böttcher see M. Lambert, *REJ.* xxxv. 330 ff., and Brockelmann, as above.

by this means is merely intended to make the strengthening of the second radical audible.<sup>1</sup>

The *perfect* תָּמַנּוּ (for תִּמְנֹנּוּ) Nu 17<sup>28</sup>, ψ 64<sup>7</sup> (Jer 44<sup>18</sup> תָּמַנּוּ with *Silluq*), owing *e* to omission of the separating vowel, approximates, if the text is right, to the form of verbs ע"ע (cf. תָּמַנּוּ from תָּמַנּוּ).

5. Since the preformatives of the *imperfect Qal*, of the *perfect f Niph'al*, and of *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* throughout, before a monosyllabic stem form an open syllable, they take a *long* vowel before the tone (according to § 27 e), e.g. *imperfect Hiph'il* יִסֵּב for *yā-sēb*, *imperative* סִבֵּב for *hā-sēb*, &c. Where the preformatives in the strong verb have *z*, either the original *ā* (from which the *z* was attenuated) is retained and lengthened, e.g. יִסֵּב in *imperfect Qal* for *yā-sēb*, or the *z* itself is lengthened to *ē*, e.g. הִסֵּב *perfect Hiph'il* for *hī-sēb* (see further under *h*). The vowel thus lengthened can be maintained, however, only before the tone (except the *ā* of the *Hoph'al*, הִסֵּב for *hā-sēb*); when the tone is thrown forward it becomes *S<sup>e</sup>wā*, according to § 27 k (under *z* and *h* compound *S<sup>e</sup>wā*), e.g. הִסֵּב, but הִסֵּבָה; *imperfect Hiph'il* הִסֵּב, but הִסֵּבָה; *perfect* הִסֵּבָה, &c.

Besides the ordinary form of the imperfects, there is another (common in *Aramaic*), in which the *imperfect Qal* is pronounced יִסֵּב or יִסֵּב, the *first* radical, not the second, being strengthened by *Dageš forte*, cf. יִסֵּב 1 K 9<sup>8</sup>, וַיִּסֵּב Gn 24<sup>26</sup>; with *a* in the second syllable, יִסֵּב Lv 11<sup>7</sup>, יִסֵּב Is 17<sup>4</sup>, וַיִּסֵּב Is 29, &c., יִסֵּב Am 5<sup>13</sup> and frequently, וַיִּסֵּב Dt 9<sup>21</sup>, &c., יִסֵּב (*turn intrans.*) 1 S 5<sup>8</sup>, &c., וַיִּסֵּב Lv 24<sup>11</sup>, יִסֵּב Ez 47<sup>12</sup>, &c., יִסֵּב (with *Dageš forte implicitum*) 1 K 1<sup>1</sup>; in the plural, יִסֵּבוּ Nu 14<sup>25</sup>, &c. (in pause יִסֵּבוּ ψ 102<sup>28</sup>); perhaps also יִסֵּב, יִסֵּבוּ (unless these forms are rather to be referred to *Niph'al*, like יִסֵּבוּ 1 S 29, יִסֵּבוּ Jb 24<sup>24</sup>); with suffix יִסֵּבּוּ occurs (cf. § 10 h) in Nu 23<sup>25</sup>; *Imperfect Hiph'il* יִסֵּבוּ, *Hoph'al* יִסֵּבוּ, &c. The vowel of the preformative (which before *Dageš* is, of course, short) follows the analogy of the ordinary strong form (cf. also *u* and *y*). The same method is then extended to forms with affirmatives or suffixes, so that even before these additions the second radical is not strengthened, e.g. וַיִּסֵּבוּ Gn 43<sup>28</sup>, &c., for וַיִּסֵּבוּ and they bowed the head; וַיִּסֵּבוּ and they beat down, Dt 14<sup>4</sup> (from סִבֵּבוּ; וַיִּסֵּבוּ Dt 32<sup>8</sup>; יִסֵּבוּ Ex 15<sup>16</sup>, Jb 29<sup>21</sup> (cf., however, וַיִּסֵּבוּ Ju 18<sup>28</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>8</sup>, יִסֵּבוּ Jer 46<sup>5</sup>, Jb 4<sup>20</sup>). To the same class of apparently strong formations belongs הִסֵּבוּ (without the separating vowel, for הִסֵּבוּ, cf. 1 S 3<sup>11</sup> and below, *p*) they shall tingle, 2 K 21<sup>12</sup>, Jer 19<sup>3</sup>.—On the various forms of the *Niph'al*, see under *t*.

<sup>1</sup> Of all the explanations of these separating vowels the most satisfactory is that of Rödiger, who, both for the *perfect* and *imperfect* (Ewald and Stade, for the *imperfect* at least), points to the analogy of verbs לָחַץ. We must, however, regard סִבֵּבוּ as formed on the analogy not of לָחַץ, but (with P. Haupt) of a form מָלָחַץ (= *gālaulā*, cf. Arab. *gāzautā*), while הִסֵּבוּ follows the analogy of הִסֵּבוּ. [See also Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, 229 f.]

- h 6. The original vowel is retained, see *f*, (a) in the preformative of the *imperfect Qal* יָבַח for *yā-sōb* (cf. §§ 47 b, 63 b, and for verbs יָעַץ § 72); (b) in the *perfect Niphal* נָסַב for *nā-sāb* (§ 51 a); (c) in *Hoph'al* הִסְבַּח, with irregular lengthening (no doubt on the analogy of verbs יָסַב) for *hōsāb* from *hū-sab*, imperfect יִסְבֵּחַ from *yū-sab*, &c.
- i On the other hand, an already attenuated vowel (i) underlies the intransitive *imperfects Qal* with *ā* in the second syllable (probably for the sake of dissimilating the two vowels), e.g. יָמַר for *yā-mār* (see *p*); and in the preformative of *Hiph'il* הִסְבֵּחַ from *hī-sēb* (ground-form הִסְבַּח, § 53 a), as well as of the participle מְסַבֵּחַ (ground-form מְסַבֵּחַ), on the analogy of the perfect. In the second syllable of the Perf. the underlying vowel is *i*, attenuated from an original *ā*, which in the strong verb is abnormally lengthened to *ī* (§ 53 a). The *ē* lengthened from *i* is, of course, only tone-long, and hence when without the tone and before *Dageš forte* we have e.g. הִסְבֵּחַ. On the retention of the original *ā* in the second syllable, cf. *v*.
- k 7. The *tone*, as a general rule, tends to keep to the stem-syllable, and does not (as in the strong verb) pass to the affirmatives הָיָה, יָ and יָ (2nd sing. fem. imperfect); e.g. 3rd sing. fem. perfect הָיָה, in pause הָיָה; with ר and gutturals הָיָה (for הָיָה), ψ 44<sup>26</sup>; on the other hand, with *wāw* consecutive הָיָה Is 6<sup>12</sup> (but הָיָה Ex 1<sup>16</sup>). In the 3rd plur. perfect the tone-syllable varies; along with הָיָה, הָיָה, we also find הָיָה and הָיָה Is 59<sup>12</sup>, שָׁחַז Hb 3<sup>6</sup>, &c.; but in *pause* always הָיָה, הָיָה, &c. The tone likewise remains on the stem-syllable in the *imperfect Qal* in יָסַב, יָסַב; *perfect Hiph'il* הִסְבֵּחַ, הִסְבֵּחַ; *imperfect* יִסְבֵּחַ, יִסְבֵּחַ, &c. In the forms with separating vowels, the tone is moved forward to these vowels (or to the final syllable, cf. *ee*), e.g. הִסְבֵּיחַ, &c.; except before the endings הָם and הֵן in the *perfect*, which always bear the tone. This shifting of the tone naturally causes the shortening of the merely tone-long vowels *ē* and *ō* to *i* and *u* (or *ū*, see *n*), hence הִסְבֵּיחַ from הִסְבֵּחַ; יָסַב from יָסַב; on cases in which the vowel of the preformative becomes *šewā*, see above, *f*.
- l 8. In several verbs יָעַץ, instead of *Pī'el*, *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'el*, the less frequent conjugation *Pō'el*, with its passive and reflexive, occurs (most probably on the analogy of the corresponding forms of verbs יָעַץ, cf. § 72 m), generally with the same meaning,<sup>1</sup> e.g. עוֹלֵל to *ill-treat*, passive עוֹלֵל, reflexive הִתְעוֹלֵל (from עוֹלֵל; cf. the *Hithpa'el* from רָעַע

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes both *Pī'el* and *Pō'el* are formed from the same stem, though with a difference of meaning, e.g. רָצַץ to *break in pieces*, רָצַץ to *oppress*; הִנֵּן to *make pleasing*, הִנֵּן to *have pity*; הִסְבֵּחַ to *turn, to change*, הִסְבֵּחַ to *go round, to encompass*.

and פָּרַר Is 24<sup>19 f.</sup>); in a few verbs also *Pālpel* (§ 55 f) is found, e. g. גָּלְגַל to roll, *Hithpalpel* הִתְגַּלְגַּל to roll oneself (from גָּלַל); imperative with suffix סִלְּלָהָ exalt her, Pr 4<sup>8</sup>; שִׁעֲשַׁע to comfort, to delight in; passive שִׁעֲשַׁע to be caressed (from שָׁעַע). These forms cannot appear in a biliteral form any more than *Pāḥel*, *Pu'at*, and *Hithpa'el*.—For תִּתְחַבֵּר 2 S 22<sup>27</sup> read, according to ψ 18<sup>27</sup>, תִּתְחַבֵּר.

## REMARKS.

## I. On Qal.

1. In the perfect, isolated examples are found with *ō* in the first syllable, *m* which it is customary to refer to triliteral stems with middle *ō* (like יָבַל § 43 a); viz. רָמוּ they are exalted, Jb 24<sup>24</sup> to רָמוּ they shot, Gn 49<sup>23</sup> to רָבּוּ; Is 1<sup>6</sup> to נָרַר. But this explanation is very doubtful: נָרַר especially is rather to be classed among the passives of Qal mentioned in § 52 c.

2. Imperfects Qal with *ō* in the second syllable keep the original *a* in the *n* preformative, but lengthen it to *ā*, as being in an open syllable, hence יָרַח, יָמַר, יָעַז, יָרַן, יָרַע (trans. he breaks in pieces, but יָרַע intrans. = he is evil); imperfects with *ā* have, in the preformative, an *ē*, lengthened from *ī*. See the examples below, under *p*, § 63 c and *e*, § 72 h, and specially Barth in ZDMG. 1894, p. 5 f.

The *Hölēm* of the infinitive, imperative, and imperfect (יָכַב, יָכַב) is only tone-long, and therefore, as a rule, is written defectively (with a few exceptions, chiefly in the later orthography, e. g. צֹר bind up, Is 8<sup>16</sup>; גֹּל ψ 37<sup>5</sup>; דֹּחַ ver. 7; לָבֹז to plunder, Est 3<sup>18</sup>, 8<sup>11</sup>). When this *ō* loses the tone, it becomes in the final syllable *ō*, in a sharpened syllable *ū*, or not infrequently even *ü* (see above, *h*). Examples of *ō* are: (a) in a toneless final syllable, i. e. before *Maggeph* or in the imperfect consecutive, רָנָה (rūn) to rejoice, Jb 38<sup>7</sup>; וַיִּקְבֹּ Ju 11<sup>18</sup> (once even with *ū* in a toneless final syllable, וַיִּקְבֹּ Ex 16<sup>20</sup>); on the other hand, in the plur. fem. וַיִּסְבְּנוּ; וַיִּתְחַבְּנוּ; (b) before a tone-bearing affirmative or suffix, e. g. imperative 2nd sing. fem. רָפִי, רָפִי (cf. *f*); וַיִּתְחַבְּנִי pity me; סִלְּלָהָ Jer 50<sup>26</sup>; וַיִּשְׂדֶּם Pr 11<sup>8</sup> Qere; וַיִּתְחַבְּנוּ Ex 12<sup>14</sup> (for the defective writing, cf. וַיִּסְבְּנוּ Jb 40<sup>22</sup>). In וַיִּתְחַבְּנוּ Gn 43<sup>20</sup>, Is 30<sup>19</sup> (for וַיִּתְחַבְּנוּ) this *ō* is thrown back to the preformative.

On the 2nd plur. fem. imperat. עֲרִי make yourselves naked Is 32<sup>11</sup>, cf. the *O* analogous forms in § 48 i.—Quite abnormal is the infinitive absolute עֲרֵה Is 24<sup>19</sup> (as *h* follows, probably only a case of dittography for רָעַע, cf. קָב Nu 23<sup>25</sup> and שָׁל Ru 2<sup>20</sup>); so also are the imperatives קָבְהָ לִי Nu 22<sup>11, 17</sup>, and אֲרֵהָ 22<sup>6</sup>, 23<sup>7</sup>, with *h* paragogic. We should expect קָבְהָ, אֲרֵהָ. If these forms are to be read *qōballi*, 'ārallī, they would be analogous to such cases as כִּרְבֵּרָה (§ 90 i), the addition of the paragogic הָ causing no change in the form of the word ('קָב like 'רָן above). If, however, as Jewish tradition requires, they are to be read *qāballi*, 'ārallī, then in both cases the *Qames* must be explained, with



Stade, as the equivalent of *ā* (קָבַח-לִי, &c.; cf. § 9 v). Still more surprising is קָבַח *curse him*, Nu 23<sup>18</sup>, for קָבַח or קָבַח.<sup>1</sup>

*p* 3. Examples with *Pathah* in the infinitive, imperative, and imperfect are פָּר (in לָבְרָם *to prove them*, Ec 3<sup>18</sup>); רָד Is 45<sup>1</sup>; שָׁךְ Jer 5<sup>26</sup>; בָּשָׁעָם *in their error*, Gn 6<sup>8</sup> (so ed. Mant., but there is also good authority for בָּשָׁעָם, from .שָׁ = שָׁ = אָשָׁר and בָּם *also*; so Baer and Ginsburg). Also לָל *take away*, ψ 119<sup>22</sup>; and the imperfects יָחַם *it is hot*, Dt 19<sup>6</sup>, &c. (on the *ā* of the preformative cf. *n*); יָמַר *it is bitter*, Is 24<sup>9</sup>; יָצַר *it is straitened*; יָרַךְ *it is soft*, Is 7<sup>4</sup>; תֵּשֵׁם *it is desolate*, Ez 12<sup>19</sup> (in pause תֵּשֵׁם Gn 47<sup>19</sup>); וַתִּקַּל *she was despised*, Gn 16<sup>4</sup> (but elsewhere in the *impf. consec.* with the tone on the penultima, e.g. וַיִּצָּר Gn 32<sup>8</sup>, &c.; וַיָּרַע Gn 21<sup>11</sup>, &c., cf. Ez 19<sup>7</sup>); in the 1st sing. imperfect אֵיתָם<sup>2</sup> ψ 19<sup>14</sup>, abnormally written fully for אֵיתָם, unless אֵיתָם is to be read, as in some MSS., on the analogy of the 3rd sing. יָהֵם.—In the *impf. Qal* of שָׁלַל the reading of Hb 2<sup>8</sup> varies between יִשְׁלֹךְ (Baer, Ginsb.) and יִשְׁלָךְ (ed. Mant., Jabl.).—The following forms are to be explained with Barth (*ZDMG.* xlii. p. 178) as imperfects Qal with original *i* in the second syllable, there being no instances of their Hiph'il in the same sense: וַיִּגַּל Gn 29<sup>10</sup>; וַיִּנָּח Is 31<sup>6</sup>, &c.; וַיִּסַּךְ Ez 4c<sup>21</sup>, ψ 91<sup>4</sup>, &c.; perhaps also וַיִּסְכֶּנָה 1 S 3<sup>11</sup> and וַיִּהַל 1 S 31<sup>23</sup>, &c.; in accordance with this last form, (בָּ)הִלּוּ Jb 29<sup>3</sup> would also be an infinitive Qal, not Hiph'il (for בָּהִלּוּ), as formerly explained below, under *w*. Finally the very peculiar form וַתִּרְצַן Ju 9<sup>58</sup> may probably be added to the list.

*q* Imperfects, with an original *u* in the second syllable, are also found with this *u* lengthened to *ū* (instead of *o*), e.g. וַיִּרְצַן, if the text is correct, in Pr 29<sup>6</sup>; וַיִּשְׁוֹר ψ 91<sup>6</sup> (unless it be simply an imperfect from וַיִּשְׁוֹר *to be powerful, to prevail*); וַיִּרְצַן (if from וַיִּרְצַן Is 42<sup>4</sup>, &c. (also defectively וַיִּרְצַן ψ 18<sup>30</sup>; but in Ez 12<sup>6</sup>, according to Baer, וַיִּתְרַצַּח; וַיִּתְרַצַּח Ez 24<sup>11</sup> (on the sharpening of the *n* cf. *g* above).<sup>3</sup>

*r* A similar analogy with verbs ע"י is seen in the infinitives לָבֹר (for בָּר) Ec 9<sup>1</sup>; בָּחַקוּ Pr 8<sup>27</sup> (cf. בָּחַקוּ Pr 8<sup>29</sup>) for בָּחַקוּ, and in the imperfect אֵמַשֵּׁךְ (Gn 27<sup>21</sup>). (The forms חָנַת in ψ 77<sup>16</sup>, שָׁפֹת Ez 36<sup>3</sup>, חָלֹתִי ψ 77<sup>11</sup>, formerly treated here as infinitives from ע"י stems, are rather to be referred to ל"ה stems, with Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen*, Lpz. 1902, p. 21.) On other similar cases, see below, under *ee*. For examples of the aramaizing imperfect, see above, *g*.

*s* 4. In the *participle*, the aramaizing form שִׁסְפָּרָה for שִׁסְפָּרָה occurs in K<sup>thibh</sup>, Jer 30<sup>16</sup> (the *Q<sup>re</sup>* indicates a *participle* from שִׁסַּח); רָעָה Pr 25<sup>19</sup> appears to be a contraction from רָעָעָה, *part. fem.* = *breaking in pieces*.

<sup>1</sup> For נָ as suffix of the 3rd person a parallel might be found in יִשְׁנֹנָה, § 100 o, and probably also in the *Nām* of the Phœnician suffix נָם: cf. Barth, *ZDMG.* xli. p. 643, and the note on § 100 o.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Ez 6<sup>6</sup>, instead of וַיִּשְׁמְנֶה, which could only come from יִשַּׁם, וַיִּשְׁמֵן is intended, and וַיִּשְׁמֵן in the same verse is probably only an error for וַיִּשְׁמֵן.

<sup>3</sup> According to Stade, *Grammatik*, § 95, Rem., the pronunciation with *ū*, since it also appears in Neo-Punic [and in Western Syriac, see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*; § 48], was that of everyday life.

II. On *Niph'al*.

5. Besides the ordinary form of the *perfect* נָסַב with *Pathah* (in *pause* נָסַב) and the *participle* נָסַב with *Qames* in the second syllable, there is also another with *Sere*, and a third with *Holem*, e.g. *perfect* נָסַם *it melts*, Ez 21<sup>12</sup>, 22<sup>15</sup>; נָסַפָּה (for נָסַפָּה) Ez 26<sup>2</sup>; *part.* נָסַם *mollen*, 1 S 15<sup>9</sup>, Na 2<sup>11</sup>; נָסַל *it is a light thing*, 2 K 20<sup>10</sup>, Is 49<sup>6</sup> (*perf.* נָסַל); with *ō*, e.g. נָסַלָּהּ *they are rolled together*, Is 34<sup>4</sup>; cf. 63<sup>19</sup>, 64<sup>2</sup>, Am 3<sup>11</sup>, Na 1<sup>12</sup>, Ec 12<sup>6b</sup>. In the *imperfect* with *ō* in the second syllable, on the analogy of verbs נָעַץ (from which König would also explain the *perfects* with *ō*), we find תִּרְדָּפוּ *thou shalt be brought to silence*, Jer 48<sup>2</sup> (unless this form should be referred to *Qal* with Qimhi, Olshausen, König); יִרְוַע *he suffers hurt*, Pr 11<sup>15</sup>, 13<sup>20</sup>; תִּרְוִיץ (for *tirvōs*) Ez 29<sup>7</sup>; with *ē* in the second syllable הִתְחַלָּה *she profanes herself*, Lv 21<sup>9</sup>, but הִתְחַלָּה Ez 22<sup>26</sup>, and יִחַל Is 48<sup>11</sup>, יִחַח Is 7<sup>8</sup>, &c. For *infinitives*, cf. הָפִים *to melt*, ψ 68<sup>3</sup> (as *inf. constr.*; 2 S 17<sup>10</sup> as *inf. absol.*); again, with compensatory lengthening in the first syllable, הִחַל Ez 20<sup>9</sup>, 14<sup>22</sup>, but with suffix הִחִילוּ Lv 21<sup>4</sup>; also הִבִּיזוּ *to be plundered*, and הִבֹּק *to be emptied*, Is 24<sup>3</sup>; in the *imperative*, only הִפְּרוּ *be ye clean*, Is 52<sup>11</sup>. On הִרְמוּ *get you up*, Nu 17<sup>10</sup>, and the corresponding *imperf.* יִרְמוּ Ez 10<sup>17</sup>, &c., cf. 72 *ad.*

Examples of the *perfect Niph'al* with sharpening of the initial syllable are, 26  
נָחַל *it is profaned*, Ez 22<sup>16</sup>, 25<sup>3</sup> (from נָחַל); נָחַר (from נָחַר) ψ 69<sup>4</sup>, 102<sup>4</sup> (also נָחַר Jer 6<sup>29</sup>); נָחַת *fractus est* (from נָחַת) Mal 2<sup>5</sup>; cf. with this in the *participle*, נָחִימִים (for *niphāimim*) Is 57<sup>5</sup>, and נָאָרִים Mal 3<sup>9</sup>: in the *imperative* and *infinitive Niph'al* such a virtual strengthening of the guttural after preformatives never occurs.—The occurrence of *u* instead of *ō* as a separating vowel in the *perfect* נִשְׁדָּנָה Mic 2<sup>4</sup> is abnormal.

III. On *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*.

6. The second syllable in *Hiph'il* sometimes has *Pathah* instead of *Sere*, especially under the influence of ר and the gutturals, e.g. *perfect* הִמָּר *he made bitter*, הִשָּׂה *he bowed*, הִפָּר *he hath broken*, Gn 17<sup>14</sup>, in *pause*, cf. § 29 *q*; otherwise הִפָּר, *plur.* הִפְּרוּ Is 24<sup>5</sup>. In הִפִּיר ψ 33<sup>10</sup>, Ez 17<sup>19</sup>, cf. ψ 89<sup>4</sup>, and in הִשִּׁיר Ho 8<sup>4</sup> (perhaps also in הִיִּיתָ Hab 2<sup>17</sup>, but cf. § 20 *n*) there is an assimilation to the corresponding forms of verbs ע"ו, see *z*. Also הִפָּר Dt 28<sup>32</sup>, הִתָּו (in *pause*) Is 18<sup>5</sup>; *inf.* לְהִפָּר *to cleanse*, Jer 4<sup>11</sup>, in *pause*. But also with other consonants, e.g. הִרָק 2 K 23<sup>15</sup>, הִקָּל Is 8<sup>33</sup>; הִרָק Jb 23<sup>16</sup>; *plur.* הִסְבִּי 1 S 5<sup>9,10</sup> (and so usually in the 3rd *plur. perf.*, except before ר and gutturals, e.g. הִרְעִי (הִרְעִי); *imper.* הִשָּׂע *besmear*, Is 6<sup>10</sup>; *plur.* הִשְׁמוּ *be astonished*, Jb 21<sup>5</sup>; *imperfect* תִּרְעַע *Thou dost afflict*; *part.* מִצָּל (on *ē* in the first syllable, see under *i*) *shadowing*, Ez 31<sup>3</sup> (but מִסִּיף Ju 3<sup>24</sup> is assimilated to the form of verbs ע"ו, unless, with Moore, we simply read מִסִּיף, or, with incorrect spelling, מִסִּיף. So in the *imperative* הִמְיִשְׁנִי Ju 16<sup>26</sup> *Qere*, and in the *infinitive* הִתְחַמֵּק Is 33<sup>1</sup>).

The *ē* of the second syllable, when without the tone, may become *ē*, e.g. הִתָּל Gn 31<sup>7</sup> (see also *x*). It is unusual (cf. § 53 *k*) to find the *ē* written fully as in the *infinitive* לְהִפָּר Ze 11<sup>10</sup>. Instead of *Hafeph-Pathah* a *Hafeph-*

*S'ghol* is found under the preformative in הִקְלִיטִי 2 S 19<sup>14</sup>, and a *Pathah* occurs before ה (with a virtual sharpening of the ה) in such forms as הִקְלִיטִי Is 9<sup>8</sup>; cf. Gn 11<sup>6</sup>, Dt 2<sup>31</sup>, 3<sup>24</sup>, 1 S 22<sup>15</sup>, Est 6<sup>13</sup>—in all these cases before ה.—On בִּהְלֵלִי Jb 29<sup>3</sup>, see above, p: on יְהִיחֲתִי Jer 49<sup>37</sup>, see below, *dd*.

*α* 7. In the *imperfect consecutive* of verbs whose second radical is a guttural, *ā* is retained (§ 22 *d*) in the second syllable instead of *ē*, e.g. יִרְעֶי 1 K 16<sup>25</sup>; so also with ר, as יִרְעֶי 2 Ch 28<sup>20</sup>, Dt 2<sup>9</sup>—but cf. also יִרְפֶּי Neh 4<sup>9</sup>.

*β* 8. Aramaizing forms (but cf. Rem. to § 67 *g*) in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* are, יִפְכֵּב Ex 13<sup>18</sup>, &c.; cf. Ju. 18<sup>23</sup>; אֶל-תִּפְכֵּב Ex 23<sup>21</sup>, but read אֶל-תִּפְכֵּב from מָרָה: יִפְחִי Dt 1<sup>44</sup> (cf. Nu 14<sup>45</sup>), but יִפְחִי Ju 18<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>8</sup>, 2 Ch 29<sup>6</sup>; אֶחָל *profundabo*, Ez 39<sup>7</sup>; תִּתֵּם Jb 22<sup>3</sup>; without elision of the ה (cf. § 53 *q*), יִתְחַלֵּל 1 K 18<sup>27</sup>, but Jer 9<sup>4</sup> יִתְחַלֵּל, Jb 13<sup>3</sup> תִּתְחַלֵּל; with *i* in the second syllable יִשִּׁים Jer 49<sup>20</sup>, 50<sup>46</sup>; cf. וְשִׁים Nu 21<sup>30</sup>; in the *perfect* הוֹלִיחָה La 1<sup>8</sup>. In *Hoph'al*, הוֹפְכִי they are brought low, Jb 24<sup>21</sup>; יִפְחֵה he is smitten, Is 24<sup>12</sup> (*plur.* יִפְחֵי Jer 46<sup>5</sup>, Mi 1<sup>7</sup>); in *pause*, יִפְחֵי Jb 15<sup>23</sup>, but also יִפְחֵי Jb 4<sup>20</sup> (so Baer, Ginsb., but ed. Mant., Jabl. יִפְחֵי); with *ō* in the initial syllable, הִשְׁפִּיחָה (*infinitive with suffix* = הִשְׁפִּיחָה, cf. § 91 *e*) Lv 26<sup>34</sup>, cf. 2 Ch 36<sup>21</sup>; בִּהְיִפְחָה, with irregular syncope for בִּהְיִפְחָה, Lv 26<sup>43</sup>.

#### IV. In General.

*γ* 9. Verbs ע"ע are most closely related as regards inflexion to verbs ע"י (§ 72). The form of verbs ע"ע is generally the shorter (cf. e.g. יָכַב and יָקַם, יָקַם and יָקַם); in a few cases, however, the two classes exactly coincide, e.g. in the *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'il* with *wāw* consecutive, in *Hoph'al* and in the less common conjugations (see above, *i*).

*aa* 10. The developed forms (with three radicals), as mentioned in *a*, are especially frequent in the 3rd *sing. masc.* and *fem.*, and the 3rd *plur. perf. Qal* (i.e. in forms without an affirmative or with an affirmative beginning with a vowel) of transitive verbs, or verbs, at any rate, expressing action, e.g. סָבַב, שָׁדַי, סָבְבוּ, סָבְבוּ, as well as סָבְבוּ, as well as the uncontracted form, is found, e.g. סָבְבוּ to plunder, *plur.* בָּוּוּ; in other parts, only בָּוּוּ Dt 2<sup>35</sup>, as well as בָּוּוּ Dt 3<sup>7</sup>, וְסָבְבוּ Ze 8<sup>14,15</sup> and וְסָבְבוּ Jer 4<sup>28</sup>. Other examples of biliteral forms in 2nd *sing. masc.* are Dt 25<sup>12</sup>, Pr 30<sup>32</sup>; in 1st *sing.*, Jos 5<sup>9</sup>. Apart from Qal the only example of a developed form is יִתְחַתֵּי Jer 49<sup>37</sup>.

*bb* On the other hand, the biliteral forms are the more common in the 3rd *sing.* and *plur.* of perfects which are *intransitive*, and express a state; cf. דָּק Dt 9<sup>21</sup> (Ex 32<sup>20</sup> דָּק; elsewhere always a transitive verb); חָת, *fem.* חָתָה; מָר, *fem.* מָרָה (for *marrā*); צָר, *fem.* צָרָה (cf. חָרָה Ez 24<sup>11</sup>); בָּךְ, *fem.* שָׁחָה, *fem.* שָׁחָה, &c.; *plur.* חָמוּ, חָמוּ, &c. (but on the tone, cf. *cc* below). Exception, עָשָׂה ψ 6<sup>8</sup>.

*cc* The intransitive but developed perfects הִלָּל (also הִלָּל), נָדָה, חָלָל (also נָדָה, נָדָה), נָדָה, נָדָה, נָדָה (also נָדָה, נָדָה), almost all have, as Mayer Lambert observes, at least an active, not a stative meaning. Triliteral forms of the *infinitive* after ה are לְסָבֵב Nu 21<sup>4</sup>; לְשָׁדוֹר Jer 47<sup>4</sup>; לָנוֹחַ Gn 31<sup>19</sup> (also לָנוֹחַ Gn 38<sup>18</sup>); cf. also לְחַמֵּם Is 47<sup>14</sup>, in subordinate *pause*, for לְחַמֵּם; with *suffix* לְחַנְנֵכֶם Is 30<sup>18</sup>, and, from the same

form *חָנַן*, with retraction and modification of the vowel, *לְחַנֵּן* *ψ* 102<sup>14</sup>; also *שָׁחַן* Is 60<sup>14</sup>, *בָּחַן* 1 S 25<sup>2</sup>, *בָּמַח* Is 10<sup>13</sup>, *בָּעַח* Pr 8<sup>23</sup>, *בָּעָרַר* Pr 26<sup>2</sup>.—*Imperative* *שָׁדַר* Jer 49<sup>28</sup> (cf. § 20 *b*, and *ibid.* also on *חָנַנִי* *ψ* 9<sup>14</sup>); in the *imperfect*, *יָדַר* Na 3<sup>7</sup> (*ψ* 68<sup>13</sup>; cf. Gn 31<sup>40</sup>) from *דָּרַר*; the strong form here, after the assimilation of the *Nūn*, was unavoidable. On the other hand, *יִשְׁדָּרֵם* Jer 5<sup>6</sup> is anomalous for *יִשְׁדָּרֵם* (Pr 11<sup>3</sup> *Q<sup>re</sup>*; the eastern school read the *Po'el* *יִשְׁדָּרֵם* in the *K'ithāh*); the strengthening of the second radical has been afterwards resolved by the insertion of a vocal *S'ewa*. Cf. also *יָחַן* Am 5<sup>15</sup> (elsewhere *יָחַן*). In *Niph'al*, the trilateral form *יָלַב* is found, Jb 11<sup>12</sup>; in *Hiph'il*, all the forms of *רָנַן*, thus *imperative* *הִרְנִינִי*, *imperfect* *תִּרְנִן*, *infinitive* *הִשְׁמִיחַ* Mi 6<sup>13</sup>; *participle* *מִשְׁמִיחִים* Ez 3<sup>15</sup>. That the developed (trilateral) forms possess a certain emphasis is seen from their frequent use in *pause*, as in *ψ* 118<sup>11</sup> after a biliteral form *גַּם-סִבְכָּבוֹנִי*.

11. The above-mentioned (see *g*) neglect of the strengthening in aramaizing forms, such as *יָדְכוּ* and the like, occurs elsewhere tolerably often; in the *perfect* *Qal* *תָּפְחוּ* Nu 17<sup>28</sup> (Jer 44<sup>18</sup>; cf. above, *e*); *imperfect* *נָבְחָה* 1 S 14<sup>36</sup> (*ה*-parag. without any influence on the form, cf. *o*); even with the firm vowel reduced to vocal *S'ewa*, *נָבְלָה* Gn 11<sup>7</sup> for *נָבְלָהָ* (cohortative from *בָּלַל*); *יָזְמוּ* *יָזְמוּ* *ibid.* ver. 6, *they purpose*; following the analogy of verbs *עָוָה* *אָמַשְׁדָּה* (see above, *r*); from *intransitive imperfects* *Qal*, *הִצְרִי* Is 49<sup>19</sup> (*plur. masc.* Jb 18<sup>7</sup>); *יָרַעַ* Neh 2<sup>3</sup>; also *הִישְׁמַחָה* Ez 6<sup>6</sup> (for which read *נִסְבָּה* *תִּשְׁ'תִּשְׁ'תִּשְׁ'*) might be explained in the same way.—*Perfect Niph'al* *נָסְבָה* for *נָסְבָהָ* Ez 41<sup>7</sup>; *נָלַי* Ju 5<sup>5</sup> for *נָלַיָה*; *נָמְלָתָם* for *נָמְלָתָם* Gn 17<sup>11</sup> (as if from *מָלַל* not *מָלַל* to *circumcise*), cf. Is 19<sup>3</sup>, Jor 8<sup>14</sup>; *imperfect* *הִפְקָנָה* Ze 14<sup>12</sup>; *participle* *נָפְצָה*, cf. *u*. So also *נָפַץ* 1 S 13<sup>11</sup>, *נָפְצָה* Gn 9<sup>10</sup> (cf. Is 33<sup>3</sup>), are *perfects Niph'al* from *פָּצַץ* (= *פָּצַץ*), not *Qal* from *נָפַץ*.—In *Hiph'il* *הִתְלַחַתְתָּ* (for *הִתְלַחַתְתָּ*) Ju 16<sup>10</sup> (2 S 15<sup>34</sup>); *הִעָנָה* for *הִעָנָה* Pr 7<sup>13</sup> (cf. Ot 6<sup>11</sup>, 7<sup>13</sup>).

No less irregular is the suppression of the vowel of the stem-syllable in *לְהַפְרִיכֵם* Lv 26<sup>16</sup>.—On the *perfect* *דָּלִי* Pr 26<sup>7</sup>, cf. § 75 *u*.

12. Cases in which the tone is thrown forward on the affirmatives (see *cc* *k*) are (*a*) in the *perfect*, the 1st *sing.* regularly (but cf. *וְהִצְרִי* Jer 10<sup>18</sup> before *לָהֶם*) after 1 *consec.*, Ex 33<sup>19,22</sup>, 2 K 19<sup>34</sup>, &c., also Is 44<sup>16</sup> (*וְהִפְחִי* before *ר*); *ψ* 92<sup>11</sup> (but the text is certainly corrupt; see the *Lexicon*), 116<sup>6</sup>, perhaps also Jb 19<sup>17</sup>, *וְהִזְחִי* (though in this passage, and in *ψ* 17<sup>8</sup>, the form might be an *infinitive* in *ōh*; see Delitzsch on Jb 19<sup>17</sup>); in the 2nd *sing.* *וְקַצְחָה* (before *א*) Dt 25<sup>12</sup>; in the 3rd *plural*, *רָבּוּ* *multi sunt*, *ψ* 3<sup>2</sup>, 104<sup>24</sup>, Jer 5<sup>6</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>10</sup>; *רָבּוּ* *they are soft*, *ψ* 55<sup>22</sup> *רָבּוּ* *they are swift*, Jer 4<sup>13</sup>, Hb 1<sup>8</sup>; *וְנָפּוּ* *they are pure*, Jb 15<sup>15</sup>, 25<sup>5</sup>, La 4<sup>7</sup>; *שָׁחִי* *they did bow*, Hb 3<sup>6</sup>; *חָרּוּ* *they are burned*, Is 24<sup>6</sup>. A by-form of *שָׁחִי* (*ע"ו*, cf. § 72 *dd*) is *שָׁחִי* *ψ* 49<sup>15</sup>, 73<sup>9</sup>.

(*b*) In the *imperative* (a command in an emphatic tone) *רָנִי* *sing.*, Is 54<sup>1</sup>, *ff* *Zp* 14<sup>4</sup>, *Zc* 24<sup>4</sup>; *רָנִי* Is 44<sup>23</sup>, 49<sup>13</sup>, Jer 31<sup>7</sup> (but *רָנִי* *lament*, La 2<sup>10</sup>), *רָנִי* *keep (thy feasts)*, Na 2<sup>1</sup>, Jer 7<sup>29</sup>; *עָנִי* (= *עָנִי*) before *א*, *ψ* 68<sup>29</sup>. On the retention of the short vowels *ū* (*ū*) and *i* before *Dages forte*, in place of the tone-long *ō* and *ē*, see above, *k*; on the change of the vowel of the preformative into *S'ewa*, when it no longer stands before the tone, see *g*.

THE WEAKEST VERBS (*Verba Quiescentia*).

## § 68. Verbs א"ב e.g. אכל to eat.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 140 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 589 ff.

- a So far as א retains its full consonantal value as a guttural, these verbs share all the peculiarities of verbs *primae gutturalis*, mentioned in § 63. They are, however, to be treated as *weak* verbs, when the א loses its value as a consonant, and coalesces with the preceding vowel (originally short) to form one long syllable. This takes place only in the following very common verbs and forms, as if through phonetic decay:—
- b 1. In the *imperfect Qal*, five verbs (viz. אבד to *perish*, אבה to *be willing*, אכל to *eat*, אמר to *say*, אפה to *bake*) regularly make the א quiesce in a long *ō*, e.g. יאכל.<sup>1</sup> In a few others the ordinary (strong) form is also in use, as יאחז (18 times) and יאחז (3 times) *he takes hold*; יסף (see h), also יסף, *he collects*. This *ō* has primarily arisen from an obscuring of *ā* (§ 9 g), and the *ā* from אֲ, the weak consonant א coalescing with *ā* to *ā*; cf. § 23 a.
- c In the second syllable *ō* (for original *ā*) never appears, but either *ā* or *ā*; and in *pause* almost always *ā*, even before the tone-bearing *heavy* affirmative ון, e.g. יאכלו Dt 18<sup>1</sup>, without the pause יאכלו Dt 4<sup>20</sup>. In the 3rd *sing. masc.* and 1st *sing.* of אמר, however, *ā* is always retained in *pause*, יאמר and יאמר; but in the 2nd *masc.* תאמר 1 K 5<sup>20</sup>, in the 3rd *fem.* תאמר Pr 1<sup>21</sup>; in the *plural* יאמרו Jer 5<sup>2</sup>, ψ 145<sup>11</sup>, תאמרו Jer 23<sup>28</sup>, with *S<sup>g</sup>golta*; cf. also תאכל 1 S 17, &c. But with conjunctive accents in the body of the sentence, *ā* (as being a lighter vowel) is used, e.g. תאמר לך ψ 9<sup>19</sup>, but in *pause* תאמר ψ 1<sup>6</sup>; cf. a similar interchange of *ā* and *ā* in § 65 c. The 3rd *fem. plur. impf.* always has the form תאכלנה Ze 11<sup>9</sup>.
- d When the tone moves back, the final syllable of the *imperfects* of אבד and אכל, with a conjunctive accent, also always takes *Pathah*, e.g. יאבד יום Job 3<sup>3</sup>, יאכל and *he did eat*; in אמר the loss of the tone from the final syllable only occurs in the form with *wāw* consecutive

<sup>1</sup> So in the modern vulgar Arabic of South Palestine, *ya'kul* (*he eats*) becomes *yōkul*.

<sup>2</sup> On this *ā* (originally *i*) as a dissimilation from *ō* (originally *ū*), cf. § 27 w, and F. Philippi, in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, xiv. 178. The latter rightly observes that the existence of an original *u* in the *imperfect* of אכל is indicated by the form of the *imperative* אכל, the Arabic *ya'kul* and the Aramaic יאכל, as well as by the fact that יאחז and יסף are found along with יאחז and יסף.

(but never in the 1st *sing.* וַאֲמַר; cf. וַיֹּאבֵל), and then the final syllable, if without the *pause*, always takes *Se'ghôl*, וַיֹּאמֶר and he said (except לוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר Pr 7<sup>13</sup>).

In *pause*, however, the *imperfect consecutive* (except the 1st pers. of עָבַל, see below) always has the form וַיֹּאבֵל (but *plur.* always וַיֹּאבְלוּ, וַיֹּאמְרוּ, וַיֹּאבְלוּ; except וַיֹּאמֶר in the poetic portion of the book of Job, as 3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, &c., but not in 32<sup>5</sup>, in the middle of the verse. The weak *imperfect* of עָבַל is always יֹאבֵל and יֹאבְלוּ, but in the 1st *sing.*, according to § 49 e, וַיֹּאבֵל Ju 20<sup>6</sup>; cf. וַיֹּאבֵל Gn. 3<sup>12,13</sup> in *pause*.—אָבַה and אָבַה are, at the same time, verbs נ"ל, hence *imperfect* יֹאבֵה (§ 75 c).

Before *light* suffixes the vowel of the second syllable becomes vocal Š<sup>w</sup>a, as וַיֹּאבְלוּ, but וַיֹּאבְלוּ. —In a few cases, instead of the *ô* in the first syllable an *ê* is found, which is due to contraction from the group  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  (or  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ ) in place of  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ ; e.g. וַיֹּאבְלוּ it shall come, Mi 4<sup>3</sup>, from וַיֹּאבְלוּ (from וַיֹּאבְלוּ); אָהַב (for אָהַב) I love, Pr 8<sup>17</sup>, also (four times) אָהַב Mal 1<sup>2</sup>, &c., with suffixes וַיֹּאבְלוּ Ho 11<sup>1</sup>, 14<sup>5</sup>, &c. (but only in 1st *sing.*, otherwise אָהַב, &c., from אָהַב, אָהַב); וַיֹּאבְלוּ and I stayed, Gn 32<sup>5</sup>. The *infinitive construct* of וַיֹּאבְלוּ with ל is always לֹאמֶר *dicendo*, for לֹאמֶר. —According to Barth (ZDMG. 1889, p. 179) וַיֹּאבְלוּ Nu 11<sup>25</sup> is to be regarded as an *imperfect Qal*, without the obscuring of נ"א to *ô*, not as *imperfect Hiph'il*, since וַיֹּאבְלוּ elsewhere occurs only in the *perfect Qal* and *Niph'al*; on the original *i* in the second syllable, see above, § 67 p. For וַיֹּאבְלוּ Jb 20<sup>20</sup> we should simply emend וַיֹּאבְלוּ; the view that it is *imperfect Pûl* (which nowhere else occurs) can, as regards the change of *ô* to *ô*, be supported only by the very doubtful analogies of  $\psi$  62<sup>4</sup> (see § 52 g) and  $\psi$  101<sup>6</sup> *Qere* (see § 55 b), while the view that it is *Pûl* ('הָאֵב' = 'הָאֵב' = 'הָאֵב') rests on no analogy whatever. It would be more admissible to suppose that 'הָאֵב' stands for 'הָאֵב', *Pu'al* (cf. וַיֹּאבְלוּ for וַיֹּאבְלוּ, § 27 g); but no reason has been discovered for this departure from the natural punctuation 'הָאֵב'.

2. In the 1st *pers. sing. imperfect*, where two נ's would ordinarily come together, the second (which is radical) is regularly dropped (§ 23 f), as וַיֹּאמֶר<sup>1</sup> (for וַיֹּאמֶר), &c., and even *plene* וַיֹּאמֶר Neh 2<sup>7</sup>, &c., וַיֹּאמֶר  $\psi$  42<sup>10</sup>. In the other cases, also, where the נ is ordinarily regarded as *quiescing* in *ô* or *ê*, it is only retained orthographically, and on etymological grounds. Hence the possibility of its being dropped in the following cases:—

Always in the contracted forms of וַיֹּאבְלוּ, as וַיֹּאבְלוּ for וַיֹּאבְלוּ  $\psi$  104<sup>20</sup>; וַיֹּאבְלוּ<sup>2</sup> 2 S 6<sup>1</sup> (but for וַיֹּאבְלוּ Jb 27<sup>19</sup> read וַיֹּאבְלוּ = יֹאבְלוּ with the LXX); cf. also in

<sup>1</sup> The regularity of this orthography indicates that the contraction of נ"א to *â* in this 1st pers. occurred at a time when in the 3rd and 2nd persons the נ was still audible as a consonant (which accordingly was almost always retained in writing). Noldeke (ZDMG. xxxii. 593) infers this from the fact that also in Arabic the 3rd and 2nd persons are still written *yâ'kûlû*, *û'kûlû*, but the 1st pers. *'âkûlû*, not *'â'kûlû*.



the 1st pers. Mi 4<sup>6</sup> and אֶסְכֶּךָ 1 S 15<sup>6</sup>, which is apparently (from the *Metheg* with the *i*), intended for an *imperfect Hiph'il*; instead of it, however, read, with the Mantua edition, אֶסְכֶּךָ (with *i*, according to § 60 f). But הֶאֱסַפְנִי Ex 5<sup>7</sup> (for הָאֶסַף, 1 S 18<sup>29</sup> (for הָאֶסַף), and יֵאָסֶה Jb 27<sup>19</sup> (see above) are due to a mistake, since all three forms must be derived from the stem יִסַּף. Furthermore, יִסְכֶּךָ ψ 135<sup>20</sup> (where certainly 'יִסַּר is to be read); אֶסְכֶּךָ Pr 1<sup>10</sup> (cf. § 75 *hh*); וַתֵּסֶרְךָ 1 S 25<sup>24</sup>; וַיִּסְכֶּךָ Ex 42<sup>5</sup>; וַתֵּסֶרְךָ 2 S 19<sup>14</sup>; וַתֵּסֶרְךָ 2 S 20<sup>9</sup>; וַתֵּסֶרְךָ thou gaddest about (from אָסַף, Jer 2<sup>38</sup>; וַתֵּסֶרְךָ Dt 33<sup>21</sup> (for וַתֵּסֶרְךָ, according to other readings (on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 75 *p*), וַתֵּסֶרְךָ or וַתֵּסֶרְךָ.

Paradigm I shows the weak forms of the *imperfect Qal*, and merely indicates the other conjugations, which are regular.

i Rem. 1. In the derived conjugations only isolated weak forms occur: *Perfect Niphal* נִאֲדָוָה Nu 32<sup>30</sup>, Jos 21<sup>9</sup>; *Hiph.* וַיֵּאָצֵּל Nu 11<sup>25</sup> (but the statement in verse 17 is וַיֵּאָצֵּלְתִּי, therefore *Qal*); equally doubtful is the punctuation of וַיִּרְבַּ (for וַיִּרְבַּ?) and he laid wait, 1 S 15<sup>5</sup>, and אָזְנִי I listen, Jb 32<sup>11</sup> (on the analogy of verbs עָזַן); cf. also אֶחָבִיל (δ from *ā*) I give to eat, Hos 11<sup>4</sup>; אֶבְרִיחַ (δ from *ā*) I will destroy, Jer 46<sup>8</sup>; וַיִּהְיֶה 2 S 20<sup>5</sup> *Qrē* (for וַיִּהְיֶה); the *K'thibh* appears to require the *Pi'el* וַיִּיחַר, from יָחַר as a secondary form of אָחַר; but וַיִּיחַר = וַיִּאֲחַר for וַיִּאֲחַר as *imperfect Qal* is not impossible. On וַאֲזַצְרָה Neh 13<sup>13</sup>, cf. § 53 *n*.—*Infinitive* לְהַכִּיל Ez 21<sup>38</sup> (= לְהַאֲכִיל unless it is rather *inf.* *Hiph.* from כָּוִן); *Participle* מְכַוֵּן giveth ear, Pr 17<sup>4</sup> (clearly by false analogy of verbs עָזַן, for מְכַוֵּן); *Imperatives* הָבִי bring (from אָבָה) Jer 12<sup>9</sup>. (On the same form used for the *perfect* in Is 21<sup>14</sup>, cf. § 76 *d*.)

k 2. In the *Pi'el* the *N* is sometimes elided (like ה in יִקְטִיל, יִקְטִיל, thus מִלֵּךְ (as in Aramaic and Samaritan) teaching, for מִלֵּךְ Jb 35<sup>11</sup>; יָהֵל (if not a mere scribal error) for יִהְיֶה Is 13<sup>20</sup>; וַתִּגְדְּנִי thou hast girded me, 2 S 22<sup>40</sup>, for וַתִּגְדְּנִי, as ψ 18<sup>40</sup>; וַאֲבַדְךָ Ez 28<sup>16</sup>; cf. § 23 *c*.

### § 69. Verbs "ב. First Class, or Verbs originally י"ב, e.g. יָשַׁב to dwell.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 141 f.; *Grundriss*, p. 596 ff.

a Verbs which at present begin with *Yôdh* when without preformatives are divided into two classes according to their origin and consequent inflexion: (a) Verbs which (as still in Arabic and Ethiopic) originally began with *Wāw*, e.g. יָלַד to give birth to, Arab. and Eth. *wāladā*. In consequence of a phonetic change which prevails also with few exceptions in the noun, this *Wāw* in Hebrew and Aramaic always becomes a *Yôdh*, at least when it is the initial consonant; but after preformatives it either reappears, or is again changed into

*Yôdh*, or, lastly, is altogether elided; (b) Verbs which (as in Arabic) originally began with *Yôdh* (called *Verba cum Iod originario*, see § 70). A few verbs again (some with original *Yôdh*, and some with original *Wāw*) form a special class, which in certain forms assimilates the *Wāw* or *Yôdh* to the following consonant on the analogy of the *Nûn* in verbs ו"ב (see § 71).

With regard to verbs ו"ב (i. e. ו"ב with original *Wāw*) it is to be noticed that—

1. In the *imperfect*, *imperative* and *infinitive construct Qal* there is a twofold inflexion, according as the *Wāw* is wholly rejected or only changed into *Yôdh*. The complete rejection (or *elision*) takes place regularly in eight verbs (see h) in the following manner:

A. *Imperfect* יִשָּׁב, יִרַע with an unchangeable<sup>1</sup> *Sere* in the first syllable and original *z* in the second, which in the tone-syllable (according to § 27 c) becomes *ē* (thus יִלָּךְ, יִצָּא, יִלָּךְ, see x), or, under the influence of a guttural, with *ā* in the second (יִרָא, יִקָּע, יִחָר).

The tone-long *ē* of the second syllable is of course liable to be shortened or to become *Šwā*, e. g. יִשָּׁב, יִשָּׁב, &c.; in the same way *ā* becomes *Šwā* in such cases as יִדָּע, &c., but is lengthened to *Qames* in *pause* (יִדָּעַ) and before suffixes (יִדָּעַם).

B. *Imperative* שָׁב with *aphaeresis* of the *Wāw* and with tone-long *ē*, from *z*, as in the *imperfect*.

C. *Infinitive* שָׁבַת from original *šibh*, by addition of the feminine ending (ת) lengthened to a *segholate* form; as in verbs פָּחַן (cf. § 66 b) this lengthening affords a certain compensation for loss of the initial consonant.

Rem. Since the infinitives דָּעָה, לָלֶךְ (see below, m) point to a ground-form *dā'at*, *lūdat*, we must, with Philippi (ZDMG. xxxii. 42) and Barth (ibid. xli. 606), assign to שָׁבַת, &c., the ground-form *šibt* (which, therefore, reappears in שָׁבַתִּי, &c.); the apparent ground-form *šabt* rests upon the law that the *z* of the stem-syllable is changed into *a* whenever the syllable becomes doubly closed by the addition of the vowelless feminine ending.

<sup>1</sup> The *e* of the first syllable is really *ē*, not tone-long *ē*, since it is retained not merely before the tone, and in the counter-tone (e. g. יִדָּעַם Ho 14<sup>10</sup>), but also in יִדָּעַךְ Ex 33<sup>18, 17</sup>. It is no objection to this view that the *scriptio plena* of this *ē* occurs (with the exception of יִקָּר ψ 72<sup>14</sup>, elsewhere pointed יִקָּר) only in Mi 1<sup>8</sup> and Ez 35<sup>9</sup> K<sup>th</sup>.; in ψ 138<sup>8</sup> the Masora prefers to point יִדָּע. —Of the various explanations of the *ē* the most satisfactory is that of Philippi (ZDMG. xl. p. 653) that an original *yālid*, for example (see above), became *yūlid* by assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second; this then became *yēled* instead of *yēled*, in an attempt to raise the word again in this way (by writing *ē* instead of *ē*) to a triliteral form.

d In more than half the number of verbs ב"ו the original *Wāw* in the above-mentioned forms gives place to *Yōdh*, which, unless it suffers aphaeresis (see *f*), appears:—

in the *imperatives* יֵצֵא, יֵרָא and *infinitives* יֵצֵא, יֵרָא, as a strong consonant, but

in the *imperfect* יֵירָא, properly *yiyraš*, merges with the preceding *i* into *ā*.

In the second syllable *imperfects* of this form regularly have *ā*.

e (a) That the latter forms are derived from verbs with an original *Wāw* (not *Yōdh*) is shown partly by the inflexion of these verbs in *Niph'al*, *Hiph'il*, and *Hoph'al* (where the original *Wāw* reappears throughout), and partly by the Arabic, in which verbs ב"ו likewise exhibit a twofold formation; cf. *wāladū*, imperf. *yūlidu*, with elision of the *Wāw*, and *wajjilū*, *yawjalu*, with retention of the *Wāw*.

f (b) Sometimes both forms, the weaker and the stronger, occur in the same verb; cf. יָצַק 2 K 4<sup>41</sup> and יָצַק *pour*, Ez 24<sup>3</sup> (cf. יָצַק 1 K 18<sup>34</sup> and the *inf.* יָצַק Ex 38<sup>27</sup>); יָרָשׁ take possession, Dt 1<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>15</sup> (but cf. s), יָרָשׁ (in pause for יָרָשׁ) Dt 24<sup>31</sup>; plur. יָרָשׁוּ Dt 1<sup>3</sup>, 9<sup>23</sup>, but also, with הֶ— *paragogic*, יָרָשׁוּ Dt 32<sup>22</sup>. In the *imperfect* יֵירָשׁ Dt 32<sup>22</sup> and יֵירָשׁ Is 10<sup>16</sup> it shall be kindled; יֵירָשׁוּ it was precious, 1 S 15<sup>30</sup> and יֵירָשׁוּ ψ 49<sup>3</sup> (cf. יֵירָשׁוּ ψ 72<sup>14</sup>).—The form יֵירָשׁוּ Gn 30<sup>39</sup>, for יֵירָשׁוּ, beside יֵירָשׁוּ verse 38, is remarkable; cf. § 47 k.

g (c) On יָרָד Ju 19<sup>11</sup> for יָרָד and יָרָד Jer 42<sup>10</sup> for the *infinitive absolute* יָרָדוּ, cf. § 19 i.—But יָרָד Ju 5<sup>13</sup> (twice) is not intended by the Masora either as *perfect* (for יָרָד, which really should be restored) or as *imperatives* of יָרָד, but as an apocopated *imperfect Pī'al* from יָרָדָה (= יָרָדָה) to have dominion.

h (d) The eight verbs,<sup>1</sup> of which the initial consonant in the above-mentioned forms always suffers elision or aphaeresis, are יָלַךְ to bring forth, יָצָא to go forth, יָשַׁב to sit, יָרַד to dwell, also הָלַךְ to go (cf. below, x); and with *ā* in the second syllable of the *imperfect*, יָדַע to know, יָחַד to be united, יָקַע to be dislocated. Examples of the other formation (יָרָשׁ, &c.) are יָעָה to be wearied, יָעַץ to counsel, יָשַׁן to sleep, יָרָא (*imperfect* יֵירָא, *imperative* יָרָא) to fear.

i 2. The original *Wāw* is retained as a firm consonant: (a) in the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect Niph'al*, being protected by the strengthening, e.g. הֵיטֵב, הֵיטֵב, which are consequently strong forms like הֵטֵב, הֵטֵב; (b) in the *Hithpa'el* of some verbs, e.g. הִתְרַוַּע from רָוַע, הִתְרַוַּח from רָוַח, יָרָה from הִתְרַוַּח, otherwise a radical *Wāw* at the beginning of a word is now found only in a few nouns, e.g. יָלַד *offspring* to bear. At the end of a syllable *Wāw* with the homogeneous

<sup>1</sup> A ninth יָפַח to add, is also to be included. In the Meša'-inscription, l. 21, the *infinitive* is written לִסְפַּח (cf. יִסְפַּח, l. 29); hence read in Is 30<sup>1</sup> (Nu 32<sup>14</sup>, Dt 29<sup>15</sup>) סִפַּח for סִפַּח. The 2nd plur. masc. *imperative* יִסְפַּח Is 29<sup>1</sup>, Jer 7<sup>21</sup> corresponds to יִסְפַּח; thus in proof of a supposed סִפַּח addere, there remains only יִסְפַּח Dt 32<sup>21</sup>, for which, according to 2 S 12<sup>8</sup>, read אִסְפַּח.

vowel *ū* coalesces into *ū*; so throughout *Hoph'al*, e.g. הוֹשֵׁב for *hūwšabh*; but with a preceding *a* the *Wāw* is contracted into *ō* (וּ); so in the *perfect* and *participle Niph'al* and throughout *Hiph'il*, e.g. נוֹשֵׁב from an original *nūwšābh*, הוֹשִׁיב from an original *hāwšūbh*.

The first radical always appears as *Yēdh* in the *perfect* and *participle k* *Qal*, יָשַׁב, &c., יָשִׁיב, even when י precedes, e.g. יוֹשֵׁב (but יוֹשְׁבָתָם, according to § 24 b), also throughout *Pī'el* and *Pū'al*, e.g. יִחַל to wait, יֵלֵד to be born, and in the *imperfect* and *participle* יִחַל מִיָּדָע known (from יָדַע), and, as a rule, also in *Hithpa'el*, e.g. הִתְיַדַּע, הִתְיַצַּב, הִתְיַלֵּךְ (as against הִתְיָדַע, &c., with *Wāw*).

The beginner may recognize verbs ב' in the *imperfect Qal* partly by the *Sere* under the preformatives; in *Niph'al* and *Hiph'il* by the *Wāw* (וּ, וִ) before the second radical. (The defective writing, as in הוֹלִיד, is rare.) Verbs ב' have forms like יָשַׁב (יָדַע), יָשִׁיב, in common with verbs ב'. Similarly *Hoph'al* has the same form as in verbs ע"ע and ע"ע.

Rem. 1. The *infinitive Qal* of the weaker form (יָשַׁבְתִּי, ground-form *sibt, m* *רָשַׁתְּ*; cf. above, c) with suffixes is pointed as יָשַׁבְתִּי, <sup>1</sup>רָשַׁתְּ (the strong form only in לִירְשָׁנוּ Ju 14<sup>15</sup>). The masculine form is very rare, e.g. יָדַע to know, Jb 32<sup>6,10</sup>, as also the feminine ending הָ, e.g. יָדַעָה Ex 24, לָדָה Is 37<sup>3</sup> (2 K 19<sup>3</sup>); Jer 13<sup>21</sup>, Ho 9<sup>11</sup>; מִירְדָה to descend, Gn 46<sup>9</sup>, where the change of the *ē* into vocal *S<sup>red</sup>* is to be explained, with König, from its position between the principal and secondary tone. From יָדַע, under the influence of the guttural, יָדַעַת is formed, with *suffix*, יָדַעְתִּי, &c.; but from יָצַא, יָצַאת, From יָרַד there occurs in ψ 30<sup>4</sup> in *Qere* מִירְדִּי (the *Keth.* requires מִירְדִּי) a very remarkable case of the strong form (for מִירְדִּי). For לָת 1 S 4<sup>19</sup> (generally explained as a case of assimilation of ל to ת in the supposed ground-form *ladt*; according to Mayer Lambert pausal of לָת = *lidt*, see above, c) read simply לָתֶּה.

Examples of the strong form of the *infinitive* are יָרָא to fear, Jos 22<sup>25</sup>, with *preposition* לִירְאָה Is 51<sup>16</sup> (but 2 Ch 31<sup>7</sup> according to Ben Naphtali לִירְאָה, where the י is only retained orthographically, but is really assimilated to the ס; the reading of Ben Asher, לִירְאָה, accepted by Baer, is meaningless); לִישָׁן; Ec 5<sup>11</sup>; לָרָא 1 S 18<sup>20</sup> is irregular, but probably לָרָא (for לִירְאָה) is intended. With *suffix*, בִּיקְרִי Jb 38<sup>4</sup>, cf. Ju 14<sup>15</sup>, Ezr 3<sup>12</sup>; with *sem.* יָכַלְתָּ to be able, Nu 14<sup>10</sup>. On יָבִשָׁת, which is likewise usually referred to this class, cf. the note on § 70 a.

<sup>1</sup> יָשַׁבְתִּי ψ 23<sup>6</sup> can hardly be intended for an *infn.* with suffix from יָשַׁב, but rather for a *perf. consec.* from יָשַׁב; but read יוֹשַׁבְתִּי.

<sup>2</sup> The infinitives יָדַע and יָרַד belong to the source marked E (Dillmann's B) in the modern criticism of the Pentateuch. The same document also has יָתַן to give, for יָתַת; הָלַךְ to go, for הָלַכְתָּ; and עָשָׂה to make, for עָשׂוֹת. See Dillmann, *Die BB. Num., Deut., Jos.*, p. 618.

o 2. The imperative *Qal* frequently has the lengthening by הָ, e.g. שָׁבָה *sit thou*, יֵרֵד *descend thou*. From יָתַב *to give*, Arab. *wāḥabā*, only the imperative is used in Hebrew; it has the form הָבָה *give*, lengthened הִבָּה generally with the meaning *age, go to*, hence in Gn 11<sup>34</sup> even addressed to several persons (Gn 29<sup>21</sup> הִבָּה before הָ to avoid the hiatus); *sem.* Ru 3<sup>16</sup>, *Mil'ra* on the analogy of the plural הִבְּו (once in Jb 6<sup>22</sup> הִבְּו before the tone-syllable; but cf. Dt 32<sup>5</sup>), whilst, on the analogy of other imperatives *Qal* of verbs פֹּה, הִבֵּי, הִבְּו would be expected.—On רָעָה Pr 24<sup>14</sup>, cf. § 48 l.

p 3. The imperfect with י elided takes ä in the second syllable, besides the cases mentioned above (under f), also in הִרְדַּר Jer 13<sup>17</sup> (cf. La 3<sup>48</sup>) and in the pausal form יִרְדַּר Jb 27<sup>21</sup>, &c. (from הִרְדַּר, see x); on יִרְדַּר Is 10<sup>16</sup> see above, f. The ä in the second syllable, when followed by the affirmative נָה (הִרְדַּנָּה &c.), is in accordance with the law mentioned above (under c), by which ä takes the place of i in a doubly closed syllable. Forms with ä in the second syllable shorten the ä to S<sup>e</sup>ghöl, when the tone is drawn back (before a tone-syllable or after *wāw* consecutive), e.g. יִשְׁבֹּנָה Gn 44<sup>33</sup>; יִשְׁבֹּנָה Ex 16<sup>20</sup>, Ju 9<sup>30</sup>, in both cases with *nasog 'aḥor*, § 29 e. The pausal is either of the form יִשְׁבֹּנָה Ru 4<sup>1</sup> or יִשְׁבֹּנָה ψ 18<sup>10</sup>; the 1st pers. sing., whether in or out of pause, is יִשְׁבֹּנָה, &c., except יִשְׁבֹּנָה Jb 19<sup>10</sup>, see x.—For יִירָעָה ψ 133<sup>6</sup> (cf. the note above, on b and the analogous cases in § 70 d) יִירָעָה is intended.

q The imperfect of the form יִירָשׁ is frequently (especially before affirmatives) written defectively, in which case the i can always be recognized as a long vowel by the *Metheg* (see § 16 f), e.g. יִירָשׁ Is 40<sup>20</sup>, יִירָשׁ Is 65<sup>23</sup>; and so always יִירָא *they fear*, as distinguished from יִירָא *they see* (imperf. *Qal* of יָרָא).—On יִירָשׁ Gn 50<sup>26</sup>, 24<sup>23</sup> *Keth.*, and יִירָשׁ Ex 30<sup>32</sup>, see § 73 f.

r From יָכַל *to prevail, to be able*, the imperfect *Qal* is יִכָּל, which can only have arisen through a depression of the vowel from יֻכַּל (ground-form *yaukhal* = *yaukhal*), to distinguish it, according to Qimḥi, from יֻכַּל, just as, according to § 47 b, יֻכַּל is differentiated from יֻכַּל. Cf. The Arabic *yaur'u* (*yōr'u*) from *war'u*, *yauḡalu* (*yōḡalu*) from *waḡala*, as also the vulgar Arabic (among towns-people) *yūḡal*, &c., from *waḡala*. Others regard יִכָּל as an imperfect *Heph'al* (*he is enabled* = *he can*), always used instead of the imperfect *Qal*; cf., however, § 53 u.—יִכָּל occurs in Jer 3<sup>5</sup> as 2nd sing. *sem.* for יִכָּל, according to König because the 2nd *sem.* had been sufficiently indicated previously.—Further יִירָה or יִירָה is to be regarded with M. Lambert (*REV.* xxxvii, no. 73) as imperf. *Qal* (not *Hiph'al*) of יָרָה *to throw, shoot* (the supposed imperf. *Qal* יִירָה Nu 21<sup>30</sup> is critically very doubtful). This is shown especially by the passages in which the imperf. *Qal* is immediately preceded by the imperat. *Qal* (2 K 13<sup>17</sup>) or *infinitive* *Qal* (ψ 64<sup>2</sup>), or is followed by the participle *Qal* (2 Ch 35<sup>23</sup>; but in 2 S 11<sup>24</sup> by the participle *Hiph'al*).

s 4. The attenuation of ä to i in the perfect (in a toneless, closed syllable) which is discussed in § 44 d (cf. § 64 f) occurs in verbs פֹּה in a few forms of יָרַח Nu 11<sup>12</sup>, Jer 2<sup>27</sup>, ψ 2<sup>7</sup>, &c. (always after י), as well as of יָרַח, e.g. יָרַח, &c., Dt 4<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, 17<sup>14</sup>, 19<sup>1</sup>, 26<sup>1</sup>, 31<sup>5</sup> (always after י for י). In both cases the attenuation might be explained from the tendency to assimilate the vowels, especially if the initial י was pronounced, as in Syriac, like i (§ 47 b). In the case of יָרַח, however, a secondary form שָׁרַח (cf. § 44 d) is probably to be assumed, since in Arabic also the verb is *wārāḥā*. The forms





confusion with the following *הִינְקָהוּ*; *imperfect* *יִקְלֶה*, but in the 1st sing. of the *imperfect consecutive* always *יִקְלֶה* Lv 26<sup>18</sup>, Am 2<sup>19</sup>, &c. Rarely, and almost exclusively late or in poetry, the regular inflexions of *קָלַח* are also found: *imperf.* *יִקְלֶה* (ψ 58<sup>9</sup>, &c.; but *תִּקְלֶה* Ex 9<sup>23</sup>, ψ 73<sup>9</sup>; cf. § 64 a and h); *אִקְלֶה* Jb 16<sup>22</sup>, also Meša' inscription, line 14, *אִקְלֶה*; *infinitive absolute* *יִקְלֶה* (Ex 3<sup>13</sup>, Nu 22<sup>13</sup> f. 16, 1 Ec 6<sup>20</sup>); *imperative plur.* *הִקְלֶה* Jer 51<sup>50</sup>. On the other hand, the *perfect Qal* is always *קָלַח*, *participle* *קָלַח*, *infinitive absolute* *קָלַח*, *Niphal* *קָלַח*, *Piel* *קָלַח*, *Hithpa'el* *קָלַח*, so that a *q* never appears unmistakably as the first radical. The usual explanation of the above forms is nevertheless based on a supposed obsolete *קָלַח*. It is, however, more correct to regard the apparent *פ"ו* forms of *קָלַח* with Praetorius (ZAW. ii. 310 ff.) as originating with the Hiph'il, of which the ground-form *kahlkh* became *hālkh*, and this again, on the analogy of the *imperfect Qal* of verbs *א"פ*, *hōlkh*. This *hōlkh* being referred to a supposed *haulkh* (properly *hawlkh*) gave rise to new formations after the manner of verbs *פ"ו*.

§ 70. Verbs *פ"ב*. Second Class, or Verbs properly *פ"ב*,  
e. g. *יָטַב* to be good. Paradigm L.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 143 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 603 ff.

Verbs properly *פ"ב* differ from verbs *פ"ו* in the following points:

- a 1. In *Qal* the initial *Yōdh* never suffers aphaeresis or elision; hence the *infinitive* has the form *יָטַב*,<sup>2</sup> the *imperfect* *יִטַּב*, *יִטֵּב*, *יִטְבֵּן* (in *pause* *יִטְבֵּן*), also written *יָטַב*, &c.; and so always with a tone-bearing *ā* in the second syllable, even after *wāw consec.*, e. g. *יִטְבֵּן*, except *יִטְבֵּן* Gn 9<sup>21</sup>, and *יִטְבֵּן* Gn 27<sup>19</sup>, unless *יָטַב* is to be included among verbs *פ"ו* (cf. *נוֹצַר* Is 43<sup>10</sup>).
- b 2. In *Hiph'il* the original form *הִיטִיב* is regularly contracted to *הִיטִיב* (rarely written *הִיטִיב*, *הִיטִיב*, &c.); *imperfect* *יִיטִיב*, *יִיטֵב*. Instances of the uncontracted form are *יִיטִיב* Pr 4<sup>25</sup>, according to Barth (see above, § 67 p), an example of an *i-imperfect* of *Qal*, since the *Hiph'il* is otherwise always *causative*; *הִיטִיב* (imperative) ψ 5<sup>9</sup> *Qerē* (the *Keth.* requires *הוֹטִיב* according to the form of verbs *פ"ו*; cf. Is 45<sup>2</sup>, *אִיטִיב* *Keth.*, *אִיטִיב* *Qerē*, cf. Gn 8<sup>17</sup> *Qerē*; מִיטִיבִים 1 Ch 12<sup>2</sup>, to be explained as a denominative from *יָטַב*; *אִיטִיב* Ho 7<sup>12</sup> (§ 24 f, note), but perhaps the punctuation here is only intended to suggest another reading *אִיטִיב*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, m, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> This may be inferred from *בִּיבֵשׁ* (= *בִּי'*) Is 27<sup>11</sup>, which with its fem. *יִבֵּשׁ* Gn 8<sup>7</sup>, is the only example of an *infinitive construct Qal* of these verbs. No example of the *imperative Qal* is found: consequently the forms *יָטַב*, &c. (in Paradigm L of the earlier editions of this Grammar), are only inferred from the *imperfect*.

Rem. 1. The only verbs of this kind are : יָטַב to be good (only in the *c* imperfect Qal and in Hiph'il; in the perfect Qal טוֹב, a verb עָזַר, is used instead), נָקַם to avenge, נָקַץ to awake, יָצַר to form (but see above, a), יָלַל only in Hiph'il הִילֵּל to bewail, יָשַׁר to be straight, right, also יָבֵשׁ (Arabic yābīṣā) to be dry (but Hiph'il הוֹבִישׁ 2 S 19<sup>6</sup>, on the analogy of verbs פָּ"ב; on Is 30<sup>5</sup>, cf. § 72 x), and the Hiph'il הִימִין (denominative from יָמִין), infin. לְהִמִּין 2 S 14<sup>13</sup> to go to the right.

2. In some examples of the imperfect Hiph'il the preformative has been subsequently added to the contracted form: יִיטִיב Jb 24<sup>21</sup>; יִילִל Is 15<sup>2,3</sup>, 16<sup>7</sup>; יִאֲלִיל Jer 45<sup>81</sup>; plur. יִלְלִלוּ Ho 7<sup>14</sup>, cf. Is 65<sup>14</sup>. Qimḥi and others explain the above forms from a phonetic interchange of *Yōdh* and *He*, arising from the unsynecopated forms יְהִילֵּל, &c. (cf. Is 52<sup>5</sup>). It is, perhaps, more correct to suppose that the regular forms (יִיטִיב, יִילִל) were originally intended, but that in the later pronunciation the syllable was broken up in order to restore artificially the preformative which had become merged in the first radical.

Isolated anomalies are : perfect Hiph'il נְהִיטְבְּתִי Ez 36<sup>11</sup> with separating vowel (for נְהִיטְבְּתִי) on the analogy of verbs עָזַר; imperfect יִיטִיב for יִיטִיב 1 K 14<sup>7</sup>; תִּיטְבִּי (imperfect Qal for תִּיטְבִּי Na 3<sup>8</sup>; וְתִנְקְהוּ imperfect Hiph'il Ex 2<sup>9</sup>, either an error for וְתִנְקְהוּ, or an irregular shortening of the first syllable, caused by the forward movement of the tone. Similarly, the Hiph'il הִקִּין (קִין) is always used instead of הִקִּין from יָקַן; hence also הִקִּיצְתִּי, הִקִּיצְתָּ, imperat. הִקִּיצָה, infin. הִקִּין.—On יִנְפִּיֶהוּ Na 1<sup>4</sup>, see § 69 u).

### § 71. Verbs "ב. Third Class, or Verbs with *Yōdh* assimilated.

In some verbs פ"ב, the *Yōdh* (or the original *Wāw*) does not quiesce in the preceding vowel, but is regarded as a full consonant, and, like *Nūn*,<sup>1</sup> is assimilated to the following consonant. These forms, therefore, belong properly to the class of strong verbs. Assimilation invariably takes place in יָצַע (prop. וָצַע) to spread under; Hiph'il הִצִּיעַ, Hoph'al הִצַּע; יָצַת to burn, imperfect יָצַת, Niph'al נִצַּח, Hiph'il הִצִּיחַ (in Is 27<sup>4</sup> also יָצַח is to be read with König; in 2 S 14<sup>30</sup> the Masora has rightly emended the *Kethib* הוֹצִיחֶהָ, which could only be the 1st sing. perf. of a verb פ"ב, to the imperative הִצִּיחֶהָ in agreement with the context and all the early versions); יָצַג, Hiph'il הִצִּיג to place, Hoph'al הִצַּג; and probably also in the forms ordinarily derived from יָצַב, viz. נִצַּב (Niph'al), הִצִּיב, יָצַב, הִצַּב; at any rate a stem יָצַב is implied by the Hithpa'el הִתְיָצַב; instead of the anomalous וַתִּתְחַצַּב Ex 2<sup>4</sup> read with the Samaritan וַתִּתְיָצַב, i.e. וַתִּתְיָצַב. Besides the common form we find once יָצַק in Is 44<sup>3</sup> (from יָצַק to pour) with a transitive meaning, beside יָצַק intransitive, 1 K 22<sup>35</sup>. Elsewhere the imperfect

<sup>1</sup> These verbs, like verbs ע"ע (cf. above, note on § 67 g), may perhaps have been influenced by the analogy of verbs פ"ב.

*consecutive* has the form  $\text{וַיֵּצֵא}$  Gn 28<sup>18</sup>, 35<sup>14</sup>, &c., cf. § 69*f*, where also other forms of  $\text{וַיֵּצֵא}$  are given;  $\text{וַיֵּצֵר}$  and  $\text{וַיֵּצֵר}$  (Is 44<sup>12</sup>, 49<sup>8</sup>, Jer 1<sup>5</sup> *Qerê*), from  $\text{וַיֵּצֵר}$  to *form*, are, however, used in the same sense. Cf. also  $\text{וַיֵּצֵר}$  Ho 10<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{וַיֵּצֵרָהּ}$  (for  $\text{וַיֵּצֵרָהּ}$  according to § 47*k*) 1 S 6<sup>12</sup>;  $\text{וַיֵּצֵר}$  2 Ch 31<sup>7</sup> (cf. § 69*n*) and  $\text{וַיֵּצֵר}$  Is 28<sup>16</sup>. This assimilation is found always with sibilants (most frequently with  $\text{צ}$ ) except in the case of  $\text{וַיֵּצֵר}$  1 K 3<sup>15</sup> (so ed. Mant., Ginsb., Kittel; but Jabl., Baer  $\text{וַיֵּצֵר}$ ) and in  $\text{וַיֵּצֵר}$  Gn 40<sup>20</sup>, Ez 16<sup>3</sup> (cf.  $\text{וַיֵּצֵרָהּ}$  verse 4), *infinitive Hoph'al* of  $\text{וַיֵּצֵר}$  (cf.  $\text{וַיֵּצֵר}$  § 69*t*).

§ 72. Verbs  $\text{וָע}$  (*vulgo*  $\text{וָע}$ ), e. g.  $\text{קָם}$  to rise up. *Paradigm M.*

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 144 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 605 ff.

- a* 1. According to § 67*a* a large number of monosyllabic stems were brought into agreement with the triliteral form by a strengthening, or repetition, of the second radical, i. e. of the *consonantal* element in the stem. In another large class of stems the same object has been attained by strengthening the *vocalic* element. The ground-form used for these verbs is not, as in other cases (§ 39*a*), the 3rd *sing. masc. perfect*, but always the *infinitive construct* form (§ 39*b*), the *ā* of which is characteristic also of the *imperative* and of the *imperfect indicative Qal*. These stems are consequently termed verbs  $\text{וָע}$  or more correctly (see below)  $\text{וָע}^1$ .

<sup>1</sup> The term  $\text{וָע}$  was consequent on the view that the *Wāw* (or  $\text{ו}$  in the case of verbs  $\text{וָע}$ ) in these stems was originally consonantal. This view seemed especially to be supported by the return of the *Wāw* in  $\text{פָּרַח}$  ( $\text{וָע}$ ), the  $\text{ו}$  usually passing into  $\text{ו}$  as in  $\text{קָם}$ , cf. Arabic *qawwimū*, and by certain forms of the *absolute state* of the nouns of such stems, e. g.  $\text{מָוֶת}$  *death*, compared with  $\text{מָוֶת}$  to *die*. Hence in explaining the verbal forms a supposed stem *qawam* (in verbs  $\text{וָע}$  e. g. *ṣayat*) was always assumed, and  $\text{יָקָם}$  was referred to an original *yaqawūm*, the *infinitive absolute*  $\text{קָם}$  to original *qawūm*, the *participle passive*  $\text{קָם}$  to original *qawūm*. It must, however, be admitted: (1) that forms like  $\text{וָע}$ ,  $\text{קָם}$  (see *m*) are only to be found in the latest books, and are hence evidently secondary as compared with the pure Hebrew forms  $\text{קָם}$ ,  $\text{קָם}$ , &c.; (2) that to refer the verbal forms invariably to the stem  $\text{קָם}$ , leads in many cases to phonetic combinations which are essentially improbable, whereas the assumption of original *middle-vowel* stems renders a simple and natural explanation almost always possible. These  $\text{וָע}$  stems are therefore to be rigidly distinguished from the real  $\text{וָע}$  stems of the strong forms, such as  $\text{וָע}$ ,  $\text{וָע}$ , &c. (see below, *gg*).—As early as the eleventh century the right view with regard to  $\text{וָע}$  stems was taken by Samuel Hannagid (cf. Bacher, *Leben und Werke des Abulwa'id*, p. 16); recently by Böttcher (*Lehrbuch*, § 1112), and (also as to  $\text{וָע}$  stems) especially by Müller, Stade, and Wellhausen (see above, § 67*a*, note). On the other hand, the old view of  $\text{ו}$  and  $\text{ו}$  as consonants has been recently revived by Philippi, Barth, M. Lambert, and especially Brockelmann (op. cit.).

2. As in the case of verbs ו"ע, the monosyllabic stem of verbs ו"ע *l* generally takes the vowel which would have been required in the *second* syllable of the ordinary strong form, or which belonged to the ground-form, since this is essentially characteristic of the verbal form (§ 43 *b*; § 67 *b*). However, it is to be remarked: (*a*) that the vowel, short in itself, becomes of necessity long in an open syllable as well as in a tone-bearing closed *ultima* (except in *Hoph'al*, see *d*), e.g. 3rd sing. masc. perf. קָם, fem. קָמָה, plur. קָמוּ, but in a closed *penultima* קָמָה, &c.<sup>1</sup>; (*b*) that in the forms as we now have them the lengthening of the original short vowel sometimes takes place irregularly. Cf. *f*.

Intransitive verbs *middle e* in the *perfect Qal* have the form הָיָה *he c* is dead; verbs *middle o* have the form הָאֵר *he shone*, בָּשָׁה *he was ashamed*, טוֹב *he was good*.<sup>2</sup> Cf. *n-r*.

3. In the *imperfect Qal*, *perfect Niph'al*, and throughout *Hiph'al* and *l* *Hoph'al* the short vowel of the preformatives in an open syllable before the tone is changed into the corresponding tone-long vowel. In *Qal* and *Niph'al* the original *ā* is the basis of the form and not the *ī* attenuated from *ā* (§ 67 *h*; but cf. also *h* below, on יָבוֹשׁ), hence יָקִים, for *yāqūm*; נָקֹם for *nāqōm*; on the other hand, in the *perfect Hiph'al* הָקִים for *hūqēm*; *participle* מְקִים (on the *Ṣere* cf. *z*); *perfect Hoph'al* הוֹקֵם for *hūqam*.

A vowel thus lengthened before the tone is naturally changeable and *e* becomes vocal *Šewa* when the tone is moved forward, e.g. יְמַלֵּךְ *he will kill him*; so also in the 3rd plur. *imperfect Qal* with *Nūn* *paragogic*: יְמַלְּכֻהוּ (without *Nūn* יְמַלְּכוּ). The wholly abnormal *scriptio plena* of *ē* in הִתְקַיֵּם Jer 2<sup>11</sup> (beside הִתְקַיֵּם in the same verse) should, with König, be emended to הִתְקַיֵּם; the incorrect repetition of the interrogative necessarily led to the pointing of the form as *perfect* instead of *imperfect*.—But in *Hoph'al* the *ā* is retained throughout as an unchangeable vowel, when it has been introduced by an abnormal lengthening for the tone-long *ō* (as in the *Hoph'al* of verbs ו"ע).

<sup>1</sup> In Aramaic, however, always קָמָה; also in Hebrew grammars before Qimhi קָמָה, קָמָה, &c., are found, but in our editions of the Bible this occurs only in *pause*, e.g. קָמָה Mi 7<sup>8</sup>, קָמָה 2 K 7<sup>3.4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> According to Stade (*Grammatik*, § 385 *e* and *f*) the *e* in הָיָה is of the nature of a diphthong (from *ai*, which arose from the union of the vowel *ī*, the sign of the intransitive, with the *ā* of the root), and likewise the *o* in הָאֵר, &c. (from *au*). But *ō* (from *au*) could not, by § 26 *p*, remain in a closed *penultima* (בָּשָׁה, &c.); consequently the *o* of these forms can only be tone-long, i.e. due to lengthening of an original *ā*, and similarly the *e* of הָיָה to lengthening of an original *ī*. This is confirmed by the fact that the *ō* in בָּשָׁה, בָּשָׁה, בָּשָׁה is always, and in בָּשָׁה, 3rd plur. *perfect*, nearly always (the instances are 11 to 2), written defectively. Forms like בָּוֶשָׁה, בָּוֶשָׁה, &c., are therefore due to orthographic licence.

f 4. The cases of unusual vowel lengthening mentioned in *b* are: *imperfect Qal* יָקַם (also in Arabic *yāqāmu*), but *jussive* with normal lengthening (§ 48 g), יָקַם, with retraction of the tone יָקַם (yāqām), יָקַם (in pause יָקַם); *imperative* יָקַם, with normal lengthening of the *ā* in the 2nd plur. fem. יָקַם, since, according to § 26 p, the *ā* cannot be retained in a closed penultima; *infinitive construct* יָקַם. In *Hiph'il* the original *ī* is naturally lengthened to *ī* (יָקַם, *imperfect* יָקַם, *jussive* יָקַם, with retraction of the tone יָקַם, יָקַם); on the transference of this *ī* to the *Hiph'il* of the strong verb, cf. § 53 a.

g The following forms require special consideration: the *participle Qal* יָקַם is to be traced to the ground-form with *ā* unobscured, Arab. *qātīl*, § 9 g, and § 50 b. On this analogy the form would be *qā'im*,<sup>1</sup> which after absorption of the *ī* became יָקַם, owing to the predominating character of the *ā*. The unchangeableness of the *ā* (plur. יָקַם, constr. יָקַם, &c.) favours this explanation.

h In the *imperfect Qal*, besides the forms with original *ā* (now *ā*) there are also forms with original *ā*. This *ā* was lengthened to *ā*, and then further obscured to *ō*; hence especially יָבֹא (יָבֹא), &c., from the *perfect* בָּא *he has come*. In the *imperfects* יָאֹר (but cf. יָאֹרָה 1 S 14<sup>27</sup>) and יָבוֹשׁ from the *intransitive perfects* אָרַב, בָּשׁ (see above, c), most probably also in יָאֹחַז 2 K 12<sup>9</sup>, גָּאֹחַ Gn 34<sup>15</sup> from an unused אָחַז *to consent*, and perhaps in יָאֹחֶם 1 S 4<sup>6</sup>, &c., as in the cases noticed in § 63 c and especially § 67 n, the *ē* of the preformative is lengthened from *ī* (which is attenuated from original *ā*) and thus *yī-bāš* became *yī-bāš*, and finally *yō-bōš*. Finally the *Niph.* נָקַם (*nū-qām*), *imperfect* יָקַם from *yiqqām*, originally (§ 51 m) *yīnqām*, arises in the same way from the obscuring of *ā* lengthened from *ā*.

i 5. In the *perfect Niph'al* and *Hiph'il* a *i* is inserted before the affirmatives beginning with a consonant in the 1st and 2nd persons, and יָ regularly (but see Rem.) in the *imperfect Qal*, sometimes also in the *imperfect Hiph'il* (as in יָבֹא לְיָמִי Lv 7<sup>30</sup>, cf. יָבֹא לְיָמִי Mi 2<sup>12</sup>), before the termination of יָה. As in verbs עָע (§ 67 d and note) these *separating vowels* serve as an artificial opening of the preceding syllable, in order to preserve the long vowel; in the *perfect Hiph'il*, however, before the *i*, instead of the *ī* an *ē* is somewhat often found<sup>2</sup> (as a normal lengthening of the original *ī*), especially after *wāw con-*

<sup>1</sup> So in Arabic, prop. *qā'im*, since the two vowels are kept apart by the insertion of an *ā*, cf. Aram. קָאִם; but also contracted, as *šāk*, *hār*, for *šā'āk*, &c. (cf. Wright's *Gramm. of the Arabic Language*, 2nd ed. vol. I. p. 164).

<sup>2</sup> יָבֹא לְיָמִי 1 S 6<sup>7</sup> (cf. 2 Ch 6<sup>25</sup>) could only be an orthographic licence for 'וּבֹא לְיָמִי; perhaps, however, 'וּבֹא לְיָמִי was originally intended.

*secutive*, Dt 4<sup>30</sup>, 30<sup>1</sup>, as well as before the affirmatives הָם and הֵן or before suffixes, Dt 22<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>8</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>34</sup>, Ez 34<sup>4</sup>. For in all these cases the tone is removed from the *i* to the following syllable, and this forward movement of the tone produces at the same time a weakening of the *i* to *e*; thus הָקִים, הָקִימוֹת, הָקִימוֹתָ (or הָקִי; on הָעֲרִיתָ Ex 19<sup>23</sup>, cf. *a*), but וְהִקְמֹתָ, &c., Ex 26<sup>30</sup>, &c.; Dt 4<sup>30</sup>, Nu 18<sup>26</sup> (cf., however, וְהִקְמֹנִי Mi 5<sup>4</sup>). In the same way in the 1st pers. sing. of the perfect *Niphal*, the *o* before the separating vowel is always modified to *u* (וְקִימוֹתִי); cf. *v*. In the imperfect *Qal* and *Hiph'il* the separating vowel ' always bears the tone (תִּקְרִינָה).

Without the separating vowel and consequently with the tone-long *o* and *k* instead of *u* and *i* we find in imperfect *Qal* תִּבְאֲנָה (see § 76 *g*); תִּשְׁבְּךָ; Ez 16<sup>45</sup> (also תִּשְׁבְּינָה in the same verse); וְתִשְׁבְּכָה 1 S 7<sup>14</sup> (cf. Ez 35<sup>9</sup> *Q're*; on the *Kethibh* תִּשְׁבְּכָה cf. above, note on § 69 *b*); וְתִבְאֲנָה 1 S 14<sup>27</sup> from אָרַר (*Kethibh* וְתִבְאֲנָה and they saw, see § 75 *w*); in *Hiph'il*, e.g. הִבְבֹּתָ Ex 20<sup>25</sup>, also הִנְפֹּתִי Jb 31<sup>21</sup>; וְהִטְלֹתִי Jer 22<sup>20</sup>; תִּשְׁבְּכָה Jb 20<sup>10</sup>; with a separating vowel, e.g. תִּבְאֲנָה Lv 7<sup>30</sup> from בֹּא. *Seghöl* without ' occurs in the imperfect *Qal* in תִּמְוֹתָה Ez 13<sup>10</sup>, Ze 1<sup>17</sup>; and in *Hiph'il* Mi 2<sup>12</sup>; the Dageš in the *Nûn* is, with Baer, to be rejected in all three cases according to the best authorities. Wholly abnormal is תִּקְיֹמָה Jer 44<sup>25</sup>, probably an erroneous transposition of יִמ (for תִּקְיֹמָה), unless it originates from an incorrect spelling תִּקְיֹמָה or תִּקְיֹמָה.

6. The tone, as in verbs ו"ע (cf. § 67 *k*), is also generally retained *l* on the stem-syllable in verbs ו"ע before the affirmatives הָם, הֵן, ' ; thus תִּקְיֹמָה (but also לִקְיֹמָה 2 K 19<sup>21</sup>, probably for the sake of rhythmical uniformity with the following לִקְיֹמָה; after *wāw consecutive* וְתִקְיֹמָה Is 23<sup>17</sup>); תִּקְיֹמָה (but also תִּקְיֹמָה, cf. Is 28<sup>7</sup>, 29<sup>9</sup>, Na 3<sup>18</sup>, ψ 76<sup>6</sup>, Pr 5<sup>6</sup>, La 4<sup>18</sup>; וְתִקְיֹמָה 1 S 8<sup>11</sup>; so especially before a following *u*, cf. § 49 *l*, Nu 13<sup>32</sup>; וְתִקְיֹמָה Is 19<sup>1</sup>; before *e*, ψ 131<sup>1</sup>, Pr 30<sup>13</sup>, La 4<sup>14</sup>); תִּקְיֹמָה, but before a suffix or with *Nûn paragogic* וְתִקְיֹמָה 2 Ch 28<sup>15</sup>; וְתִקְיֹמָה Dt 33<sup>11</sup>, &c.

7. The formation of the conjugations *Pi'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el* is, strictly speaking, excluded by the nature of verbs ו"ע. It is only in the latest books that we begin to find a few secondary formations, probably borrowed from Aramaic, on the analogy of verbs ו"ע (with consonantal *i*, see below, *gg*); e.g. the *Pi'el* לְעוֹר to surround, only in עֲוֹרֵנִי ψ 119<sup>61</sup>; and with change of *i* to *y*, קִים Est 9<sup>31</sup>, קִימוֹ Est 9<sup>27</sup>, *impf.* וְיִקְיֹמָה ψ 119<sup>106</sup>, *inf.* קִים Ez 13<sup>6</sup>, Ru 4<sup>7</sup> &c., Est 9<sup>21</sup> &c., *imperat.* קִימֵנִי ψ 119<sup>28</sup>; וְיִקְיֹמָה Du 1<sup>10</sup> from חָיַב to be guilty. The *Hithpa'el* הִתְקַיֵּיִךְ Jos 9<sup>12</sup>, which belongs to the older language, is probably a denominative from קִיָּר. On the other hand the otherwise less common conjugation *Pôlêl* (see § 55 *c*), with its passive and reflexive, is usually



employed in the sense of *Pi'el* and as a substitute for it, e.g. קוּמִים *to set up* from קוּם; מוֹתָה *to slaughter*, 1 S 14<sup>13</sup>, 17<sup>31</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>9</sup>, from מוֹת; רוּמִים *to exalt*, passive from רוּם; reflexive הִתְעוֹרֵר *to stir up oneself* (cf. יִתְעוֹרֵר Jb 17<sup>8</sup> in *pause*) from עוֹר; reciprocal הִתְבַּשִּׁישׁ *to be ashamed before one another*, Gn 2<sup>25</sup>. The conjugation *Pilpel* (§ 55 f), on the analogy of verbs ע"ע, is less common, e.g. הִטְלֵם *to hurl away* from הוֹל; בִּלְבֵל *to contain* from בִּיל; בִּרְבֵר *to destroy* from בִּיר.

## REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

n 1. Of verbs *middle c* and *o*, in which, as in the strong verb, the *perfect* and *participle* have the same form (§ 50. 2), the following are the only examples: מָת *he is dead*, fem. מֵתָה, 2nd masc. מָתָה (cf. § 44 g; § 66 u); 1st sing. מֵתִי, (even in *pause*, Gn 19<sup>10</sup>); plur. מֵתֵי, 1st pers. מֵתָנִי, in *pause* *was ashamed*, בָּשָׁת, בָּשָׁתִי, בָּשָׁנוּ, בָּשָׁתִי, אֹר; אֹר *it has shone*, plur. אֹרִי, *to be good*, טָבו. *Participles* מָת *a dead man* (plur. מֵתִים, מֵתִי); בָּשָׁתִי *ashamed*, Ez 32<sup>50</sup>. For גַּךְ Is 27<sup>11</sup> read גַּךְ, or, with LXX, עַךְ.

o Isolated anomalies in the *perfect* are: וְשָׁכַחַת (with the original ending of the fem. for וְשָׁכַחַת) Ez 46<sup>17</sup> (see § 44 f); צָקִין Is 26<sup>16</sup> (see § 44 l).—In בָּנָה 1 S 25<sup>8</sup> (for בָּנָה from בָּוָה) the *N* has been dropped contrary to custom. In בָּנָה Jer 27<sup>18</sup> (instead of בָּנָה) the *Masora* seems to point to the *imperfect* בָּנָה which is what would be expected; as *Fódh* precedes, it is perhaps simply a scribal error.

p The form קָם occurs (cf. § 9 b) with *N* in the *perfect*, קָם Ho 10<sup>14</sup>, also in the *participles* לָאֵם softly, Ju 4<sup>21</sup>, רָאֵשׁ poor, 2 S 12<sup>14</sup>, Pr 10<sup>4</sup>, plur. 13<sup>23</sup>; שָׁאֵמִים *doing despite unto* (unless שָׁאֵמִים is to be read, from a stem שָׁאֵם whence שָׁאֵמִים Ez 25<sup>15</sup>, 36<sup>5</sup>), Ez 25<sup>24, 25</sup>; fem. 16<sup>67</sup>; also in Ze 14<sup>10</sup> רָאֵמָה is to be read with Ben-Naphthali for רָאֵמָה. On the analogy of participles of verbs *middle o* (like בּוֹשִׁים, see above) occurs for קוּמִים 2 K 16<sup>7</sup> and even with a transitive meaning לֹאֵם occultans, Is 25<sup>7</sup>; בּוֹשִׁים Ze 10<sup>5</sup>.—*Participle passive*, מוֹל *circumcised*; but כּוֹן *a backslider*, Pr 14<sup>14</sup>, and סוֹרָה *put aside*, Is 49<sup>21</sup> (cf. Jer 17<sup>13</sup> Q<sup>re</sup>), are verbal adjectives of the form *qāfāl* (§ 50 f), not passive participles. For הִתְעוֹרֵר hastening, Nu 32<sup>17</sup>, read הִתְעוֹרֵר as in Ex 13<sup>18</sup>; for שָׁבִי Mi 2<sup>8</sup> read שָׁבִי.

q 2. Imperfects in *u* almost always have the corresponding *imperative* and *infinitive construct* in *u*, as יָקוּם, *imperative* and *infinitive* (also defectively written קוּם); but יָדוּשׁ *he threshes* (inf. דָּוַשׁ), has *imperative* דָּוֹשִׁי (fem.), Mi 4<sup>13</sup>; יָמוּת *it slippeth*, infinitive מוּת (ψ 38<sup>17</sup>, 46<sup>9</sup>); cf. נֹחַ (also נֹחַ) Nu 11<sup>25</sup> and נֹעַ Is 7<sup>2</sup> (elsewhere נֹעַ) with the *imperfects* יָנוּחַ and יָנוּעַ; Is 30<sup>3</sup>; לָעוֹז Jos 2<sup>16</sup>; Ez 10<sup>17</sup> (verse 16 *רוּם*).

r Where the *imperfect* (always intransitive in meaning) has *o* the *imperative* and *infinitive* also have it; thus *imperfect* יָבֹוא (יָבֹא), *inf.* and *imper.* בּוֹא or בֹּא<sup>1</sup>; 2 S 2<sup>32</sup>, אֹרִי, אֹרִי, בּוֹשׁ, יָבֹושׁ, &c.—יָקוּם Jb 8<sup>14</sup> (if it be a verb at all and not rather a substantive) is formed on the analogy of verbs ע"ע,

<sup>1</sup> In 1 K 14<sup>18</sup> (בִּבְיָהּ before a genitive), the text is evidently corrupt: read with Klostermann after the LXX בִּבְיָהּ.

since the *imperfect* of קִיַם appears as אֶקְיַם in  $\psi$  95<sup>10</sup>. On the other hand יִקְשֶׁן (as if from קָשַׁן, on the analogy of יָבוֹא, &c.) occurs as *imperfect* of יָקַשׁ (פ"י). The *imperfect* יִדְוֹן, with  $\delta$ , Gn 6<sup>8</sup>, probably in the sense of *to rule*, has no corresponding *perfect*, and is perhaps intentionally differentiated from the common verb יָדִין *to judge* (from דִּין, ע"י). Or can יִדְוֹן be a *jussive* after לֹא (cf. § 109 d)? Similarly לֹא תִחַם עֵינִי (ע"ינך) might be taken as a case of a *jussive* after לֹא, with irregular *scriptio plena* (as in Ju 16<sup>20</sup>), in Dt 7<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>9</sup>, 19<sup>13,21</sup>, 25<sup>12</sup>, Ez 5<sup>11</sup>, 7<sup>4,9</sup>, 8<sup>18</sup>, 9<sup>10</sup>. But perhaps in all these cases לֹא תִחַם was originally intended, as in Is 13<sup>18</sup>, Jer 21<sup>7</sup>, while cases like יָחַם  $\psi$  72<sup>13</sup> are to be explained as in § 109 k.—The *infinitive absolute* always has  $\delta$ , e.g. יִקְיָמוּ DPs Jer 44<sup>20</sup>.

3. In the *imperative* with affirmatives (קִיְמוּ, קִיְמִי) the tone is on the stem  $\delta$  syllable (cf., however, עֲיָרִי Ju 5<sup>12</sup> intentionally varied from עֲיָרִי; also עֲוָרִי Ze 13<sup>7</sup> and Is 51<sup>9</sup> beside עֲוָרִי בִימִי; עֲוָרִי Ze 9<sup>9</sup>; עֲוָרִי Is 21<sup>2</sup>; שְׁוֹבִי  $\psi$  116<sup>7</sup>, likewise for rhythmical reasons). So also the lengthened form, as שְׁוֹבָה Jer 3<sup>12</sup>,  $\psi$  7<sup>8</sup>, and עֲיָרָה verse 7. But if an  $\aleph$  follows in close connexion, the lengthened *imperative* usually has the form קִיְמָה, &c.,<sup>1</sup> in order to avoid a hiatus, e.g. Ju 4<sup>18</sup>,  $\psi$  82<sup>8</sup>; hence also before יְהוָה Qrre *perpetuum* יִדְרָנִי (§ 17 c), e.g.  $\psi$  3<sup>8</sup>, 7<sup>7</sup> קִיְמָה (cf., however, in the same verse עֲיָרָה and in Jer 40<sup>6</sup>, שְׁבָה before  $\aleph$ ), and so even before ר  $\psi$  43<sup>1</sup>, 74<sup>22</sup>, &c. (רִיבָה).

4. In the *jussive*, besides the form יָקָם (see above, f), יָקוּם also occurs *t* (as subjunctive, Ec 12<sup>4</sup>;  $\psi$  80<sup>19</sup> may also, with Delitzsch, be regarded as a voluntative), incorrectly written *plene*, and יָקָם (Gn 27<sup>31</sup>; cf. Ju 6<sup>18</sup>, Pr 9<sup>4,16</sup>), which, however, is only orthographically different from יָקוּם (cf. Jer 46<sup>6</sup>). In the *imperfect consecutive* (וַיִּקָּם, in *pause* וַיִּקָּם, see above, f) if there be a guttural or ר in the last syllable,  $\delta$  often takes the place of  $\epsilon$ , e.g. וַיִּנָּח and he rested; וַיִּנָּע and it was moved; וַיִּסָּר and he turned aside, Ju 4<sup>18</sup>, Ru 4<sup>1</sup> (distinguished only by the sense from Hiph'il וַיִּסָּר and he removed, Gn 8<sup>13</sup>); וַיִּצָּר and he was in fear; Ex 21<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>23</sup>, 17<sup>5</sup> (but also וַיִּנָּר from both וַיִּנָּר to sojourn, and וַיִּנָּר to fear); וַיִּעָּף (to be distinguished from וַיִּעָּף and he flew, Is 6<sup>6</sup>) and he was weary, Ju 4<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>28,31</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>15</sup>, but probably in all these cases וַיִּעָּף for וַיִּעָּף from וַיִּעָּף is intended. For וַיִּתְּלוּ 2 S 13<sup>8</sup> Keth., the Qrre rightly requires וַיִּתְּלוּ. On the other hand, in an open syllable always וַיִּקְיָמוּ, וַיִּסְיָמוּ, &c. On וַיִּקְיָמוּ (וַיִּקְיָמוּ), see § 49 e.

Examples of the full plural ending וֹן with the tone (see above, l) are וֹן Gn 3<sup>3,4</sup>; וֹן יִנְדְּסוֹן  $\psi$  104<sup>7</sup>; וֹן יִרְדְּצוֹן Jo 24<sup>7,9</sup>.

## II. On Niph'al.

5. The form of the 1st *sing. perf.* נִקְיָמוֹתִי, which frequently occurs (נִסְיָמוֹתִי, cf. also the *ptep. plur.* נִבְיָכִים Ex 14<sup>8</sup>), serves as a model for the 2nd *sing.* נִקְיָמוֹת, נִקְיָמוֹת, and the 1st *plur.* נִקְיָמוֹנִי given in the paradigm, although no instances of these forms are found; but of the 2nd *plur.* the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delitzsch's commentary on  $\psi$  3<sup>8</sup>.

only examples found have *ō* (not *ā*), viz. נִפְּצוּתָם *ye have been scattered*, Ez 11<sup>17</sup>, 20<sup>34,41</sup>, and וּנְקַטְתֶּם *and ye shall loathe yourselves*, Ez 20<sup>43</sup>, 36<sup>31</sup>.—To the *i* (instead of *ā*) of the preformative may be traced the perfect גָּעוּר Ze 2<sup>17</sup> (analogous to the perfect and participle נִפְּוּל, see below, *ee*), imperfect יַעוּר for *yī'ur*.—The infinitive construct הָרַגִּישׁ occurs in Is 25<sup>10</sup>; in לָאֵדָר Jb 35<sup>30</sup>, the Masora assumes the elision of the ה (for לָהָדָר); but probably לָאֵדָר (*Qal*) is intended (see § 51 d).—נָמוּג Is 14<sup>31</sup>, נָסוּג Is 59<sup>13</sup> are to be regarded as *infinitives absolute*.

### III. On Hiph'il, Hoph'al, and P'el.

70 6. Examples of the perfect without a separating vowel (see above, *k*) are: הִבְאִתְּ, &c. (see further, § 76 *g*); הִמָּתָה (from מָתָה) for *hemāth-tā* (cf. § 20 *a*); הִכְנִי 1st plur. perfect Hiph'il from כָּנַן 2 Ch 29<sup>10</sup>, even הִמָּתָם (§ 27 *s*) Nu 17<sup>6</sup>, &c.; cf. 2 S 13<sup>28</sup>, also וְהִמָּתְנָה Ex 1<sup>16</sup>, and וְהִמָּתְנִיָּה Ho 2<sup>5</sup>; but elsewhere, with *wāw* consecutive וְהִמָּתִי Is 14<sup>30</sup>; cf. וְהִמָּלִתִי Jer 16<sup>13</sup>, and וְהִנְפַּתִּי Ex 29<sup>24</sup>, &c.—In these cases the *ē* of the first syllable is retained in the secondary tone; elsewhere in the second syllable before the tone it becomes *—* (1 Ch 15<sup>12</sup>, &c.) or more frequently *—*, and in the syllable before the antepenultima it is necessarily *—* (e.g. וְהִקְמָתִי Gn 6<sup>18</sup>). Before a suffix in the 3rd sing. masc. (except Gn 40<sup>13</sup>) and fem., and in the 3rd plur., the vowel of the initial syllable is *Ha(q)h-S'ghōl*, in the other persons always *Haṭeph-Pathah* (König); on הִקְמָתוּ 2 K 9<sup>2</sup>, ψ 89<sup>44</sup>, cf. Ex 19<sup>23</sup>, Nu 31<sup>23</sup>, Dt 4<sup>30</sup>, 22<sup>2</sup>, 27<sup>2</sup>, 30<sup>1</sup>, Ez 34<sup>4</sup>, and above, *i*. The 3rd fem. perf. Hiph. הִמָּתָה 1 K 21<sup>25</sup> is quite abnormal for הִמָּתָה from מָתָה or מִיתָ.

*x* As in verbs עָע with ה for their first radical (§ 67 *w*), all the forms of עָע Ex 16<sup>23</sup> (where against the rule given under *i* we find הַעֲרִיתָה with *ē* instead of *i*), Dt 8<sup>19</sup>, Neh 9<sup>34</sup>, Jer 42<sup>19</sup>, and עָע Is 41<sup>23</sup>, 45<sup>13</sup>, take *Pathah* in these conjugations instead of *—*. The irregular וְהִשְׁבֹּתִים Ze 10<sup>8</sup> has evidently arisen from a combination of two different readings, viz. וְהִשְׁבֹּתִים (from יָשַׁב) and וְהִשְׁבֹּתִים (from יָשַׁב): the latter is to be preferred.—On הִבְיִשׁ and הִזְבִּישׁ as a (metaplastic) perfect Hiph'il of בָּוֵשׁ, cf. § 78 *b*.

*y* 7. In the imperative, besides the short form הָקֵם (on הָשַׁב Is 42<sup>22</sup> with Silluq, cf. § 29 *q*; but in Ez 21<sup>35</sup> for הָשַׁב read the infinitive הָשַׁב the lengthened form הִקְמָה is also found. With suffix הִקְמֵנִי, &c. The imperative הִבְיֵא Jer 17<sup>18</sup> is irregular (for הִבְיֵא Gn 43<sup>16</sup>); perhaps הִבְיֵא (as in 1 S 20<sup>40</sup>; cf. 2 K 8<sup>6</sup>) is intended, or it was originally הִבְיֵא.

*z* In the infinitive, elision of the ה occurs in לָבִיא Jer 39<sup>7</sup>, 2 Ch 31<sup>10</sup> (for לָהֲבִיא); *fem.* is added in לְהִנְפֶּה Is 30<sup>28</sup>; cf. Est 2<sup>18</sup> and the analogous infinitive Haph'el in biblical Aramaic, Dn 5<sup>20</sup>.—As infinitive absolute הָבִין occurs in Ez 7<sup>14</sup> (perh. also Jos 4<sup>3</sup>, Jer 10<sup>23</sup>).—The participles have *ē*, on the analogy of the perfect, as the vowel of the preformative, like verbs עָע (§ 67 *i*). On מָבִי 2 S 5<sup>2</sup>, &c. (in *K'ulabb*), see § 74 *h*.

*aa* On the shortened forms of the imperfect (יָקַם, וְיָקַם, but always וְיָבִיא; in the jussive also with retraction of the tone אֶל-הָשַׁב 1 K 22<sup>20</sup>) see above, *f*. With a guttural or ר the last syllable generally has *Pathah* (as in *Qal*), e.g. וְיָעֵר and he testified, 2 K 17<sup>13</sup>; יָרַח let him smell, 1 S 26<sup>19</sup>; וְיָרַח Gn 82<sup>1</sup>; וְיָסַר.

and he took away, Gn 8<sup>13</sup>. The 1st sing. of the *imperfect consecutive* commonly has the form וְאַשִׁיב Neh 2<sup>20</sup>, or, more often, defectively וְאַעֲד 1 K 2<sup>42</sup>, less frequently the form וְאַשִׁיב Jos 14<sup>7</sup>.—For אָסַף Zp 1<sup>2</sup> (after אָסַף) and in verse 3, read אָסַף from אָסַף, on the analogy of אָסַף § 68 g: similarly in Jer 5<sup>13</sup> אָסַף instead of אָסַף.

In the *imperfect Pôlél* the tone is moved backwards before a following tonic-syllable, but without a shortening of the vowel of the final syllable; e.g. וְהִתְבַּחַן Pr 14<sup>34</sup>; לוֹ תְהוֹלֵל Jb 35<sup>14</sup>; cf. Pr 25<sup>23</sup>, and acc. to Baer וְהִתְבַּחַן Jb 30<sup>20</sup> (ed. Mant., Ginsb. בִּי וְהִתְבַּחַן), always in principal pause; on the *Metheg* with *šere*, cf. § 16 f. γ.—As *Pôlél* cf. יִרְעֶע Is 16<sup>40</sup>.

As *participle Hoph'al* הַמְוֹשֵׁב occurs in close connexion, Gn 43<sup>12</sup>; cf. § 65 d.

Peculiar contracted forms of *Pôlél* (unless they are transitives in *Qal*) are *CC* וִיכְנֶנֶנִּי Jb 31<sup>15</sup>, יַעֲרֶנֶנִּי 41<sup>2</sup>, וְהִמְוֹנֶנֶנִּי Is 64<sup>6</sup> for וִיכְנֶנֶנִּי, &c. [but read וִיכְנֶנֶנִּי (§ 58 k), יַעֲרֶנֶנִּי or יַעֲרֶנֶנִּי, and וְהִמְוֹנֶנֶנִּי]; also הִתְרַמְּמָם Jb 17<sup>4</sup>, for הִתְרַמְּמָם.—In Is 15<sup>5</sup> יַעֲרֶנֶנִּי appears to have arisen from the *Pûpel* יַעֲרֶנֶנִּי, the *ä* after the loss of the *ר* having been lengthened to *ä*, which has then been obscured to *ö*.—For the strange form בִּתְקַמְּמִיךָ ψ 139<sup>21</sup>, which cannot (according to § 52 s) be explained as a *participle* with the *ו* omitted, read בִּתְקַמְּךָ.

#### IV. In General.

8. The verbs ע"ו are primarily related to the verbs ע"ו (§ 67), which were *dd* also originally biliteral, so that it is especially necessary in analysing them to pay attention to the differences between the inflexion of the two classes. Several forms are exactly the same in both, e.g. *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'il* with *uāu* consecutive, the whole of *Hoph'al*, the *Pôlél* of verbs ע"ו, and the *Pôlél* of verbs ע"ו; see § 67 z. Owing to this close relation, verbs ע"ו sometimes have forms which follow the analogy of verbs ע"ו, e.g. *perfect Qal* בָּזַז he has despised (from בָּזַז, as if from בָּזַז) Zc 4<sup>10</sup>; *perfect Niph'al* נָמַר Jer 48<sup>11</sup> (for נָמַר from נָמַר, as if from נָמַר). The same explanation equally applies to נִקְטָה Jb 10<sup>4</sup> for נִקְטָה (cf. § 67 dd)=נִקְטָה from קָטַט, and נִקְטָה Ez 6<sup>9</sup> (for נִקְטָה); יָרָמוּ Ez 10<sup>47</sup> and יָרָמוּ verse 15; הִרְפוּ (*imperative*) Nu 17<sup>10</sup>; יָפַגּ Mi 2<sup>6</sup>; *Hiph'il perfect* הִתְנוּ Is 18<sup>5</sup> for הִתְנוּ (cf. § 29 q), which is for הִתְנוּ from הִתְנוּ. On the other hand the *imperfects* יָמַר Ex 48<sup>14</sup> (unless it be intended for הִמְיָר, cf. ψ 15<sup>4</sup>) and יָפַח Hb 2<sup>8</sup>, are to be regarded according to § 109 i, simply as rhythmically shortened forms of יָמַר and יָפַח.

9. In common with verbs ע"ו (§ 67 g) verbs ע"ו sometimes have in *Niph'al* *CC* and *Hiph'il* the quasi-Aramaic formation, by which, instead of the long vowel under the preformative, they take a short vowel with *Dageš forte* in the following consonant; this variety is frequently found even along with the ordinary form, e.g. הִסִּית to *invite*, *imperfect* יָסִית (also יָסִית, *יסית*); הִסִּיג, *imperfect* יָסִיג to *remove* (from סָג), also *Hoph'al* הִסִּיג Is 59<sup>14</sup> (on יָסִיג, cf. § 29 g); sometimes with a difference of meaning, as הִנִּיחַ to *cause to rest*,<sup>1</sup> but הִנִּיחַ (*imperfect* יָנִיחַ, *consecutive* וְיָנִיחַ) Gn 39<sup>16</sup>; *imperative* הִנִּיחַ, plur. הִנִּיחוּ to *set down*; for הִנִּיחוּ (Baer, Ginsburg וְהִנִּיחַ) Zc 5<sup>11</sup> (which at any rate could only be explained as an isolated passive of *Hiph'il* on the analogy of the biblical Aramaic הִקְסִימַת Dn 7<sup>4</sup>) we should probably read וְהִנִּיחַ with

<sup>1</sup> As the passive of this *Hiph'il* we should expect the *Hoph'al* הִנִּיחַ, which is, no doubt, to be read for הִנִּיחַ in La 5<sup>5</sup>.

Klostermann after the LXX. In Dn 8<sup>11</sup> the *Kethibh* חריים is intended for a perfect *Hiph'il*. There is also a distinction in meaning between יָלַן to spend the night, to remain, and יָלַן Ex 16<sup>7</sup> *Q'rê* (*Kethibh* תָּלֹנִי; conversely, verse 2 *Kethibh* יָלַנִי, *Q'rê* יָלֹנִי), participle מָלִין Ex 16<sup>8</sup>, Nu 14<sup>27</sup>, 17<sup>20</sup>, to be stubborn, obstinate: in the latter sense from the form יָלַן only יָלַן is found, Ex 17<sup>8</sup>. Other examples are *Niph'al* נִפְּוֹל he was circumcised, Gn 17<sup>26 f.</sup>; participle 34<sup>22</sup> (from מָוֹל, not נָמֹל); גָּעֹר he is waked up, Zc 2<sup>17</sup> (see above, v); *Hiph'il* הִפְּוֹל La 1<sup>8</sup>; יָלִיו Pr 4<sup>21</sup>.

*ff* Perhaps the same explanation applies to some forms of verbs *first guttural* with *Dageš forte implicitum*, which others derive differently or would emend, e. g. וְהָחֵשׁ for וְהָחֵשׁ and she hastened (from חָשׂ Jb 31<sup>5</sup>; וָעָט; (another reading is וָעָט), וְהָעָט I S 15<sup>19</sup>, 25<sup>14</sup> (14<sup>32</sup> *Q'rê*) from עָט or עָט to fly at anything. Both, as far as the form is concerned, would be correct *apocopated imperfects* from חָשׂ and עָט (ל"ה), but these stems only occur with a wholly different meaning.

*gg* 10. Verbs with a consonantal *Wāw* for their second radical, are inflected throughout like the strong form, provided the first or third radical is not a weak letter, e. g. חָוֵר, *imperfect* יִחְוֹר to be white; בָּוֵעַ, *imperfect* יִבְוֹעַ to expire; רָוַח to be wide; צָוַח to cry; *P'el* עָוֵל, *imperfect* יַעְוֹל to act wickedly; עָוַת to bend, *Hithpa'el* הִתְעָוַת to bend oneself; and this is especially the case with verbs which are at the same time ל"ה, e. g. צָוָה, *P'el* יִצְוָה to command, קָוָה to wait, רָוַח to drink, *P'el* רָוַח (on אֲרָוֶה Is 16<sup>9</sup>, see § 75 *dd*) and *Hiph'il* הִרְוָה to give to drink, &c.

### § 73. Verbs middle *i* (vulgo "ע), e. g. בִּין to discern.

#### Paradigm N.

- a* 1. These verbs agree, as regards their structure, exactly with verbs "ע, and in contrast to them may be termed "ע, or more correctly, 'ayin-*i* verbs, from the characteristic vowel of the *imperf.*, *imper.*, and *infjn. constr.* This distinction is justified in so far as it refers to a difference in the pronunciation of the *imperfect* and its kindred forms, the *imperative* and *infjn. constr.*—the "ע verbs having *i* lengthened from original *ā* and "ע having *i* lengthened from original *ī*. In other respects verbs "ע simply belong to the class of really monosyllabic stems, which, by a strengthening of their *vocalic* element, have been assimilated to the triliteral form <sup>1</sup> (§ 67 *a*). In the *perfect Qal* the monosyllabic stem, as in "ע, has *ā* lengthened from *ā*, thus: שָׁח he has set; *infinitive absolute* שָׁח, *imperative* שִׁח, *imperfect* יִשִּׁח, *jussive* יִשֵּׁח (§ 48 *g*), *imperfect consecutive* וַיִּשֵּׁח.—The *perfect Qal* of some verbs

<sup>1</sup> That verbs "ע and "ע are developed from biliteral roots at a period before the differentiation of the Semitic languages is admitted even by Nöldeke (*Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassburg, 1904, p. 34 ff.), although he contests the view that בִּנְיָתִי and רִיבֹתִי are to be referred to *Hiph'il* with the preformative dropped.

used to be treated as having a double set of forms, a regular series, and others like *Hiph'il* without the preformative, e.g. בָּנִיתָ Dn 10<sup>1</sup>; בִּנְתָּי Dn 9<sup>2</sup>, also בָּנִיתָ ψ 139<sup>2</sup>; רִיבְתָּ thou strivest, Jb 33<sup>13</sup>, also רִיבְתָּ La 3<sup>58</sup>. The above *perfects* (בָּן, רִיב, &c.) might no doubt be taken as forms *middle* *ē* (properly *ī*), the *ī* of which has been lengthened to *ī* (like the *ū* lengthened to *ū* in the *imperfect Qal* of קָם). It is more probable, however, that they are really shortened forms of *Hiph'il*. This is supported by the fact that, especially in the case of בָּן, the shortened forms are few and probably all late, while the corresponding unshortened forms with the same meaning are very numerous, e.g. *perfect* הָבִין (but בָּן only in Dn 10<sup>1</sup>), *infinitive* הָבִין (but *inf.* *abs.* בָּן only in Pr 23<sup>1</sup>), *imperative* הָבִין (only in Dn 9<sup>23</sup> immediately before וְהָבִין, also בָּנִי three times, and בָּנִי ψ 5<sup>2</sup>), *participle* מְבַן.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere *Hiph'il*-forms are in use along with actual *Qal*-forms with the same meaning, thus: מָרִיב (also מָרַב), מִשִּׁים *placing* (but only in Jb 4<sup>40</sup>, which, with the critically untenable מִשִּׁימִי Ez 21<sup>21</sup>, is the only instance of שִׁים in *Hiph'il*), מִנִּים *breaking forth* Ju 20<sup>33</sup>, with *inf.* *Qal* מִנִּים; הָרִישוּ they rushed forth Ju 20<sup>37</sup>, with *inf.* *Qal* מִנִּים; מִנִּים *glancing*, also in *perfect* מִנִּים; מִנִּים he spat out, with *imperat. Qal* מִנִּים. As *passives* we find a few apparent *imperfects Hoph'al*, which are really (according to § 53 u) *imperfects passive* of *Qal*, e.g. יִחַל Is 66<sup>8</sup> from הָיַל to turn round, יִשָּׁר from שָׁר to sing, יִשָּׁת from שָׁת to set.

2. The above-mentioned *Hiph'il*-forms might equally well be derived *b* from verbs ע"י; and the influence of the analogy of verbs ע"י is distinctly seen in the *Niph'al* גָּבַן (*ground-form nabān*), פִּזְּלָהּ, and *Hithpōlēl* הִתְפַּלֵּל. The very close relation existing between verbs ע"י and ע"י is evident also from the fact that from some stems both forms occur side by side in *Qal*, thus from הָיַל to turn round, *imperative* also הָיַל Mi 4<sup>10</sup>; שִׁים to place, *infinitive construct* commonly שִׁים (2 S 14<sup>7</sup> שִׁים *Qere*), *imperfect* שִׁים, but Ex 4<sup>11</sup> שִׁים. In other verbs one form is, at any rate, the more common, e.g. גָּלַל to exult (גָּל only Pr 23<sup>24</sup> *Kethibh*); from לָן (perhaps denominative from לָלַל) to spend the night, לָן occurs six times as *infinitive construct*, לָן only in Gn 24<sup>23</sup>; but the *imperative* is always לָן, &c.—Of verbs ע"י the most common are שָׁת to set, רִיב to strive, דָּן to judge, שִׂישׁ to rejoice; cf. also *perfect* בָּל (*middle*

<sup>1</sup> Since בָּנִיתָ ψ 139<sup>2</sup> might be intended for בָּנִיתָ, there remains really no form of בָּן which must necessarily be explained as a *Qal*, except the *plur.* בָּנִים Jer 49<sup>7</sup>. Nevertheless it is highly probable that all the above instances of *Hiph'il*-forms, parallel with *Qal*-forms of the same meaning, are merely due to a secondary formation from the *imperfects Qal* בָּן, יִשִּׁים, &c., which were wrongly regarded as *imperfects Hiph'il*: so Barth, *ZDMG.* xliii. p. 190 f., and *Nominalbildung*, p. 119 f.



*Yôdh* in Arabic) to comprehend, to measure, Is 40<sup>12</sup>; עִט (as in Arabic and Syriac) to rush upon, and the denominative perfect קָץ (from קָץ) to pass the summer, Is 18<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, וְיִדְּשׁוּם and they shall fish them, Jer 16<sup>16</sup>, generally explained as perfect *Qal*, denominative from דָּשׁ fish, probably represents a denominative *Pi'el*, וְיִדְּשׁוּם.

c Corresponding to verbs properly עָו, mentioned in § 72 gg, there are certain verbs עָו with consonantal *Yôdh*, as אָבַח to hate, עָפַח to faint, הָיָה to become, to be, חָיָה to live.

d Rem. 1. In the perfect *Qal* 3rd fem. sing. וְלָכָה occurs once, Ze 5<sup>4</sup>, for וְלָכָה, with the weakening of the toneless *ā* to *ē* (as in the fem. participle וְלָכָה Is 55<sup>5</sup>); cf. the analogous examples in § 481 and § 80 i.—2nd sing. masc. שָׁתָה ψ 90<sup>6</sup>, *Q'ri* (before ע; cf. § 72 s); 1st sing. once שָׁתִי ψ 73<sup>23</sup>, *mi'ra'*, without any apparent reason; 1st plur. וְלָכָה Ju 19<sup>13</sup> for *lān-nū*. The lengthened imperative has the tone on the ultima before gutturals, רִיבָה הוּהָ ψ 35<sup>1</sup>; see further, § 72 s.—Examples of the infinitive absolute are: רָב רָב litigando, Ju 11<sup>25</sup>, Jb 40<sup>2</sup>; שָׁם Jer 42<sup>15</sup>; שָׁח ponendo, Is 22<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand, רִיב רִיב (for רָב) Jer 50<sup>24</sup>, תָּבִין בֵּין Pr 23<sup>1</sup>, חוּל תְּחִיל Ex 30<sup>16</sup> *Keth.*, are irregular and perhaps due to incorrect *scriptio plena*; for the last the *Q'ri* requires חוּל תְּחִיל, but read חוּל; cf. § 113 x.

e 2. The shortened imperfect usually has the form יָשַׁח, יָשַׁח, more rarely, with the tone moved back, e.g. לֹוּ Ju 6<sup>31</sup>, cf. Ex 23<sup>1</sup>, אֶל-תִּשְׁעָת 1 S 9<sup>20</sup>. So with *wāw* consecutive וְיָשַׁח and he placed, וְיָשַׁח and he perceived; with a middle guttural וְיָשַׁח 1 S 25<sup>14</sup> (see § 72 ee); with ר as 3rd radical, וְיָשַׁח Ju 5<sup>1</sup>. As jussive of יָשַׁח, יָשַׁח is found in Ju 16<sup>20</sup> (in pause) and Jb 17<sup>2</sup>, for יָשַׁח.—For יָשַׁח Pr 30<sup>30</sup> *Keth.* (*Q'ri* תָּרַב) read תָּרַב.

f 3. As participle active *Qal* לֹוּ spending the night, occurs once, Neh 13<sup>21</sup>; participle passive שָׁם Nu 24<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>24</sup>, Ob 4; feminine שָׁמָּה 2 S 13<sup>32</sup>, in the *Q'ri*, even according to the reading of the Oriental schools (see p. 38, note 2): the *Kethibh* has שָׁמָּה. A passive of *Qal* (cf. above, § 52 e and s, and § 53 u) from שָׁם may perhaps be seen in וְיָשַׁח Gn 50<sup>26</sup> (also Gn 24<sup>33</sup> *Kethibh* וְיָשַׁח, *Q'ri* וְיָשַׁח; the Samaritan in both places has וְיָשַׁח), and also in יָשַׁח Ex 30<sup>32</sup>, Samaritan יָשַׁח. Against the explanation of יָשַׁח as a *Hoph'al*-form from סָפַח, Barth (*Jubelschrift . . . Hildesheimer*, Berlin, 1890, p. 151) rightly urges that the only example of a *Hiph'il* of סָפַח is the doubtful וְיָשַׁח, which is probably an *ē*-imperfect of *Qal*.—The explanation of יָשַׁח, &c., as a passive of *Qal* arising from *yiysam*, &c. = *yuiysam* (so Barth, *ibid.*, note 1), is certainly also unconvincing, so that the correctness of the traditional reading is open to question.

g 4. In verbs עָו the *ē* always retains its consonantal value; these stems are, therefore, to be regarded as verbs middle Guttural (§ 64). An exception is וְיָשַׁח Ec 12<sup>5</sup> if it be imperfect *Hiph'il* of נָחַח (for נָחַח); but if the form has really been correctly transmitted, it should rather be referred to נָחַח, and regarded as incorrectly written for נָחַח. On נָחַח (from נָחַח), which was formerly treated here as עָו, see now § 75 x.

## § 74. Verbs נ"ל, e.g. נָצַח to find. Paradigm O.

The נ in these verbs, as in verbs נ"ב, is treated in some cases as *a* a consonant, i.e. as a guttural, in others as having no consonantal value (as a quiescent or vowel letter), viz.:

1. In those forms which terminate with the נ, the final syllable always has the regular vowels, if long, e.g. נָצַח, נָצַח, נָצַח, נָצַח, i.e. the נ simply quiesces in the long vowel, without the latter suffering any change whatever. It is just possible that after the altogether heterogeneous vowel *ā* the נ may originally have preserved a certain consonantal value. On the other hand, if the final נ quiesces in a preceding *ā* (as in the *perfect*, *imperfect*, and *imperative Qal*, in the *perfect Niph'al*, and in *Pu'al* and *Hoph'al*) this *ā* is necessarily lengthened to *ā*, by § 27 g, as standing in an open syllable; e.g. נָצַח, נָצַח, &c.

The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* invariably have *ā* in the final syllable, on the analogy of verbs *tertiæ gutturalis*; cf., however, § 76 e.—In the *imperfect Hithpa'al* *ā* occurs in the final syllable not only (according to § 54 k) in the principal pause (Nu 31<sup>23</sup>), or immediately before it (Jb 10<sup>13</sup>), or with the lesser disjunctives (Lv 21<sup>14</sup>, Nu 19<sup>13,20</sup>), but even out of pause with *Mer'kha*, Nu 6<sup>7</sup>, and even before *Maggeph* in Nu 19<sup>12</sup>.

2. When נ stands at the end of a syllable before an affirmative *C* beginning with a consonant (ת, י), it likewise quiesces with the preceding vowel; thus in the *perfect Qal* (and *Hoph'al*, see below) quiescing with *ā* it regularly becomes *Qames* (נָצַח for נָצַח, &c.); but in the *perfect* of all the other active and reflexive conjugations, so far as they occur, it is preceded by *Sere* (נִצַּח, &c.), and in the *imperative* and *imperfect* by *Seghol*, נִצַּח, נִצַּח.

(a) The *Seghol* of these forms of the imperfect and imperative might be *d* considered as a modification, and at the same time a lengthening of an original *ā* (see § 8 a). In the same way the *i* of the *perfect* forms in *Piel*, *Hithpa'al*, and *Hiph'il* might be traced to an original *i* (as in other cases the *e* and *i* in the final syllable of the 3rd sing. masc. *perfect* of these conjugations), although this *i* may have only been attenuated from an original *ā*. According to another, and probably the correct explanation, however, both the *Sere* and the *Seghol* are due to the analogy of verbs נ"ל (§ 75 f) in consequence of the close relation between the two classes, cf. § 75 n.—No form of this kind occurs in *Pu'al*; in the *perfect Hoph'al* only the 2nd masc. sing. הִנָּח Ez 40<sup>4</sup>, lengthened according to rule.

(b) Before suffixes attached by a connecting vowel (e.g. יִקְרָאֵנִי) the נ *c* retains its consonantal value; so before ה and כ, e.g. יִקְרָאֵנִי Ct 8<sup>1</sup>; הִנָּח Ez 28<sup>13</sup> (cf. § 65 h), not יִקְרָאֵנִי, &c., since these suffixes, by § 58 f, are likewise attached to the verb-form by a connecting vowel in the form of *S'vā mobile*.—As *infinitive Qal* with suffix notice יִקְרָאֵנִי Ez 25<sup>6</sup>; *participle* with suffix יִקְרָאֵנִי Is 43<sup>1</sup>; *infinitive Piel* יִקְרָאֵנִי.—The doubly anomalous form יִקְרָאֵנִי Jer 23<sup>6</sup> (for יִקְרָאֵנִי or יִקְרָאֵנִי) is perhaps a *forma mixta* combining the readings יִקְרָאֵנִי and יִקְרָאֵנִי.

*f* 3. When **ס** begins a syllable (consequently before affirmatives which consist of or begin with a vowel, as well as before suffixes) it is necessarily a firm consonant, and the form then follows the analogy of the strong verb, e.g. מַצֵּא *māṣē'ā*, מְצָא, &c. (in *purse* מְצָא, מְצָא).

## REMARKS.

*g* 1. Verbs *middle e*, like מָלֵא *to be full*, retain the *ṣere* also in the other persons of the *perfect*, e.g. מָלֵאתִי (מָלֵאת Est 7<sup>5</sup> has — owing to its transitive use; for יִרְאֶתֶם Jos 4<sup>24</sup> read with Ewald יִרְאֶתֶם). Instead of מְצָא the form קָרַאת *she names*, on the analogy of the *ל"ה*-forms noticed in § 75 *m*, occurs in Is 7<sup>14</sup> (from קָרַאת, cf. § 44 *f*), and with a different meaning (*it befalls*) in Dt 31<sup>20</sup>, Jer 44<sup>23</sup>, in both places before **ס**, and hence, probably, to avoid a hiatus (on the other hand, חָטַאת Ex 5<sup>10</sup>, could only be the 2nd *sing. masc.*; the text which is evidently corrupt should probably be emended to חָטַאתָ with the LXX); in *Niph'al* נִפְלֵאתָ ψ 118<sup>23</sup>; in *Hoph'al* הִפְלֵאתָ Gn 33<sup>11</sup>.—The 2nd *fem. sing.* is written קָרַאתָ by Baer, Gen 16<sup>11</sup>, &c., according to early MSS.

*h* 2. The *infinitive Qal* occurs sometimes on the analogy of verbs *ל"ה* (קָלוּת, &c., see § 75 *m*) in the feminine form; so always מְלֵאת *to fill* (as distinguished from מְלֵא *fullness*), Lv 8<sup>33</sup>, 12<sup>4,6</sup>, 25<sup>20</sup>, Jer 29<sup>10</sup>, Ez 5<sup>2</sup>, also written מְלֵאות Jer 25<sup>12</sup>, Jb 20<sup>22</sup>, &c., and מְלֵאות Est 1<sup>5</sup>. Cf. further, קָרַאת Ju 8<sup>1</sup>; שָׁנַת Pr 8<sup>13</sup>; before suffixes, Ez 33<sup>12</sup>, and likewise in *Niph.* Ze 13<sup>4</sup>; also in *Piel* לְמַלֵּאת Ex 31<sup>5</sup>, 35<sup>23</sup>, or לְמֵלֵאת Dn 9<sup>2</sup>, &c. *Kethibh*; with suffix 2 S 21<sup>2</sup>.—On the (aramaizing) *infinitives* מְשָׁא and מְשָׁוָה, see § 45 *e*; on לְקַרְיָת *obviam*, § 19 *k*.—בְּמַצְאֵכֶם *when ye find*, Gn 32<sup>20</sup>, stands, according to § 93 *g*, for מְצַאֲכֶם. The tone of the lengthened *imperative* רְפָאָה Ps 41<sup>5</sup> as *Mil'ra'* (before נִפְשִׁי) is to be explained on rhythmical grounds; cf. the analogous cases in § 72 *s*.—The 2nd *fem. plur. imperative* in Ru 1<sup>9</sup> has, according to Qimhi, the form מְצָאֵי and in verse 20 קָרְאֵי; on the other hand, the Mantua edition and Ginsburg, on good authority, read מְצָאֵי, קָרְאֵי.

*i* 3. The *participle fem.* is commonly contracted, e.g. מְצָאָה (for מְצָאָתָ) 2 S 18<sup>22</sup>, cf. Est 2<sup>15</sup>; so *Niph'al* נִפְלֵאתָ Dt 30<sup>11</sup>, Ze 5<sup>7</sup> (but נִשְׁאָה Is 30<sup>25</sup>), and *Hoph'al*, Gn 38<sup>25</sup>; less frequent forms are מְצָאָתָ Ct 8<sup>10</sup>; נִשְׁאָתָ 1 K 10<sup>22</sup> (cf. § 76 *b*, שָׁאָתָ beside לִשְׁאָתָ as *infinitive construct* from נִשְׁאָה) and without **ס** (see *k*) וִיצָתָ (from וִיצָה) Dt 28<sup>57</sup>. In the forms חָטָאִים *sinning*, 1 S 14<sup>33</sup>, cf. ψ 99<sup>6</sup>; בִּרְדָּם *feigning them*, Neh 6<sup>8</sup>, the **ס** is elided, and is only retained orthographically (§ 23 *c*) after the retraction of its vowel; see the analogous cases in § 75 *oo*.—On the *plur. masc. ptc.* *Niph.* cf. § 93 *oo*.

*k* 4. Frequently an **ס** which is quiescent is omitted in writing (§ 23 *f*): (a) in the middle of the word, e.g. בָּנִי 1 S 25<sup>8</sup>; מְצָחִי Nu 11<sup>11</sup>, cf. Jb 1<sup>21</sup>; צִמְחִי Ju 4<sup>10</sup>, cf. Jb 32<sup>18</sup>. In the *imperfect* חָטְנָה Jer 9<sup>17</sup>, Ze 5<sup>9</sup>, Ru 1<sup>14</sup> (but the same form occurs with *Yódh* pleonastic after the manner of verbs *ל"ה* in Ez 23<sup>49</sup>, according to the common reading; cf. § 76 *b* and Jer 50<sup>20</sup>); in *Piel* אֶלְפִּנָה (after elision of the **ס**, cf. § 75 *oo*) Gn 31<sup>39</sup>; and also in *Niph'al* נִמְחָה Lv 11<sup>43</sup>; cf. Jos 2<sup>16</sup>. (b) at the end of the word; וִיבִי 1 K 12<sup>12</sup> *Kethibh*; *Hoph'al* הִחְמִי 2 K 13<sup>8</sup>, cf. Is 53<sup>10</sup> הִחְלִי for הִחְלִי *perfect Hiph'il* of חָלָה formed

after the manner of verbs ל"ה; in the *imperfect Hiph'il* יָשַׁח  $\psi$  55<sup>16</sup> *Kethibh*; יָנִי  $\psi$  141<sup>5</sup>; אָבִי 1 K 21<sup>19</sup>, Mi 1<sup>15</sup>; in the *infinitive*, Jer 32<sup>35</sup>; in the *participle*, 2 S 5<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>21</sup>, Jer 19<sup>15</sup>, 39<sup>6</sup>, all in *Kethibh* (מָכִי), always before ל, hence perhaps only a scribal error).

5. In the *jussive, imperfect consecutive, and imperative Hiph'il* a number of cases occur with  $\dot{i}$  in the final syllable; cf. יָשַׁח Is 36<sup>14</sup> (in the parallel passages 2 K 18<sup>29</sup>, 2 Ch 32<sup>15</sup> יָשַׁח); יָבִיא Neh 8<sup>2</sup> (before  $\psi$ ); יָיָח 2 K 21<sup>11</sup> (cf. 1 K 16<sup>2</sup>, 21<sup>22</sup>); וַתַּחֲבֵא 2 K 6<sup>28</sup>; וַיִּזְצַח Dt 4<sup>20</sup>, 2 K 11<sup>12</sup>,  $\psi$  78<sup>16</sup>, 105<sup>48</sup>; *imperative* הָבִיא Jer 17<sup>18</sup>; הוֹצִיא Is 43<sup>8</sup> (in both cases before  $\psi$ ). If the tradition be correct (which at least in the defectively written forms appears very doubtful) the retention of the  $\dot{i}$  is to be attributed to the open syllable; while in the closed syllable of the 3rd *sing. masc. and fem.*, and the 2nd *sing. masc.* after  $\dot{i}$  *consecutive*, the  $\dot{i}$  is always reduced to  $\bar{i}$ . In the examples before  $\psi$  considerations of euphony may also have had some influence (cf. § 75 *hh*).—In Ez 40<sup>3</sup>, Baer reads with the Western school וַיִּבִּיא, while the Orientals read in the *Kethibh* וַיָּבִיא, and in the *Qere* וַיִּבִּיא.

On the transition of verbs ל"ה to forms of ל"ה see § 75 *nn*.

### § 75. Verbs ל"ה, e.g. הִגִּיל to reveal. Paradigm P.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 149 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 618 ff.—G. R. Berry, 'Original Waw in ל"ה verbs' in *AJSL*. xx. 256 f.

These verbs, like the verbs ו"ה (§§ 69, 70), belong to two different *a* classes, viz. those originally ל"י and those originally ל"י,<sup>1</sup> which in Arabic, and even more in Ethiopic, are still clearly distinguished. In Hebrew, instead of the original ו or י at the end of the word, a ה always appears (except in the *ptcp. pass. Qal*) as a purely orthographic indication of a final vowel (§ 23 *k*); hence both classes are called ל"ה, e.g. הִגִּיל for הִגִּיל he has revealed; שָׁכַח for שָׁכַח he has rested. By far the greater number of these verbs are, however, treated as originally ל"י; only isolated forms occur of verbs ל"י.

שָׁכַח to be at rest may be recognized as originally ל"י, in the forms in which ה the *Wāw* appears as a strong consonant, cf. 1st *sing. perfect Qal* שָׁכַחְתִּי Jb 3<sup>20</sup>, the *participle* שָׁכַח and the derivative שָׁכַח rest; on the other hand the *imperfect* is יִשְׁכַּח (with *Yôdh*). In עָנָה (Arab. عَنَى) to answer, and עָנָה (Arab. عَنِ) to be afflicted, are to be seen two verbs originally distinct, which have been assimilated in Hebrew (see the *Lexicon*, s. v. עָנָה).

<sup>1</sup> According to Wellhausen, 'Ueber einige Arten schwacher Verba' in his *Skizzen*, vi. p. 255 ff., the ל"ה verbs, apart from some true ל"י and some probable ל"י, are to be regarded as originally biliteral. To compensate for their arrested development they lengthened the vowel after the 2nd radical, as the ל"י verbs did after the 1st radical. But although there is much to be said for this view, it fails to explain pausal forms like הִגִּיל (see *a*). It seems impossible that these should all be late formations.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Mē'a* inscription, line 5, וַיִּעַן and he oppressed occurs as 3rd *sing. masc. imperfect Piel*, and in line 6, אֶעֱנֶה I will oppress as 1st *sing.*

Of quite a different class are those verbs of which the third radical is a consonantal ה (distinguished by *Mappiq*). These are inflected throughout like verbs *tertiæ gutturalis*. Cf. § 65 note on the heading.

C The grammatical structure of verbs ה"ל (see Paradigm P) is based on the following laws:—

1. In all forms in which the original *Yôdh* or *Wāw* would stand at the end of the word, it is dropped (cf. § 24 g) and ה takes its place as an orthographic indication of the preceding long vowel. Such an indication would have been indispensable, on practical grounds, in the still unvocalized consonantal text. But even after the addition of the vowel signs, the orthographic rule remained, with insignificant exceptions (see § 8 k, and *ā* in הָלַחַ, &c.), that a final vowel must be indicated by a vowel letter. In verbs ה"ל the ה which is here employed as a vowel letter is preceded by the same vowel in the same part of the verb throughout all the conjugations. Thus the endings are—

ה־ in all perfects, הָלַחַ, הִלַּחַ, הֵלַחַ, &c.

ה־ in all imperfects and participles, הִלְכָהּ, הִלְכֵּהּ, &c.

ה־ in all imperatives, הִלְכֵּהּ, הִלְכֵּהּ, &c.

ה־ in the infinitive absolute (הִלַּחַ, &c.), except in *Hiph'el*, *Hoph'al*, and generally also *Pi'el*, see aa and ff.

The *participle passive Qal* alone forms an exception, the original י (or י, see v) reappearing at the end, הִלְכִי; and so also some derived nouns (§ 84<sup>a</sup>, c, e, &c.).

The *infinitive construct* always has the ending תי (with ת *feminine*); *Qal* הִלְכֵתִי, *Pi'el* הִלְכֵתִי, &c.; for exceptions, see n and y.

d These forms may be explained as follows:—in the *perfect Qal* הָלַחַ stands, according to the above, for (י)הָלַחַ, and, similarly, in *Niph'al*, *Pu'al*, and *Hoph'al*. The *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el* may be based on the forms הִלְכֵתִי, הִלְכֵתִי (§ 52 l; and § 54 k), and *Hiph'el* on the form הִלְכֵתִי, on the analogy of the *ā* in the second syllable of the Arabic *ʾaḡlālū* (§ 53 a). Perhaps, however, the final *ā* of these conjugations simply follows the analogy of the other conjugations.

e The explanation of the final tone-bearing ה־ of the *imperfect* is still a matter of dispute. As to the various treatments of it, see Barth, *Nominalbildung*, i. p. xxx ff, with § 136. Rem., and ZDMG. xlv. 695 f., against Philipp's objections in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, 1890, p. 356 f.; also ZDMG. lvi. 244, where Barth appeals to the rule that, in the period before the differentiation of the North Semitic dialects, final *iy* becomes ה־ (*constr.* ה־), not י; M. Lambert, *Journ. Asiat.* 1893, p. 285; Prätorius, ZDMG. lv. 365. The most probable explanation now seems to be, first, that the uniform pronunciation of all imperfects and participles with *S'ghöl* in the last syllable merely follows the analogy of the *imperf. Qal*, and secondly, that the *S'ghöl* of the *imperf. Qal* does perhaps ultimately represent a contraction of the original termination י־ (= *ai*), although elsewhere (e.g. in the *imperative* of ה"ל) *ai* is usually contracted to *i*.

2. When the original *Yōdh* stands at the end of the syllable before *f* an affirmative beginning with a consonant (𐤒, 𐤓) there arises (a) in the *perfects*, primarily the diphthong *ai* ('—'). In the middle of the word this ought always to be contracted to *ê* ('—'), but this *ê* is only found consistently in the passive conjugations, whilst regularly in *Qal*, and frequently in the other active and reflexive conjugations (especially in *Pi'ēl*), it appears as *î* (cf. *ω*, *z*, *ee*). This *î*, however, in the *perf. Qal* is not to be explained as a weakening of an original *ê*, but as the original vowel of the *intransitive* form. It then became usual also in the *transitive* forms of *Qal* (and in some other conjugations on this analogy), whereas e.g. in Syriac the two kinds of forms are still carefully distinguished.—(b) In the *imperfects* and *imperatives*, '— with the tone always appears before the affirmative 𐤒𐤓. On the most probable explanation of this '—, see above, *e*.

**Summary.** Accordingly before affirmatives beginning with a consonant the principal vowel is—

In the perfect *Qal* ṭ, e.g. תָּלִית;

In the perfects of the other active and reflexive conjugations, sometimes  $\hat{e}$ , sometimes  $\hat{a}$ ,  $\hat{e}$  and  $\hat{a}$ ;  $\hat{e}$  and  $\hat{a}$ ;  $\hat{e}$  and  $\hat{a}$ ;  $\hat{e}$  and  $\hat{a}$ ;

In the perfects passive always *é*, e. g. *נִלְמָד* ;

In the imperfects and imperatives always 'ִי, e. g. תִּלְכִּי, תִּלְכִּי.

The diphthongal forms have been systematically retained in Arabic and Ethiopic; only as an exception and in the popular language is the diphthong contracted. In Aramaic the contracted forms predominate, yet the Syriac, for example, has in *Qal 2nd pers. sing. gē'tait* (but 1st *pers. sing. gā'lit*), and so too the Western Aramaic *gā'lit*, but also *gē'lit*.

3. Before the vocalic affirmatives (י, יִ, יָ) the *Yôdh* is usually *h* dropped altogether, e. g. יָלָא (ground-form *gālāyā*), יָלָאָה, *participle fem.* יָלָאָה, *plur. masc.* יָלָאוּ; yet the old full forms also not infrequently occur, especially in *pause*, see *u*. The elision of the *Yôdh* takes place regularly before *suffixes*, e. g. יָלָאָה (see *II*).

4. In the 3rd *sing. fem. perfect*, the original feminine ending  $\eta\text{---}i$  was appended to the stem; hence, after elision of the *Ycdh*, arose properly forms like  $\eta\text{---}i$ , with  $\bar{a}$  in the final syllable with the tone. This form, however, has been but rarely preserved (see below, *m*). The analogy of the other forms had so much influence, that the common ending  $\eta\text{---}$  was added pleonastically to the ending  $\eta\text{---}$ . Before the  $\eta\text{---}$  the vowel of the ending  $\eta\text{---}$ , which thus loses the tone, becomes *Sewd*, and thus there arise such forms as  $\eta\text{---}$  &c. (but in *pause*  $\eta\text{---}$ , &c.).

For similar cases see § 70 *d*; § 91 *m*.



*k* 5. Finally, a strongly-marked peculiarity of verbs הָלִי is the rejection of the ending הָלִי in forming the *jussive* and the *imperfect consecutive*. This shortening occurs in all the conjunctions, and sometimes also involves further changes in the vocalization (see *o*, *y*, *bb*, *gg*). Similarly, in some conjugations a *shortened imperative* (cf. § 48 *k*) is formed by *apocope* of the final הָלִי (see *cc*, *gg*).

*l* 6. The ordinary form of the *imperfect* with the ending הָלִי serves in verbs הָלִי to express the cohortative also (§ 48 *c*); cf. Gn 1<sup>26</sup>, 2<sup>18</sup>, 2 Ch 25<sup>17</sup>, &c. With a final הָלִי there occur only: in *Qal*, וְשִׁפְעָה ψ 119<sup>17</sup>, וְשִׁפְעָה (with the *y* retained, see below, *u*) ψ 77<sup>4</sup>; and in *Hithpa'el* וְשִׁפְעָה Is 41<sup>23</sup> (with *Tiphpha*, therefore in lesser pause).

## REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

*m* 1. The older form of the *fem.* of the 3rd *sing. perf.* הָלִי, mentioned above, under *i* (cf. § 74 *g*), is preserved in עָשִׂתָּ (before *N*) Lv 25<sup>21</sup> (cf. 2 K 9<sup>37</sup> *Kethibh*)<sup>1</sup>; likewise in *Hiph'il* הָרַצְתָּ (before *N*) Lv 26<sup>32</sup>; הָלַצְתָּ Ez 24<sup>12</sup>; and in *Hoph'al* הָנִלְתָּ (before *y*) Jer 13<sup>13</sup>.—The 2nd *sing. fem.* is also written הָלִי; thus in the *textus receptus* וְהָיִיתָ 2 S 14<sup>2</sup>, and always in Baer's editions (since 1872), as in most other verbs; הָיִיתָ Is 57<sup>8</sup>; עָשִׂיתָ Jer 2<sup>28</sup>, Ez 16<sup>48</sup>, &c. (so וְהָיִיתָ 1 K 17<sup>18</sup> from וְהָיִיתָ). In the 3rd *pers. plur.* the tone, instead of keeping its usual place (הָלִי, &c.), is retracted in ψ 37<sup>20</sup>, הָלִי, both on account of the *pause* and also in *rhythmical antithesis* to the preceding הָלִי; also in Is 16<sup>8</sup> הָלִי (according to Delitzsch for the sake of the assonance with הָלִי); and in Jb 24<sup>1</sup> הָלִי.—On the tone of the *perfect consecutive* see § 49 *k*.

*n* 2. The *infinitive absol.* frequently has *i* (probably a survival of the older orthography) for הָלִי, e. g. הָיִי Gn 18<sup>18</sup>; עָשִׂי Jer 4<sup>18</sup>, &c., Ez 31<sup>11</sup>; קְנוּ 2 S 24<sup>24</sup>; רָאִי Gn 26<sup>28</sup>, Is 6<sup>9</sup> (cf. 1 S 6<sup>12</sup>), &c., beside רָאֵה. The form שָׁתוּת Is 22<sup>15</sup> (beside שָׁתוּ in the same verse) appears to have been chosen on account of its similarity in sound to שָׁחַט; so in Is 42<sup>20</sup> *Q're* and Ho 10<sup>4</sup>, אָלִיתָ (unless it is a substantive, *oaths*), בָּרַתָּ; cf. also עָרוּת Hb 3<sup>13</sup>.—Conversely, instead of the *infinitive construct* הָלִי such forms are occasionally found as הָלִי or הָלִי, cf. רָאֵה Gn 48<sup>11</sup>; קְנוּ Pr 16<sup>16</sup>; עָשִׂה Gn 50<sup>20</sup>, ψ 101<sup>3</sup>, also עָשִׂה Gn 31<sup>28</sup> (cf. Pr 31<sup>4</sup>), and even with the *suffix* הָלִי the very remarkable form עָשִׂהוּ Ex 18<sup>18</sup>.<sup>2</sup>—The feminine form רָאִיָּה (for רָאִיתָ) Ez 28<sup>17</sup>, analogous to nouns like הָלִיָּה (cf. § 45 *d*), is strange, but הָלִיָּה as *infinitive* Ez 21<sup>15</sup> is quite inexplicable.—The forms הָלִי and הָלִי Is 59<sup>13</sup> are perhaps to be regarded with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, § 51 *a*, as *infinitives absolute* of the *passive* of *Qal* (see above, § 53 *u*), not of *P's'al*.—The 2nd *sing. masc. imperative* הָלִי occurs in the principal pause in Pr 4<sup>4</sup> and 7<sup>2</sup>; but

<sup>1</sup> In the Siloam inscription also (see above, § 2 *d*), line 3, הָיִי may be read הָיִי quite as well as הָיִי.

<sup>2</sup> All these infinitives construct in *δ*, in the Pentateuch, belong to the document called *E*; cf. § 69 *m*, second note.

probably these forms are simply to be attributed to a Masoretic school, which in general marked the difference between certain forms by the use of *ê* for *ē*, and conversely *ē* for *ê*; cf. the analogous examples in § 52 *n*, and especially § 75 *hh*, also Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 17, 2, Rem. 1.—On the reading וְרָאִינָה Ct 3<sup>11</sup> (for וְרָאִינָה, on the analogy of the reading כְּרָאִינָה, &c., § 74 *h*), see Baer's note on the passage.

3. The shortening of the imperfect (see above, *k*, and the note on *hh*) occasions *Q* in *Qal* the following changes:

(a) As a rule the first radical takes a helping *S<sup>g</sup>ghôl*, or, if the second radical is a guttural, a helping *Pathah* (according to § 28 *e*). Thus יָנַל for יָנַל; וִינָו and he despised, Gn 25<sup>34</sup>; וִיבֵן and he built; וִישַׁע he looks; וִימָה and he destroyed, Gn 7<sup>23</sup>.

(b) The *î* of the preformative is then sometimes lengthened to *ē*, e.g. יָרָא *p* he sees. This, however, mostly happens only after the preformative ה, whilst after *v* the homogeneous *î* remains, e.g. וַתִּבֶּל (but וִיבֶל), וַתִּפֶּן (but וִיפֶן), וַתִּרְב (but וִירְב); with middle guttural וַתִּחַע, וַתִּבְה, וַתִּבְה Jb 17<sup>7</sup> (from פִּתְהָה). The unusual position of the tone in וַתִּרָא Ze 9<sup>5</sup>, וַתִּרָא Mi 7<sup>10</sup> (so Baer and Ginsb.; ed. Mant. וַתִּרָא, וַתִּרָא) is best explained (except in וַתִּרָא Gn 41<sup>39</sup>, before פ) on the analogy of וַתִּבְה, &c., § 72 *s*, as due to the following *N*. But cf. also *hh*.

(c) The helping vowel is elsewhere not used under the circumstances mentioned in § 28 *d*; וִישַׁב Nu 21<sup>1</sup>, Jer 41<sup>10</sup>, cf. וִיפֶת Jb 31<sup>27</sup>; on the other hand, with *î* lengthened into *ē* (see *p*) וִישַׁת, וִיבֶךְ, וִיבֶד, וִישַׁץ. The form יָרָא he sees, occurs parallel with וִירָא and he saw (but 3rd fem. always וַתִּרָא), the latter with the original *Pathah* on account of the following *ר*, and identical with the 3rd sing. masc. of the imperf. consec. *Hiph'ûl*, 2 K 11<sup>4</sup>.

(d) Examples of verbs *primae gutturalis* (§ 63), and at the same time ל"ה *ר* are וַיַּעַשׂ, in pause וַיַּעַשׂ and he made, from עָשָׂה; וַיַּעַן and he answered, from עָנָה (always identical with the corresponding forms in *Hiph'ûl*), וַיַּחֲצֵץ and he divided, from חָצַע. On some similar forms of פ"ה see § 76 *d*.—In the following cases the initial (hard) guttural does not affect the form: וַיִּחַר and he was wroth, וַיִּחַן and he encamped (3rd plur. וַיִּחַנו), וַיִּחַד (with *Dageš lene* and *S<sup>g</sup>wā*) let it rejoice, Jb 3<sup>6</sup>; cf. Ex 18<sup>9</sup>.—On וַיִּזַּן, וַיִּזַּן (ל"ה as well as פ"ה), &c., see § 76 *b*, *c*, *f*.

(e) The verbs וַיְהִי to be, and וַיֵּחַי to live, of which the shortened imperfects *S* ought to be *yihy* and *yihy*, change these forms to יְהִי and יֵחַי, the second *Tôdh* being resolved into *î* at the end of the word; but in pause (§ 29 *n*) יְהִי, יֵחַי, with the original *ā* modified to *S<sup>g</sup>ghôl* with the tone (cf. also nouns like בָּכִי for *bakhy*, in pause בָּכִי עָנִי for *ʿany*, &c., § 84<sup>a</sup> *c*, and § 93 *x*). For וַיִּשַׁי, however, in Dt 32<sup>18</sup>, since no verb וַיִּשָּׂה exists, we must read either וַיִּשָּׂה, or better וַיִּשָּׂה (Samaritan וַיִּשָּׂה), as imperfect *Qal* of וַיִּשָּׂה to forget.—Analogous to יְהִי from וַיְהִי, there occurs once, from וַיֵּחַי to be, the form יְהוּא for יְהִי he will be, Ec 11<sup>8</sup>, but no doubt וַיֵּחַי is the right reading.

The full forms (without apocope of the ה, cf. § 49 *c*) not infrequently *t* occur after *wāw* consecutive, especially in the 1st pers. and in the later books, e.g. וַיִּרְאֶה and I saw, twenty times, and Jos 7<sup>21</sup> in *K<sup>e</sup>thibh*, but never in the Pentateuch (וַיִּרְאֶה fifteen times, of which three are in the Pent.); also in the

3rd pers. *וַיַּעַשׂ* Ez 15<sup>23</sup>, Jb 42<sup>16</sup> *Q<sup>re</sup>*; *וַיַּעַשׂ* and *he made*, four times (but *וַיַּעַשׂ* over 200 times); cf. also Ju 19<sup>2</sup> (*וַיַּעַשׂ*); 1 K 10<sup>20</sup> (*וַיַּעַשׂ*); Dt 1<sup>16</sup> (*וַיַּעַשׂ*), and Gn 24<sup>48</sup>. So also occasionally for the *jussive*, cf. Gn 1<sup>9</sup>, 41<sup>34</sup>, Jer 28<sup>6</sup>.—For the well attested, but meaningless *וַיַּעַשׂ* Jb 62<sup>1</sup> (doubtless caused by the following *וַיַּעַשׂ*), read *וַיַּעַשׂ* *ye see*, with Ginsburg.

4. The original *y* sometimes appears even before affirmatives beginning with a vowel (cf. above, *h* and *l*), especially in and before the *pause*, and before the full plural ending *וְ*—, or where for any reason an emphasis rests on the word. *Perfect* *חָסִיָּה* *ψ* 57<sup>2</sup>, *חָסִיָּה* Dt 32<sup>37</sup>, cf. *ψ* 75<sup>2</sup> *Q<sup>re</sup>*; *imperative* *בָּעֵי* Is 21<sup>12</sup>. *Imperfect* *יִצְחָק* Jb 16<sup>22</sup>, 30<sup>14</sup> (without the *pause*, *ψ* 68<sup>22</sup>); *יִצְחָק* *ψ* 122<sup>6</sup>, Jb 12<sup>6</sup>, cf. *ψ* 77<sup>4</sup>; *יִצְחָק* Dt 5<sup>18</sup>; *ψ* 36<sup>9</sup>: more frequently like *יִשְׁתָּחִי* *ψ* 75<sup>44</sup>; Is 17<sup>12</sup>, 21<sup>12</sup>, 26<sup>11</sup>, 31<sup>3</sup>, 33<sup>7</sup>, 41<sup>5</sup>, *ψ* 36<sup>8</sup>, 39<sup>7</sup>, 83<sup>3</sup>; before a suffix, Jb 3<sup>28</sup>. Also in Pr 26<sup>7</sup> *יִצְחָק*, as *perf. Qal* from *יָצַח*, was perhaps originally intended, but hardly *יִצְחָק*, since these full forms, though they may stand out of *pause*, do not begin sentences; *יִצְחָק* probably points to *יָצַח* from *יָצַח* as the right reading, since the sense requires an intransitive verb. Cf. further, *v*, *x*, *ad*, *gg*.

5. The *participle active* (cf. Volders, 'Das Qatil-Partizipium,' ZA. 1903, p. 312 ff., and on the *participles of ל*, *ibid.*, p. 316 ff.), besides feminine forms like *עֹלָה* Ju 20<sup>21</sup>, &c., *Pr* 20<sup>12</sup>, has also a *feminine* which retains the 3rd radical *y*, viz. *בֹּכִיָּה* (= *בָּכָה*) *weeping*, La 1<sup>16</sup>; *הוֹמָיָה* *tumultuous*, Is 22<sup>2</sup> (*plur.* *Pr* 31<sup>21</sup>); *צוֹפִיָּה* *spying*, *Pr* 31<sup>27</sup>; *פְּרִיָּה* *fruitful*, *ψ* 128<sup>8</sup>, *plur.* *אֲתִיּוֹת* *the things that are to come*, Is 41<sup>23</sup>. With the ordinary strong inflexion *y* appears in *עֹמָה* Ct 1<sup>7</sup>, but perhaps there also *עֹמָה* was intended, unless it should be *עֹמָה* *a wanderer*. For *רָאָה* Is 47<sup>10</sup>, *רָאָה* is to be read.—On *עֹשֶׂה* 1 K 20<sup>40</sup> for *עֹשֶׂה*, cf. § 116 *g*, note.—In the *participle passive* the 3rd radical still sometimes appears as *y* (§ 24 *b*), cf. *עֹשֶׂה* *made*, Jb 41<sup>25</sup>, *צָפָה* Jb 15<sup>22</sup>, contracted from *עֹשֶׂה*, *צָפָה*; and before a formative ending, it even has its consonantal sound, *העשׂוּם* (read *העשׂוּם*) 2 K 23<sup>4</sup>; *עשׂוּם* (read *sawōth*) 1 S 25<sup>18</sup> *K<sup>e</sup>thibh*, *נמוּת* (read *u<sup>e</sup>thwōth*) Is 3<sup>16</sup> *K<sup>e</sup>thibh*. The shortening of the *ā* in *רָאָה* Est 2<sup>9</sup> is irregular.

6. The defective writing is rare in such forms as *וַיַּעַשׂ* 2 S 15<sup>33</sup>; *וַיַּעַשׂ* 1 K 8<sup>44</sup>, cf. 1 K 9<sup>8</sup>; *וַיַּעַשׂ* Ex 21<sup>6</sup> (cf. Jer 18<sup>21</sup>, 48<sup>2</sup>, 1 Ch 7<sup>13</sup>, Jb 17<sup>5</sup>, &c.), and the pronunciation *וַיַּעַשׂ* Mi 7<sup>10</sup>, cf. *וַיַּעַשׂ* Ju 5<sup>29</sup> (unless they are *sing.* with *suff.* of the 3rd *sing. fem.*). Both cases are probably to be explained according to § 20 *i*.

## II. On Niph'al.

7. Here the forms with *y* in the 1st and 2nd pers. *sing.* of the *perfect* predominate (*y* only in *נִפְּחָה* Gn 24<sup>8</sup>); on the other hand in the 1st *plur.* always *y*, as *נִפְּחָנוּ* 1 S 14<sup>8</sup>. No examples of the 2nd *plur.* occur.—With *y* retained in *pause* *נִפְּחָה* Nu 24<sup>6</sup>; once with an initial guttural *נִפְּחָה* Ct 1<sup>6</sup> for *נִפְּחָה*, probably arising from the ordinary strong form *niphru*, but the harshness of *h* immediately followed by *r* is avoided by pronouncing the *h* with *Hateph-Patah*.—In the 3rd *sing. fem.* *נִפְּחָה* Pr 27<sup>15</sup> (in *pause* for *נִפְּחָה*) *ו* and *h* may be transposed for euphonic reasons; but probably we should simply read *נִפְּחָה*.—Among Niph'al forms of *ל* must be classed, with Buxtorf and

others (cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xxx. 185), נִאֲוָה from נִאָוָה, not Pi'el of נִאָו = נָאוּ; hence, according to § 23 d, נִאֲוָה they are beautiful (for נִאָוָה) Is 52<sup>7</sup>, Ct 11<sup>10</sup>; but in ψ 93<sup>6</sup>, where Baer requires נִאָוָה, read נִאֲוָה with ed. Mant., Ginsb.

8. The apocope of the *imperfect* causes no further changes beyond the rejection *y* of the ה, e.g. יִנְּלָהּ from יִנְּלָהּ; in one verb *middle guttural*, however, a form occurs with the *Qames* shortened to *Pathah*, viz. יִפְּחָה (for יִפְּחָה) ψ 109<sup>13</sup>, as in verbs ע"ע; but in *pause* תִּפְּחָה verse 14. Cf. bb.—The *infinitive absolute* נִנְּלִית emphasizing an *infinitive construct*, 2 S 6<sup>20</sup>, is very extraordinary; probably it is a subsequent correction of an erroneous repetition of הִנְּלִית.—The *infinitive constr.* לְחַרְאָה occurs in Ju 13<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>21</sup> for לְחַרְאָה; cf. above, n.—On the *infinitive Niph'al* with the ה elided, see § 51 l.—The irregular תִּעְלֵל (*Qal*) and תִּעְלֵל (*Niph'al*). Similarly the solecism נִמְבְּוֶה 1 S 15<sup>9</sup> might be due to a combination of the *participle fem. Niph'al* נִמְבְּוֶה, cf. נִחְלָה, נִחְפָה, נִעְשָׂה with the *Hoph'al* (מִבְּוֶה); but it is more correct, with Wellhausen, to explain the מ from a confusion with נָמַס and to read, in fact, נִבְּוֶה וְנִמְאָסָת.

### III. On Pi'el, Pō'el, Pu'al, and Hithpa'el.

9. In the 1st and 2nd persons of the *perfect Pi'el* the second syllable in *z* most of the instances has י on the analogy of *Qal* (see f), as קָיִיתִי, רָפִיִיתָ; always so in the 1st *plur.*, and before *suffixes*, e.g. כִּפִּינִי Gn 37<sup>26</sup>, דִּבִּיתֵנוּ ψ 44<sup>20</sup>. The form with י is found only in the 1st *sing.* (e.g. Jo 4<sup>21</sup>; Is 5<sup>4</sup>, 8<sup>17</sup> along with the form with ה). On the tone of the *perf. consec. Pi'el* of ל"ה, see § 49 k.—*Hithpa'el* has (besides י Jer 17<sup>16</sup>) as a rule י (Pr 24<sup>10</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>26</sup>, Jer 50<sup>24</sup>). On the other hand, *Pu'al* always has י, e.g. עֲשִׂיתִי ψ 139<sup>15</sup>.—A 1st *sing. perfect Pō'el* שְׁוִשְׁתִּי (= שְׁוִשְׁתִּי) occurs in Is 10<sup>13</sup>.

10. The *infinitive absolute Pi'el* takes the form בִּלָּה, קָהָה (like קִפֵּל, the more *aa* frequent form even in the strong verb, see § 52 o); with ה only in ψ 40<sup>2</sup> קָהָה; with *oth* Hb 3<sup>13</sup> עָרַתָּ (cf. above, n). On הָרָו and הָרָו, *infinitives absolute* of the passive of *Qal*, not of *Pō'el*, see above, n.—As *infinitive construct* חָבִי occurs in *Pi'el*, Ho 6<sup>9</sup> (only orthographically different from חָבִה, if the text is correct); לִבְלָה Dn 9<sup>24</sup> (on the *z* see rr); עָרַלְבָלָה 2 Ch 24<sup>10</sup>, 31<sup>1</sup>, for which in 2 K 13<sup>17,19</sup>, Ezr 9<sup>14</sup> עָרַלְבָלָה with *infinitive abs.*; in *Pu'al* עָנֹתָ ψ 132<sup>1</sup>.

11. The apocopated *imperfect* must (according to § 20 l) lose the *Dageš forte bb* of the second radical, hence וַיִּצַּו and he commanded, תִּעַר (for תִּעְרָה = *t'arré*) ψ 141<sup>8</sup>; cf. Gn 24<sup>20</sup>; even in the principal pause אֶל־תִּנְּלָהּ Pr 25<sup>9</sup>; *Hithpa'el* וַיִּתְּנָהּ and he uncovered himself, Gn 9<sup>21</sup>; תִּתְּרַע Pr 22<sup>24</sup>; cf. ψ 37<sup>17,8</sup>. With the lengthening of *Pathah* to *Qames*, וַיִּתְּנוּ and he made marks, 1 S 21<sup>14</sup> (but read with Thénien וַיִּתְּנָהּ, and instead of the meaningless וַיִּשְׁנֵנוּ *ibid.* read וַיִּשְׁנֵן). In *Hithpa'el* אֶל־תִּתְּנָהּ, in close connexion, Dt 2<sup>9,19</sup>; הִשְׁתַּעַץ Is 41<sup>10</sup>; according to Qimhi also יִתְּנָהּ ψ 45<sup>12</sup>, Pr 23<sup>3,6</sup>, 24<sup>1</sup>, 1 Ch 11<sup>17</sup>, whilst Baer and Ginsburg read with the best authorities יִתְּנָהּ, יִתְּנָהּ (but cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. 597).<sup>1</sup>—On אֶחָדָה Jb 15<sup>17</sup> (for אֶחָדָה) cf. § 20 m; on אֶבְלָה Ex 33<sup>8</sup>, see § 27 g;

<sup>1</sup> In Nu 34<sup>7</sup>, according to verse 10, תִּתְּנָהּ (= תִּתְּנָהּ) is intended to be read for תִּתְּנָהּ (*imperfect Pi'el* from תָּנָה).

on יָרָה Ju 5<sup>13</sup>, see § 69 g. Finally, on יָרָה, which is referred to *Pi'el* by some, as a supposed *imperative*, see above, u.

cc 12. Examples of apocopated *imperatives* in *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el* are: צִוּ, also צִוָּה command thou, פָּתַח open thou, ψ 119<sup>18,22</sup>; מִן prepare thou, ψ 61<sup>8</sup>; נִסּ prove thou, Dn 1<sup>12</sup>; הִתְחַלֵּף feign thyself sick, 2 S 13<sup>5</sup>; cf. Dt 2<sup>24</sup>.—On רָבָה Ju 9<sup>20</sup>, cf. § 48 l.—In ψ 137<sup>7</sup> עָרָה raise it, is found twice instead of עָרָה (for 'arrū) for rhythmical reasons (cf., however, וַיַּעַר in the *imperfect*, 2 Ch 24<sup>11</sup>).

dd 13. Examples of forms in which the *Yôdh* is retained are the *imperfects* הִתְכַּוְּיָן Is 40<sup>18</sup>, cf. verso 25 and 46<sup>6</sup>; יִכְסִימוּ they cover them, Ex 15<sup>5</sup>; participle *Pu'al* מִתְכַּוְּיָם Is 25<sup>6</sup>; for יִכְסִימוּ Is 16<sup>9</sup> (from כָּסַף) read with Margolis, אִכְסִימוּ.

#### IV. On *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*.

cc 14. The 3rd *sing. perfect* *Hiph'il* sometimes has *S'ghôl* in the first syllable instead of *i* (§ 53 p), especially in הִגְלָה (but *perfect consecutive* וַהֲגִלָּה 2 K 24<sup>14</sup>), הִרְאָה, הִלְאָה; also with *suffixes*, e. g. הִגְלָם 1 Ch 8<sup>7</sup>, הִלְאֵנִי Jb 16<sup>7</sup>, הִרְפָּדָה Ex 21<sup>8</sup>. The *S'ghôl* also occurs in the 1st *sing.*, e. g. הִלְאֵתִי Mi 6<sup>3</sup>. On וַהֲרִאֵתִי Na 3<sup>5</sup>, cf. § 53 p. The forms with *i* in the second syllable (also written defectively, as וַהֲפָרִי Jer 21<sup>9</sup>) are found throughout in the 1st *sing.* (except Pr 5<sup>18</sup>), rarely in the 2nd *sing. masc.*, and never in the 1st *plur.* In the other persons they are about equally common with *i*, except in the 2nd *plur.*, where *i* predominates. Before *suffixes* the forms with *i* predominate throughout; cf., however, *i* in Ex 4<sup>12</sup>, Mi 6<sup>3</sup>, Pr 4<sup>11</sup>. On the tone of the *perf. consec. Hiph.* of לָוָה, see § 49 k. In *Hoph'al* only *i* occurs in the 2nd syllable.

ff 15. In the *infinitive Hiph'il* of רָבָה to be abundant, besides the *construct* הִרְבֹּת we find the *absolute* הִרְבָּה taking the place of the common form הִרְבָּה, which had come to be used invariably (but König calls attention to its use as *infinitive construct* in Ez 21<sup>20</sup>) as an adverb, in the sense of *much*; in 2 S 14<sup>11</sup> the *Qere* requires הִרְבָּה for the *Kethib* הִרְבִּית, an evident scribal error for הִרְבֹּת. Cf. Gn 41<sup>49</sup>, 22<sup>17</sup>, Dt 28<sup>63</sup>; the pointing הִרְבָּה Jer 42<sup>2</sup> probably arises from regarding this form as a noun.—On הִרְבֹּת Jb 17<sup>2</sup> (with *Dages f. dirimens*) see § 20 h.—In 2 K 3<sup>24</sup> הִרְבֹּת (before *N*) is probably *infinitive absolute*, used in order to avoid the hiatus, cf. § 113 x, and on a similar case in Qal, see above, u.—On the *infinitives* with elision of the ה, cf. § 53 g.

gg 16. The shortened *imperfect Hiph'il* either takes no helping vowel, as יִפְתַּח let him enlarge, Gn 9<sup>27</sup>; יִרְדַּח he shall subdue, Is 41<sup>2</sup>; וַיִּשְׁקַח and he watered, Gn 29<sup>10</sup>, &c.; וַיִּרְא and he showed, 2 K 11<sup>4</sup> (see § 28 d); or else has a helping vowel, as וַיִּלֶּח (for וַיִּלֵּחַ, see § 27 r), e. g. 2 K 18<sup>11</sup>; וַיִּפְרַח ψ 105<sup>24</sup>; וַיִּחְאֵר Ez 5<sup>6</sup>; וַיִּחַע 2 Ch 33<sup>9</sup>; וַיִּרְבּ i. e. probably וַיִּרְבֵּה Jos 24<sup>3</sup> *Kethib* וַיִּרְבֵּה (*Qere*).—Examples of verbs *first guttural*: וַיַּעַל Nu 23<sup>3</sup>, וַיִּאָּעַל, &c., which can be distinguished as *Hiph'il* from the similar forms in Qal only by the sense.—The *apocopated imperative Hiph'il* always (except in verbs פִּ"נ, e. g. הָרַח, § 76 c) has a helping vowel, *S'ghôl* or *Pathah*, e. g. הִרְבֵּה increase thou (for *harb*, הִרְבָּה), ψ 51<sup>4</sup> *Qere*, also Ju 20<sup>38</sup>; where, however, it cannot be explained the text stands; הִרְבֵּה let alone (for הִרְבָּה), Dt 9<sup>14</sup>, &c.; הִעֵל (for הִעֲלָה) Ex 8<sup>1</sup>, 33<sup>12</sup>; but for הִשַּׁע ψ 39<sup>14</sup>, which could only be *imperative Hiph'il* of שָׁעַע (= smear over, as in Is 61<sup>10</sup>), read with Baethgen שָׁעַח look away.—The *imperfect Hiph'il* with *Yôdh* retained occurs only in תוֹרִיָּן Jb 19<sup>2</sup>, from תוֹרָה. Cf. u.



## V. In General.

17. In Aramaic the *imperfect* and *participle* of all the conjugations terminate *hh* in  $\text{ל"ה}$  or  $\text{ל"ה}$ . The Hebrew *infinitives*, *imperatives*, and *imperfects* in  $\text{ל"ה}$ , less frequently  $\text{ל"ה}$  or  $\text{ל"ה}$ , may be due to imitation of these forms. On the *infinitive construct*  $\text{ל"ה}$   $\text{ל"ה}$ , see above, *aa*; *imperative*  $\text{ל"ה}$  Jb 37<sup>6</sup> (in the sense of *fall*); *imperfect*  $\text{ל"ה}$  let him look out, Gn 41<sup>33</sup> (but see above, *p*);  $\text{ל"ה}$  he will do, Is 64<sup>3</sup>;  $\text{ל"ה}$  Jer 17<sup>17</sup>;  $\text{ל"ה}$  consent thou not, Pr 1<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{ל"ה}$  do thou not, 2 S 13<sup>12</sup> (the same form in Gn 26<sup>29</sup>, Jos 7<sup>9</sup>, Jer 40<sup>16</sup> Q<sup>re</sup>);  $\text{ל"ה}$  (so Baer and Ginsburg, after cod. Hillel, &c.) I will tell, Jer 31<sup>1</sup>;  $\text{ל"ה}$  Jos 9<sup>24</sup>;  $\text{ל"ה}$  Dn 1<sup>13</sup>. Cf. also in *Niphal*  $\text{ל"ה}$  Lv 5<sup>9</sup>;  $\text{ל"ה}$  (according to Qimhi) Nu 21<sup>27</sup>; in *Piel*  $\text{ל"ה}$  Lv 18<sup>7,8,12-17</sup>, 20<sup>19</sup>, in each case  $\text{ל"ה}$ , beside  $\text{ל"ה}$  with a minor distinctive;  $\text{ל"ה}$  (Baer  $\text{ל"ה}$ ) Na 1<sup>3</sup>;  $\text{ל"ה}$  Ez 5<sup>12</sup> (with *Zaqeph*; Baer  $\text{ל"ה}$ ). The fact, however, that a great number of these forms occur in *pause* and represent at the same time a *jussive* or *voluntative* (Jos 7<sup>9</sup>), suggests the view that the *Sere* is used merely to increase the emphasis of the pausal form, and at the same time to make a distinction in sound between the *jussive* or *voluntative* and the ordinary *imperfect*.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere (Gn 26<sup>29</sup>, Lv 5<sup>9</sup>, Jer 40<sup>16</sup>, Dn 1<sup>13</sup>; according to Baer also Mi 7<sup>10</sup>, Ze 9<sup>9</sup>) the pronunciation with *é* is probably intended to soften the hiatus caused by a following  $\text{ל"ה}$  or  $\text{ל"ה}$ ; cf. the analogous cases above, § 74 l.

The ending  $\text{ל"ה}$  appears to stand for  $\text{ל"ה}$  in the *imperfect*  $\text{ל"ה}$  in  $\text{ל"ה}$  and there hath she played the harlot, Jer 3<sup>6</sup>; perhaps, however, the 2nd *sing. fem.* is intended, or it may have been introduced into the text of Jeremiah from Ez 16<sup>15</sup>, &c. Still more strange is it in the *imperfect*  $\text{ל"ה}$  Jer 15<sup>23</sup>; but the *Mil'el*-tone probably points to  $\text{ל"ה}$  as the correct reading (cf. Neh 13<sup>14</sup>). The  $\text{ל"ה}$  stands for  $\text{ל"ה}$  in the *perfect*  $\text{ל"ה}$  he made sick, Is 53<sup>10</sup>, which is probably for  $\text{ל"ה}$  from  $\text{ל"ה}$ , a secondary form of  $\text{ל"ה}$ ; see *rr*. The *plur.*  $\text{ל"ה}$  (Baer  $\text{ל"ה}$ ) they made to melt, Jos 14<sup>8</sup>, is a purely Aramaic form.

18. In two verbs the rare conjugation *Pa'el* or its reflexive (§ 55 d) occurs: *kk*  $\text{ל"ה}$  archers, Gn 21<sup>16</sup> (from  $\text{ל"ה}$ ); but most frequently in  $\text{ל"ה}$  to bend, *Pa'el*  $\text{ל"ה}$  not in use, whence reflexive  $\text{ל"ה}$  to bow oneself, to prostrate oneself, 2nd *pers.* in  $\text{ל"ה}$  and 1st *pers.* in  $\text{ל"ה}$ , *imperfect*  $\text{ל"ה}$ , consecutive 3rd *sing. masc.*  $\text{ל"ה}$  for  $\text{ל"ה}$  (analogous to the noun-forms, like  $\text{ל"ה}$  for  $\text{ל"ה}$ ); 3rd *plur.*  $\text{ל"ה}$ .—Instead of the aramaizing *infinitive* with suffix  $\text{ל"ה}$  2 K 5<sup>18</sup> read with König  $\text{ל"ה}$ ; in Ez 8<sup>16</sup>  $\text{ל"ה}$  is still more certainly a scribal error for  $\text{ל"ה}$ .

19. Before *suffixes* in all forms ending in  $\text{ל"ה}$ , a connecting vowel is employed *ll* instead of the  $\text{ל"ה}$  and the connecting vowel which precedes it (§ 58 f), e.g.  $\text{ל"ה}$  Gn 24<sup>27</sup>; in *pause*  $\text{ל"ה}$  1 K 2<sup>30</sup>, &c., even with lesser disjunctives,  $\text{ל"ה}$  Pr 8<sup>22</sup>, or with a conjunctive accent, 1 S 28<sup>15</sup> (but Baer  $\text{ל"ה}$ , Jb 30<sup>19</sup>; cf. § 59 h;  $\text{ל"ה}$ , in *pause*  $\text{ל"ה}$ , Is 30<sup>19</sup> (and even when not in *pause* Jer 23<sup>37</sup>) or like  $\text{ל"ה}$  Dt 32<sup>6</sup>;  $\text{ל"ה}$ , Gn 25<sup>3</sup>; cf. also  $\text{ל"ה}$ ,  $\text{ל"ה}$ , *imperfect*  $\text{ל"ה}$ ,  $\text{ל"ה}$ , *Hiph'il*  $\text{ל"ה}$ ,  $\text{ל"ה}$ .

Only very seldom does the *imperat.* or *impf.* end in  $\text{ל"ה}$  before *suffixes*, e.g. *mm*

<sup>1</sup> Possibly these examples (like the cases of *S<sup>g</sup>hāl* in *pause*, see *n*) represent the view of a particular Masoretic school, which was intended to be consistently carried out.



הָפִינִי Dt 32<sup>26</sup>; וַיִּכְפֹּימוּ ψ 140<sup>10</sup> Q<sup>re</sup>; הָפִינִי smite me, 1 K 20<sup>35,37</sup>; cf. Hb 3<sup>2</sup>, Is 38<sup>16</sup>. Even in these examples a return to the original ending *ay* might be assumed; but perhaps they are merely due to a less correct *plene* writing. In the 3rd sing. *perf. fem.* the older form פָּלַח (see *i*) is always used before a suffix, e. g. פָּלַחְתָּ (for פָּלַחְתָּו) Ze 5<sup>4</sup>; in *pause* עָשִׂיתִי Jb 33<sup>4</sup>; רָאִיתִךְ 42<sup>6</sup>.

# VI. The Relation between Verbs ל"ה and ל"א.

*nn* 20. The close relation existing between verbs ל"ה and ל"א is shown in Hebrew by the fact that the verbs of one class often borrow forms from the other, especially in the later writers and the poets.

*oo* 21. Thus there are forms of verbs ל"א—

(a) Which have adopted the vowels of verbs ל"ה, e. g. *perfect Qal* פָּלַחְתִּי I have refrained, ψ 119<sup>101</sup>; *participle* חוֹטֵא (חָטָא) sinning, Ec 2<sup>26</sup>, 8<sup>12</sup>, 9<sup>2,18</sup>; cf. Is 65<sup>20</sup>; מוֹצֵא Ec 7<sup>26</sup>; נוֹשֵׂא lending, 1 S 22<sup>2</sup>; *Piel perfect* מָלֵא he has filled, Jer 51<sup>34</sup>; cf. 1 K 9<sup>11</sup>, Am 4<sup>2</sup> (where, however, the *perfect Niph.* is perhaps intended), ψ 89<sup>11</sup>, 143<sup>3</sup>; רָפְאוּ I heal, 2 K 22<sup>1</sup>; cf. Jer 51<sup>9</sup>; *imperfect* יִנְמֵא Jb 39<sup>24</sup>; *Niph'al perfect* נִפְלְאָתָה (like נִנְלְתָה) it was wonderful, 2 S 1<sup>26</sup>; *Hiph'il perfect* הִפְלֵא Dt 28<sup>59</sup>; הִתְפַּלְּתָה (not הִתְפַּלְּתָה, cf. above, 2 S 1<sup>26</sup>) she hid, Jos 6<sup>17</sup>. On the other hand, forms like חָטָאִים 1 S 14<sup>32</sup>, קָרָאִים ψ 99<sup>6</sup>, נִרְבָּאִי Ez 47<sup>8</sup>, תִּרְבָּאִינִי, according to the correct reading, Jb 19<sup>2</sup> (cf. Gn 31<sup>30</sup> אֶחָפְנָה), and רָאִי imperative plur. masc. from יָרָא Jos 24<sup>14</sup>, 1 S 12<sup>24</sup>, ψ 34<sup>10</sup>, are due to the elision of the *א*, see § 74 *i*. On יָנְשָׂא Jer 10<sup>5</sup> and נִשְׂאוּ 139<sup>20</sup>, see § 23 *i*.

*pp* (b) Forms in ה, but keeping their ל"א vowels, e. g. *imperfect Qal* אָרַפָּה Jer 3<sup>22</sup>; *imperative* רָפָה heal thou, ψ 60<sup>4</sup>; *Niph'al* נָחַפָה Jer 49<sup>10</sup> (which must evidently be a *perfect*; read with Ewald the *infinitive absolute* נָחַפָה as in verse 23), and הִתְחַבָּה to hide oneself, 1 K 22<sup>25</sup>, cf. Jer 19<sup>11</sup>; *Piel imperfect* יִמְלִיָה he will fill, Jb 8<sup>21</sup>.

*qq* (c) Forms entirely of a ל"ה character, e. g. *perfect Qal* וָצַמְתָּ and when thou art athirst, Ru 2<sup>9</sup>, cf. 2 S 3<sup>8</sup>; כָּלְוּ they shut up, 1 S 6<sup>10</sup>; cf. 25<sup>33</sup>; מָלוּ they are full, Ez 28<sup>16</sup>, cf. 39<sup>25</sup>; *infinitive* תָּמוּ (see above, *n*) to sin, Gn 20<sup>6</sup> (on מָלֵאת see above, § 74 *h*); *imperative sing. fem.* הִבִּי Is 26<sup>20</sup>; *imperfect* יִכְלֶה (for יִכְלֵא) he will keep back, Gn 23<sup>6</sup>; תִּרְפְּוּהָ they heal, Jb 5<sup>18</sup>; *participle* בּוֹמֵא Pr 12<sup>18</sup>; *fem.* יָצָא Ec 10<sup>5</sup>; plur. צָבִיָה Is 29<sup>7</sup>; *participle passive* נִשְׁוִי ψ 32<sup>1</sup>; *Niph'al* נִפְתַּחְתָּ Jer 51<sup>9</sup>; נִבִּיתָ thou hast prophesied, Jer 26<sup>9</sup> (cf. ψ 139<sup>14</sup>, Jb 18<sup>3</sup>); *imperfect* וִירָפּוּ 2 K 2<sup>22</sup> (*infinitive* Jer 19<sup>11</sup>); *Piel imperfect* וִירָפּוּ Jer 8<sup>11</sup>, cf. Gn 31<sup>39</sup>; *Hiph'il participle* מִקְנֶה Ez 8<sup>3</sup>; *Hithpa'al* הִתְנַבְּוּ 1 S 10<sup>6</sup>; *infinitive* הִתְנַבְּוּ 1 S 10<sup>13</sup>. For the *Kethibh* להשׁוּת 2 K 19<sup>25</sup>, Jablonski and others require as Q<sup>re</sup> the form לְהִשְׁאוּת (so Is 37<sup>26</sup>); the *Kethibh* would have to be read לְהִשְׁוּת, with elision of the *א* and retraction of the vowel.

*rr* 22. On the other hand, there are forms of verbs ל"ה, which wholly or in part follow the analogy of verbs ל"א, e. g. in their consonants אָתָא he comes, Is 21<sup>12</sup>; בָּרָא 2 S 12<sup>17</sup> (*textus receptus* בָּרָה); וִרְצָאִי Ez 43<sup>27</sup>; יִשְׁנָא Jb 8<sup>11</sup>; יִשְׁנָא La 4<sup>1</sup>; וִיחִלָּא 2 Ch 16<sup>12</sup>; תִּקְרָאֵנָה Ex 1<sup>10</sup>, Lv 10<sup>10</sup>; תִּקְרָאִים Dt 28<sup>66</sup> (cf. Ho 11<sup>7</sup>); יִקְרָא (*infm. absol.* *Niph'al* beside יִקְרִיָה 2 S 1<sup>6</sup>; יִשְׁנָא 2 K 25<sup>20</sup>; מִרְפָּא

Jer 38<sup>4</sup>; יִשְׁנָא Ec 8<sup>1</sup>: in their vowels, יִקְרָה Jer 32<sup>2</sup>; יִקְרָה Dn 10<sup>14</sup>; תִּכְלָה; לִירוֹא 1 K 17<sup>14</sup>: in both, יִקְרָא Gn 49<sup>1</sup>; cf. 42<sup>4</sup>, Is 51<sup>10</sup>; תִּקְלָאוּ 2 S 21<sup>12</sup> *Q're*; לִירוֹא 2 Ch 26<sup>15</sup> (cf. וִירָאוּ הַמִּזְרָאִים 2 S 11<sup>24</sup> *K'elikk*); כִּרְיָה (participle fem. Qal) Zp 3<sup>1</sup>; יִפְרִיא Ho 13<sup>15</sup>; מִסְפָּאִים La 4<sup>2</sup>.—For פִּרְאוֹת (so Baer, Ez 17<sup>6</sup>, cf. 31<sup>8</sup>), which can only be intended for פִּרְאוֹת *participle fem. plur.* from פִּרָּה = פָּרָה, read פִּרְאוֹת branches, according to Ez 31<sup>4</sup>, &c.

## § 76. Verbs Doubly Weak.

1. In a tolerably large number of verbs two radicals are weak *a* letters, and are consequently affected by one or other of the anomalies already described. In cases where two anomalies might occur, usage must teach whether one, or both, or neither of them, takes effect.

Thus e.g. from נָדַד *to flee*, the *imperfect* is יִדֹּד in Na 3<sup>7</sup> and יִדַּד in Gn 31<sup>40</sup> (on the analogy of verbs פ"ב); *Hiph'il* הִדְדָּה (like a verb ע"ע), but the *imperfect Hoph'al* again יִדַּד (as פ"ב).

2. The following are examples of difficult forms, which are derived *b* from doubly weak verbs:

(a) Verbs פ"ב and ל"ה (cf. § 66 and § 74), e.g. נָשָׂא *to bear*, imperative נִשֵּׂא (ψ 10<sup>12</sup> נִשֵּׂא, of which נִשֵּׂא ψ 4<sup>7</sup> is probably only an orthographic variation); *infinitive construct* נִשְׂאת (for נִשְׂאתָ; see the analogous noun-formations in § 93 f), also נִשֵּׂא Is 1<sup>14</sup>, 15<sup>3</sup>; Gn 4<sup>13</sup> נִשְׂאוּ; ψ 89<sup>10</sup> נִשְׂאוּ (perhaps only a scribal error); after the *prefix* ל always לִנְשֹׂאת (otherwise the contracted form only occurs in מִנְשֹׂתוֹ Jb 41<sup>17</sup>, with rejection of the נ); *imperfect* תִּנְשֹׂאָה for תִּנְשֹׂאָה Ru 1<sup>14</sup>; wholly irregular are תִּנְשֹׂאָיִה Ez 23<sup>49</sup> (so Baer after Qimhi; *textus receptus*, and also the Mantua ed., and Ginsburg, תִּנְשֹׂאָיִה) and נִשְׂאתָ 2 S 19<sup>48</sup> as *infinitive absolute Niph'al* (on the analogy of the *infinitive construct Qal*?); but most probably נִשֵּׂא is to be read, with Driver.

(b) Verbs פ"ב and ל"ה (cf. § 66 and § 75), as נָכַח *to bow, to incline*, נָכַח *to C* smite. Hence *imperfect Qal* יִנְכַּח, *apocopated* וְיִנְכַּח (Gn 26<sup>25</sup> וְיִנְכַּח) and he bowed; וְיִן (so, probably, also Is 63<sup>3</sup> for וְיִן) 2 K 9<sup>33</sup> and he sprinkled (from נָזַח); *perfect Hiph'il* הִנְכַּח he smote, *imperfect* יִנְכַּח, *apocopated* יִנְכַּח, יִנְכַּח (even with *Athnah* 2 K 15<sup>26</sup>; but also ten times יִנְכַּח, וְיִנְכַּח Dt 2<sup>23</sup>; so also וְיִנְכַּח Lv 8<sup>11,30</sup>; ψ 141<sup>4</sup> (cf. Jb 23<sup>11</sup>); *imperative* הִנְכַּח, *apocopated* הִנְכַּח smite thou (like הִנְכַּח *to incline*, with הִנְכַּח), *infinitive* הִנְכַּח, *participle* מִנְכַּח; *Hoph'al* הִנְכַּח, *participle* מִנְכַּח.

(c) Verbs פ"ב and ל"ה (cf. § 68 and § 75), as נָכַח *to be willing*, נָכַח *to bake*, נָכַח *to come*. E.g. *imperfect Qal* יִנְכַּח, יִנְכַּח, *plur.* יִנְכַּחוּ; וְיִנְכַּח (cf. § 68 h) Dt 33<sup>21</sup> for וְיִנְכַּחוּ (= וְיִנְכַּחוּ); *imperfect apocopated* וְיִנְכַּח Is 41<sup>25</sup> for וְיִנְכַּחוּ; *imperative* נִכְּחִי Is 21<sup>12</sup>, 56<sup>12</sup> (cf. נִכְּחִי ye, Ex 16<sup>23</sup>) for נִכְּחִי, נִכְּחִי (§ 23 h; § 75 u); *Hiph'il* perfect הִנְכַּח for הִנְכַּחִי Is 21<sup>14</sup>; *imperfect apocopated* וְיִנְכַּח and he adjured, 1 S 14<sup>24</sup>, properly יִנְכַּח (יִנְכַּח) from נָכַח, whence נָכַח, and, with the obscuring to *o*, יִנְכַּח; instead of the simple *apocope* (יִנְכַּח) the נ which had already become

quiescent, is made audible again by the helping *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl* (unless perhaps there is a confusion with the *imperfect consecutive Hiph'il* of יִאֵל).

c (d) Verbs פָּרַח and לָחַץ (cf. § 69, § 70, and § 74), as פָּרַח to go forth, imperative פָּרַח go forth, with הֵן paragogic פָּרַחַהּ Nu 9<sup>20</sup> in principal pause for פָּרַחַהּ; 2nd fem. plur. פָּרַחַהּ Ct 3<sup>11</sup>; infinitive פָּרַחַת; *Hiph'il* הוֹפִיחַ to bring forth.—יָרָא to fear, imperfect יִירָא and יִירָא (or יִירָא), imperative יִירָא; imperfect *Niph'al* יִירָא ψ 130<sup>4</sup>, participle יִירָא.

f (e) Verbs פָּרַח and לָחַץ (cf. § 69, § 70, and § 75), e.g. יָרָה to throw, *Hiph'il* to confess, to praise, and יָרָה to throw (both properly verbs פָּרַח), and יָפָה to be beautiful. Infinitive יָרָה, יָרֹת; imperative יָרָה; imperfect consecutive יִירָה Ez 31<sup>7</sup> (cf. also וַיִּפֹּי 16<sup>13</sup>); with suffixes וַיִּרְיָם we have shot at them (from יָרָה) Nu 21<sup>20</sup>; perhaps, however, it should be read with the LXX וַיִּרְיָם and their race (also in the very corrupt passage ψ 74<sup>8</sup> יִרְיָם is probably a substantive, and not the imperfect *Qal* with suffix from יָרָה); *Piel* וַיִּרְיָם (§ 69 u). *Hiph'il* הוֹרָה, הוֹרָה; infinitive הוֹרָה (as infinitive absolute 2 Ch 7<sup>9</sup>); imperfect יוֹרָה, cf. אֶל־הוֹרָה Jer 22<sup>3</sup>; apocopated וַיִּרְיָם 2 K 13<sup>17</sup>.

g (f) Verbs עָוָה and לָחַץ, particularly בֹּאֵה to come. Perfect בָּאָה, בָּאָה, or בָּאָה (Gn 16<sup>8</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>8</sup>, Mi 4<sup>10</sup>; cf. § 75 m), once בָּאָה for בָּאָה 1 S 25<sup>8</sup>; for בָּאָה Jer 27<sup>18</sup>, which is apparently the perfect, read יָבֹא. In the imperfect *Qal* the separating vowel occurs (חֲבִיבָהּ) instead of the more common חֲבִיבָהּ, cf. also חֲבִיבָהּ Gn 30<sup>38</sup> only in Jer 9<sup>16</sup>, ψ 45<sup>16</sup>, and 1 S 10<sup>7</sup> *K<sup>ethibh</sup>*.

h For חֲבִיבָהּ 1 S 25<sup>24</sup> *Q<sup>ere</sup>* (the *K<sup>ethibh</sup>* חֲבִיבָהּ evidently combines the two readings חֲבִיבָהּ and חֲבִיבָהּ; cf. Nestle, ZAW. xiv. 319), read חֲבִיבָהּ; on the impossible forms Dt 33<sup>16</sup> and Jb 22<sup>21</sup> cf. § 48 d.—In the perfect *Hiph'il* חֲבִיבָהּ, חֲבִיבָהּ and (only before a suffix) חֲבִיבָהּ; the latter form is also certainly intended in Nu 14<sup>31</sup>, where the Masora requires חֲבִיבָהּ, cf. 2 K 9<sup>2</sup>, 19<sup>25</sup>, Is 43<sup>23</sup>, Jer 25<sup>13</sup>, Ct 3<sup>4</sup>. Before suffixes the *e* of the first syllable in the 3rd sing. always becomes *Hašeph-S<sup>e</sup>ghôl*, e.g. חֲבִיבָהּ, חֲבִיבָהּ; elsewhere invariably *Hašeph-Pathaḥ*, e.g. חֲבִיבָהּ or חֲבִיבָהּ. On the other hand, *e* is retained in the secondary tone in the perfect consecutive when without suffixes, e.g. חֲבִיבָהּ. Cf. moreover, חֲבִיבָהּ (חֲבִיבָהּ in Opius and Hahn is altogether incorrect), Pr 25<sup>16</sup>, from חֲבִיבָהּ; but חֲבִיבָהּ *spue ye*, Jer 25<sup>27</sup> (perhaps only a mistake for חֲבִיבָהּ, is not to be referred to חֲבִיבָהּ but to a secondary stem חֲבִיבָהּ. In the imperfect חֲבִיבָהּ is found once, Lv 18<sup>25</sup>, besides חֲבִיבָהּ (analogous to חֲבִיבָהּ).—On חֲבִיבָהּ (for חֲבִיבָהּ), יִי, חֲבִי, חֲבִי, see § 74 k.

i (g) The form חֲבִיבָהּ to live, in the perfect *Qal*, besides the ordinary development חֲבִיבָהּ (fem. חֲבִיבָהּ), is also treated as a verb עָוָה, and then becomes חֲבִיבָהּ in the 3rd pers. perfect, in pause חֲבִיבָהּ, and with *wāw* consecutive חֲבִיבָהּ Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, and frequently. In Lv 25<sup>38</sup> the contracted form חֲבִיבָהּ is perhaps *st. constr.* of חֲבִיבָהּ life, but in any case read חֲבִיבָהּ perfect consecutive as in verse 35. The form חֲבִיבָהּ occurs in Ex 1<sup>18</sup> in pause for חֲבִיבָהּ (3rd fem.) with *Dageš* omitted in the *e* on account of the pausal lengthening of *ä* to *ā*.

§ 77. *Relation of the Weak Verbs to one another.*

The close relation which exists between some classes of the weak *a* verbs (e.g. between פ"ו and פ"י, ל"א and ל"ה, ע"ע and ע"י, ע"ע and ע"ה) appears not only in their similarity or identity of inflexion, or their mutual interchange of certain forms, but especially from the fact that frequently the same root (*radix bilittera*, see § 30 g) recurs in various weak stems of similar meaning. The meaning accordingly is inherent in the two constant root-consonants, while the third consonant, which is weak (and the particular class of weak verbs with it), does not establish any difference in the meaning. Thus from the root דף there occur with the same meaning דָּבַד, דִּיּוּד, דָּבָא *to strike, to crush*; and from the root נר there are נִיר, נָרד, נָרָה *to flee*.

In this manner the following classes are related in form and *b* meaning:

1. Verbs ע"ע and ע"י in which the first and third consonants are the same in both, as being essential to the meaning; e.g. מָכַד and מָכַדָּ *to become poor*; מָשַׁשׁ and מָשַׁשָּׁ *to feel*; נָרד and נָרדָּ *to flee*.

2. Verbs פ"י and פ"ן; e.g. נָצַב and נָצַבָּ *to place*, יָקַשׁ and יָקַשָּׁ (*yāqōš*) *to lay C snares*. Moreover, stems belonging to the classes mentioned in 1 (especially ע"י) are frequently related also to verbs פ"י and פ"ן, e.g. יָרָה and יָרָהָ *to fear*; יָטַב and יָטַבָּ *to be good*; נָפַח and נָפַחָּ *to blow*; נָפַץ and נָפַץָּ *to dash to pieces*. Verbs פ"א are less frequently connected with these classes, e.g. אָרַשׁ and אָרַשָּׁ *to thresh*, &c.

3. Verbs ל"ה and ל"ה (in which the first two consonants form the real *d* body of the stem) are sometimes related to each other, and sometimes to the above classes. To each other, in דָּבָא and דָּבָהָ *to crush*, קָרָא and קָרָהָ *to meet* (cf. § 75 nn); to verbs of the other classes, in מָצַח and מָצַחָּ *to suck*, דָּחָה and דָּחָהָ *to thrust*, &c.

4. Verbs ע"י and ל"ה, on which cf. Grimm, *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1903, p. 196; *c* e.g. אָנַח and אָנַחָּ *to sigh*, דָּמָה and דָּמָהָּ *to be quiet*, חָנָה and חָנָהָּ *to incline*, בָּלָה and בָּלָהָּ *to end*, קָלָה and קָלָהָּ *to despise*, שָׁגָה and שָׁגָהָּ *to err*, שָׁחָה and שָׁחָהָּ *to bend down*, שָׁבָה and שָׁבָהָּ *to plunder*.

5. Verbs ע"י and ע"ה; e.g. מָוַל and מָוַלָּ (New Hebrew; in O. T. only מָוַל *f* Is 1<sup>22</sup>) *to circumcise*, מָוַר and מָוַרָּ *to exchange*, נָוַר (in מְנוּרָה *a light*) and נָוַרָּ *to shine*; cf. also לָחַטָּ *secret arts*, Ex 7<sup>11</sup> with לָחַט *secret*, from לוּט.

§ 78. *Verba Defectiva.*

It often happens, when two kindred weak verbs are in use with *a* the same meaning, that both are *defective*, i.e. do not occur in all the forms. Since, however, those tenses and forms which are not in use in the one verb are generally supplied by the other, they mutually complete one another, and thus form together, as it were, an entire

verb, as in Greek *ἔρχομαι*, aor. *ἦλθον*, fut. *ἐλεύσομαι*, and in Latin *fero*, *tuli*, *latum*, *ferre*, &c., but with this difference, that in Hebrew the roots of these verbs are almost always closely related.

b The most common verbs of this kind are—

*חָבִישׁ* to be ashamed. *Hiph'il* *חָבִישׁ* (inferred from *חָבִישׁוֹת*), but also *חָבִישׁ*, *הוֹכִישׁ*, as if from *יָבִישׁ*, on the analogy of verbs *פָּזַח*; also in Is 30<sup>5</sup> the *Q'te* requires *חָבִישׁ*, where the *Kethibh* has *חָבִישׁוֹת* from *פָּזַח*.

*טוֹב* to be good. Perfect *טוֹב*; but imperfect *יִטַּב* and *Hiph'il* *יִטְבֵּיב* from *יָטַב* (but cf. *הִטְבִּיבָהּ* 2 K 10<sup>30</sup>).

*יָגַד* to be afraid. Imperfect *יִגַּד* (from *יָגַד*).

*יָקַץ* to awake, only in the imperf. *יִקַּץ*; for the perfect, the *Hiph'il* *יִקְצֵץ* is used (from *יָקַץ*).

*נָפַץ* to break in pieces. Imperfect *יִפְצֹץ* (from *נָפַץ*). Imperative *פִּצֵּץ*. *Niph'al* *נִפְצַץ*. *Pr'el* *נִפְצִין* (from *נָפַץ*). *Pöel* *פּוֹצֵץ* (from *פָּצַח*). Reflexive *הִתְפַּצֵּץ*. *Hiph'il* *הִפְצִין*. Also *פָּצַעַץ* Jb 16<sup>12</sup>.

*נָצַב* (*Qal* in post-biblical Hebrew, in Aramaic and Arabic) to place, whence (possibly) *Niph'al* *נִצַּב* and *Hiph'il* *הִצִּיב* (see above, § 71); but *Hithpa'al* *הִתְנַצַּב*.

*שָׁתָה* to drink, used in *Qal*; but in *Hiph'* *הִשְׁתָּה* to give to drink, from a *Qal* *שָׁתָה* which is not used in Hebrew.

On *הָלַךְ* to go, see above, § 69 x.

c Rem. 1. To the same category belong also, to a certain extent, those cases where the tenses or moods not in use in one conjugation, are supplied by forms having the same meaning in other conjugations of the same verb. Thus:

*יָסַף* to add. The infinitive (but cf. § 69 h, note) and imperfect, unused in *Qal*, are supplied by the *Hiph'il* *הוֹסִיף*, *הוֹסִיף* (on *יָסַף* as imperfect indicative, see § 109 d, cf. also § 109 f).

*כָּשַׁל* to stumble. Perfect from *Qal*, imperfect from *Niph'al*.

*נָגַשׁ* to approach, unused in perf. *Qal*, instead of which *Niph'al* *נִגַּשׁ* is used; but imperfect *יִנַּשׁ*, imperative *נִגַּשׁ*, and infinitive *נִשְׁתָּה* from *Qal* only are in use.

*נָחָה* to lead. Perfect usually *נָחָה* in *Qal*, so imperative *נִחָה*, but imperfect and infinitive always in *Hiph'il*.

*נָתַךְ* to be poured out. Perfect *Niph'al* *נִתְּךְ* with imperfect *Qal* *יִתַּךְ*, but the perfect *Qal* and imperfect *Niph'al* are not in use.

2. The early grammarians often speak of mixed forms (*formae mixtae*), i. e. forms which unite the supposed character and meaning of two different tenses, genders, or conjugations. Most of the examples adduced are at once set aside by accurate grammatical analysis; some others appear to have arisen from misapprehension and inaccuracy, especially from erroneous views of unusual *plene* forms. Others, again, are either merely wrong readings or represent an intentional conflation of two different readings.

## CHAPTER III

### THE NOUN

#### § 79. General View.

For the literature, see De Lagarde, *Uebersicht über die im Aram., Arab. und Hebr. übliche Bildung der Nomina*, Göttingen, 1889; Index and Additions, 1891; J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, first half, *Simple nouns*, Leipzig, 1889; second half, *Nouns with external additions*, 1891; second edition, with indices of words and subjects, 1894; E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude*, &c., ii, 1, Leipzig, 1895, see above, § 3 f.—Of these three important works the first two especially have given rise to various articles. In support of De Lagarde: Hommel in *ZDMG.* xliv, p. 535 ff. (against De Lagarde and Hommel: Barth, *ibid.*, p. 679 ff.), and dealing with the Index, *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 340 ff.—Against Barth (though with many points of agreement): Philippi in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, 1890, p. 344 ff. (answered by Barth in *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 692 ff.), and *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 149 ff. (answered again by Barth, *ibid.*, xlviii, p. 10 ff.), also in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii (1892), p. 359 ff. 'Die semitische Verbal- und Nominalbildung,' and lastly, in *ZDMG.* xlix, p. 187 ff.—Cf. also A. Müller, 'Semitische Nomina. Bemerkungen zu de Lagarde und Barth,' *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 221 ff.—The main points at issue in the works of De Lagarde and Barth are indicated below, § 83 d.—Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 104 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 329 ff.

1. Since, according to § 30 a, most word-stems are developed into *a* verbal stems as well as into noun-stems, it has become customary (especially in the *Lexicon*) to refer the noun to the most simple ground-form of the verbal formation, viz. the 3rd pers. sing. perfect *Qal*, and, as it were, to derive it from that form. This is usual, not only in those noun-stems which can be directly connected with a corresponding verbal stem (*Nomina verbalia* or *derivativa*, § 83 ff.), but also with *Nomina primitiva*, i. e. those of which no verbal stem is now found in Hebrew (see § 82), as well as finally with *Nomina denominativa*, which have evidently been derived from other nouns (§ 86).

The adjective agrees in form entirely with the substantive. On the formation of adjectival ideas by giving to abstracts a concrete sense, see § 83 c.

2. A special inflexion of the noun to express the various cases does *b* not exist in Hebrew; only a few ancient and almost extinct traces of case-endings have survived (§ 90). The syntactical relation of a noun can therefore in general only be inferred from its position in the sentence, or from its being joined to prepositions. In either case, the form of the noun undergoes no change (except for the *construct*



state, § 89), and the representation of case-relations belongs therefore almost exclusively to the syntax (§ 117 ff.). The comparative and superlative of adjectives also can be expressed only by a syntactical combination (§ 133). On the other hand, several changes in the forms of nouns are occasioned by the additions of the plural, dual, and feminine terminations, as well as of the pronominal suffixes, and also by the close connexion of two nouns, by means of the *construct state*.<sup>1</sup>

### § 80. The Indication of Gender in Nouns.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 404 ff.; 'Ueber die Femininendung *at, ah, ā*' in *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 106 f.; *Grundriss*, pp. 105, 405 ff.; 'Die Femininendung *T* im Semit.' (*Sitzung d. orient.-sprachwiss. Sektion d. schlesischen Gesellschaft*, Feb. 26, 1903); against him J. Barth, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 628 ff.; Brockelmann's reply, *ibid.*, p. 795 ff.; and Barth again, *ibid.*, p. 798 ff.

*a* 1. The Hebrew, like all Semitic languages, recognizes only two genders in the noun, a *masculine* and a *feminine*. Inanimate objects and abstract ideas, which other languages sometimes indicate by the *neuter*, are regarded in Hebrew either as masculine or feminine, more often the latter (see the Syntax, § 122 *q*).

*b* 2. The *masculine*, as being the more common and important gender, has no special indication.

Feminine nouns are also without an indication of gender when the meaning of the word naturally denotes a feminine, as אִמָּה *mother*, אִשָּׁה *a she-ass*, עֵז *a she-goat*, אֵז *an ewe* (cf. § 122 *b*). As a rule, however, the *feminine* had originally the ending נָ, as in the 3rd sing. perfect of verbs (§ 44 *a*). This נָ, however, is regularly retained in Hebrew only in close connexion with a following genitive or suffix (cf. § 89 *c* and § 91 *o*), except where the form has arisen through the addition of a simple נָ<sup>2</sup> (see below, *d*). Otherwise, the feminine ending of the independent form (the *absolute state*, § 89 *a*) is—

*c* (*a*) Most commonly a tone-bearing נָ, e. g. סוּס נָ *equus*, סוּסָה *equa*. Of nouns ending in נָ, like עֵז נָ, the feminine (by § 24 *b*) is עֵזָה, cf. § 86 *h*. As in the 3rd sing. fem. perfect (הָיָה, &c.), this נָ seems to have arisen by the rejection of the final ה, and the lengthening of the *ā* in the open syllable, whereupon the ה was added as an orthographic indication of the final long vowel: cf. the exactly similar origin of such forms as אֵלָה for אֵל, § 75 *c*. It must, however, be

<sup>1</sup> To speak of these changes as a declension of the Hebrew noun, as is usually done, is accordingly incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> In Mal 1<sup>14</sup> מִשְׁתָּה (so e. g. ed. Mant.) would stand for מִשְׁתָּהּ, the ptep. fem. Hoph'al; but מִשְׁתָּה (so Baer and Ginsb.) is also supported by good authority.

noticed that in Arabic (see *m* and note) the pausal form of *at* is *ah*, of which a trace may be preserved in the Hebrew  $\text{אֶחָ}$ .

(b) Simple  $\text{ת}$  with nouns ending in a vowel, e.g.  $\text{יְהוּדִי}$  *Jew*,  $\text{יְהוּדִית}$  *Jewess*. The same ending  $\text{ת}$  is very frequently added to stems ending in a consonant, but only (except before suffixes) by means of a helping vowel, which, as a rule, is *seghôl*, but after gutturals *Pathah*, e.g.  $\text{קָטַל}$ , *fem.*  $\text{קָטַלְתִּי}$ , *killing*; before suffixes, e.g.  $\text{קָטַלְתִּי}$ , according to the rule given in § 69 c, cf. also § 84<sup>a</sup> s;  $\text{מוֹרֵעַ}$  *an acquaintance*, *fem.*  $\text{מוֹרֵעָה}$ . The forms which arise in this way follow in every respect the analogy of the *segholate* forms (§ 94 f). The forms which have been developed by means of a helping vowel are retained even in the connective form (*construct state*); except  $\text{וַיִּלְחֶם}$  (for  $\text{וַיִּלְחָם}$ , which is used elsewhere) Gn 16<sup>11</sup>, Ju 13<sup>6-7</sup>; cf. Jer 22<sup>23</sup> and 51<sup>13</sup> *Q<sup>er</sup>*, also  $\text{מִשְׁרָת}$  1 K 1<sup>10</sup>, *participle fem.* *Pi'el*, properly *mešāratt* =  $\text{מִשְׁרָתָהּ}$ ; also  $\text{מְבַעֲרָהּ}$  (*participle fem.* *Pi'el* with suffix) arises from the form  $\text{מְבַעֲרָהּ}$  which was developed into  $\text{מְבַעֲרָתָהּ}$ .

Rem. 1. The fem. form in  $\text{תָּ}$  is in general less frequent, and occurs *el* almost exclusively when the form in  $\text{תָּ}$  is also in use. It is only in the participles and infinitives that it is the commoner, e.g.  $\text{קָטַלְתָּ}$  more common than  $\text{קָטַלְתָּ}$ ,  $\text{לָרֶת}$  than  $\text{לָרֶתָּהּ}$ .

2. Rarer feminine endings are—(a)  $\text{תָּ}$  with the tone, e.g.  $\text{בְּרָקֶת}$  *emerald*, *f* Ez 28<sup>13</sup> (also  $\text{בְּרָקֶת}$  Ex 28<sup>17</sup>);  $\text{שְׂפָעֶת}$  *a company*, 2 K 9<sup>17</sup>, unless the reading is wrong; more frequently in proper names, especially of places among the Canaanites or Phoenicians (in whose language  $\text{תָּ}$  was the usual fem. ending, § 2 d) and other neighbouring tribes,<sup>1</sup> e.g.  $\text{זִרְפָּת}$  *Zarephath*,  $\text{גִּבְעָת}$  *Gibeath*,  $\text{קִרְיָת}$  *Kiriath*,  $\text{אֵילָת}$  *Greek Ailana* in Idumea;  $\text{אֶחָת}$  Gn 26<sup>23</sup>: on the reading  $\text{אֶחָת}$  cf. *g.* Cf., moreover,  $\text{נְנִינָת}$  ψ 61<sup>1</sup> (prob. originally  $\text{נְנִינָת}$ );  $\text{חַיָּת}$  (LXX  $\text{חַיָּת}$ ) 74<sup>19a</sup>;  $\text{פִּנְיָת}$  La 2<sup>18</sup>; [ $\text{רַבָּת}$ ] *much*, in ψ 65<sup>10</sup>, 120<sup>6</sup>, 123<sup>4</sup>, 129<sup>1,2</sup>, is a form borrowed from the Aramaic (Syriac *rabbath*) in which the original *t* of the *fem.* is often retained to form adverbs, see Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 135.]

(b)  $\text{תָּ}$ , which likewise occurs in some names of places, e.g.  $\text{בְּעֵלָת}$ , *g*  $\text{הַלְקָת}$ , *g* as well as in the *masc.* proper name  $\text{גִּלְיָת}$  1 S 17<sup>4</sup>, &c. (in 17<sup>23</sup>, and 21<sup>10</sup>, ed. Mant. has  $\text{גִּלְיָת}$ ), and in the *fem.* proper name  $\text{שִׁמְעָת}$ ; otherwise, almost only in poetry, viz.  $\text{וְיָמֵרָת}$  Ex 15<sup>2</sup>, Is 12<sup>2</sup>, ψ 118<sup>14</sup> (really for  $\text{וְיָמֵרָתִי}$  *my song*; the absorption of the *i*, however, can scarcely have 'taken place in the Aramaic manner', as suggested by Duhm on Is 12<sup>2</sup>, nor is it due merely to the following *Yôdh*, but is intended 'to facilitate the absorption of *i*'; so Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 277 f.);  $\text{נַחֲלָת}$  *heritage*, ψ 16<sup>6</sup> (either again for  $\text{נַחֲלָתִי}$  *my heritage*, or for  $\text{נַחֲלָתָהּ}$ , cf. § 90 g, as probably also  $\text{עֲזָרָת}$  *help*, ψ 60<sup>13</sup>, 108<sup>13</sup> for  $\text{עֲזָרָתָהּ}$ ). These forms are possibly

<sup>1</sup> In the list of Palestinian towns taken by Pharaoh Shoshenq, the feminine town-names all end in *t*. Cf. also the Méša' inscription, line 3,  $\text{זִמְרָת}$  *this high place*; line 26,  $\text{הַמִּסְלָת}$  *the highway* [see also Driver, *Tenses*, § 181, note].

survivals from a period when even final vowels were not supported by a vowel letter. Cf. also פֶּרֶת *secunda* (a fruitful tree) Gn 49<sup>22</sup>; יְהֵרֶת abundance, Jer 45<sup>56</sup> (before ו; but in Is 15<sup>7</sup> יְהֵרֶת); שָׁנָה sleep (for שֵׁנָה) ψ 132<sup>4</sup>; and (unless the ה is radical) in prose קָצַת *pelican* (which reading is also preferable, in Is 34<sup>11</sup>, to the form קָצַת), also מָחָרָה the morrow, but in construct state always מִמָּחָרָה Jer 45<sup>25</sup> *Q're* is no doubt intended to indicate the reading מִשְׁוֹשֵׁי, parallel to מִמָּחָרָה, cf. above, on מָחָרָה, &c.

h (c) הָ, the Aramaic orthography for הֶ, chiefly in the later writers; לֹאֲלִי loathing, Nu 11<sup>20</sup>; הָאָה a terror, Is 19<sup>17</sup>; שָׁנָה sleep, ψ 127<sup>2</sup>; לִבְיָא a lioness, Ez 19<sup>2</sup> (unless לִבְיָא is intended); מִצָּרָה a mark, La 3<sup>12</sup>; cf. also דִּשָּׁא threshing (participle *Qal* from דִּישָׁה) Jer 50<sup>11</sup>; מָרָה bitter, Ru 1<sup>20</sup>. On the other hand, according to the western Masora, קָרָה baldness is to be read in Ez 27<sup>21</sup>; see Baer on the passage.

i (d) הָ, an obtuse form of הֶ (§ 27 u), only in הִיאָה for הִיאָה Is 59<sup>5</sup> (unless it is again a *forma mixta* combining the active *ptcp. masc.* הִיאָה and the passive *ptcp. fem.* הִיאָה); cf. לָהָה for לָהָה Ze 5<sup>4</sup>; אָהָה 1 K 2<sup>36</sup> 42 (§ 90 i, and § 48 d).

k (e) הָ, without the tone, e.g. רֶחֶם Dt 14<sup>17</sup> [Lv 11<sup>18</sup> רֶחֶם]; תֵּנּוּר בִּעֻרָה; an oven heated, Ho 7<sup>4</sup>; cf. Ez. 40<sup>10</sup>, 2 K 15<sup>29</sup>, 16<sup>13</sup>. In all these examples the usual tone-bearing הֶ is perhaps intended, but the Punctuators, who considered the feminine ending inappropriate, produced a kind of *locative* form (see § 90 c) by the retraction of the tone. [In 2 K 16<sup>13</sup>, Is 24<sup>19</sup>, Ez 21<sup>21</sup> (note in each case the following ה), and in Jb 42<sup>13</sup>, Ho 7<sup>4</sup>, the text is probably in error.]

l (f) הָ, as an old feminine termination, preserved also in Syriac (*ai*; see examples in Nöldeke's *Syrische Gram.*, § 83), in Arabic and (contracted to *a*) in Ethiopic, very probably occurs in the proper name שָׂרַי *Sarai*, cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xl. 183, and xlii. 484; also עֵשָׂרָה *ten (fem.)* undoubtedly arises from an original *'esray*; so Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 138; König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 427.

m 3. It is wholly incorrect to regard the vowel-ending הָ<sup>2</sup> as the original termination of the feminine, and the consonantal ending הֶ as derived from it. The Ethiopic still has the ה throughout, so too the Assyrian (*at, it*); in Phœnician also the feminines end for the most part in ה, which is pronounced *at* in the words found in Greek and Latin authors; less frequently in א (see Gesenius, *Monum. Phœn.*, pp. 439, 440; Schröder, *Phœn. Sprache*, p. 169 ff.). The ancient Arabic has the obtuse ending (*ah*) almost exclusively in *pause*; in modern Arabic the relation between the two endings is very much as in Hebrew.

<sup>1</sup> In 1 S 22<sup>27</sup> also, where the Masora (see Baer on Jos 5<sup>11</sup>) for some unknown reason requires מִמָּחָרָה, read with ed. Mant., Jablonski, Opatius, and Ginsburg, מִמָּחָרָה.

<sup>2</sup> In this ending the ה h can only be considered consonantal in the sense that the ה was originally aspirated, and afterwards 'the mute ה was dropped before h, just as the old Persian *mithra* became in modern Persian *mīhr*'; so Socin, who also points to the Arabic pausal form in *ah*, and observes that among some of the modern Beduin an h is still heard as a fem. ending, cf. Socin, *Dicton aus Centralarabien*, iii. 98, ed. by H. Stumme, Lpz. 1901. In Hebrew this consonantal termination was entirely abandoned, at any rate in later times.

## § 81. Derivation of Nouns.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 329 ff.

Nouns are by their derivation either *primitive*, i. e. cannot be *a* referred to any verbal stem at present extant (see § 82), such as אב *father*, אם *mother* (but see both words in the Lexicon; according to Stade and others אב, אם, &c., are children's words and terms of endearment, and so really primitive nouns), or *derivative*, i. e. either *Derivativa verbalia* (§§ 83-5), e. g. רם *high*, רמה *high place*, מרומ *height*, from רם *to be high*, or less frequently *Derivativa denominativa* (§ 86), e. g. מרגלות *the place at the feet*, from רגל *foot*.

Rem. 1. The earlier grammarians consider the verb alone as stem, and *b* therefore all nouns as verbals, dividing them into (a) *Formae nudaæ*, i. e. such as have only the *three* (or *two*) radicals, and (b) *Formae auctæ*, such as have formative letters or syllables added at the beginning or end, e. g. מלכה, מלכות. The formative letters used for this purpose are ה א מ נ ט י ו (האמנותיו),<sup>1</sup> and the treatment of nouns formerly followed this order.

According to the view of *roots* and *stems* presented in § 30 *d*, nouns (other *c* than *denominatives*) are derived not from the verbal stem, but either from the (abstract) root or from the still undefined stem. In the following pages, however, the arrangement according to the verbal stem is retained as being simpler for the beginner. Cf. § 79 *a*.

2. Compound nouns as *appellatives* are very rare in Hebrew, e. g. בלעל *d* *worthlessness, baseness*. On the other hand, they very frequently occur as proper names, e. g. גבריאל (*man of God*), יהויקים (*Yahwe raises up*), יהוהנן (*Yahwe gave*), &c.<sup>2</sup>

## § 82. Primitive Nouns.

The number of *primitive* nouns in the sense used in § 81 is small, since nouns, which in other languages are represented as independent noun-stems, can easily be traced back in Hebrew to the verbal idea, e. g. names of animals and natural objects, as שעיר *he-goat* (prop. *shaggy*, from שער), שערה *barley* (prop. *prickly*, also from שער), חסידה *stork* (prop. *pia*, sc. *axis*), זהב *gold* (from זהב = צהב *to shine, to be yellow*). Thus there remain only a few nouns, e. g. several names of members of the body in men or beasts, to which a corresponding verbal stem cannot be assigned at all, or at any rate only indirectly (from other Semitic dialects), as קרן *horn*, עין *eye*.

<sup>1</sup> From this *vox memorialis* the *nomina aucta* are also called by the older grammarians *nomina heemantica*.

<sup>2</sup> G. Rammelt (*Über die zusammengesetzten Nomina im Hebr.*, Halle, 1883, and Leipzig, 1884) recognizes as appellatives only צפרדע (cf. below, § 85 *w*) and צלמות (the latter certainly incorrectly [see, however, Nöldeke, *ZATW.* 1897, p. 183 ff.]). In p. 8 ff. the author gives a list of 'logical compounds', i. e. new terms formed by composition with the negatives לא, בלי, מבלי.

## § 83. Verbal Nouns in General.

- a 1. In Hebrew, as in Greek and Latin, the *verbal nouns* are connected in form and meaning primarily with certain forms of the verb, especially the participles and infinitives, which are themselves, even in their ordinary form, frequently used precisely like nouns, e. g. אֹיֵב *enemy*, יָדַעַת *to know, knowledge*. Still oftener, however, certain forms of the infinitive and participle, which are seldom or never found as such in the strong verb, though in use in the weak verb and in the kindred dialects, came to be commonly used for the verbal noun; e. g. the participial form קָטַל, the infinitives of the (Aramaic) form מְקַטֵּל (as a *noun* also מְקַטֵּל), further קְטִילָה, קְטִילָה, קְטִילָה (§ 45 d), &c. Others (as the Arabic shows) are properly intensive forms of the participle.
- b 2. As regards their meaning, it follows from the nature of the case that nouns which have the form of the infinitive regularly denote the *action* or *state*, with other closely related ideas, and are therefore mostly *abstract*; while the participial nouns, on the contrary, denote for the most part the *subject* of the action or state, and are therefore *concrete*. Moreover, it is to be noticed, that a particular meaning is attached to many of the special forms of derivative nouns, although it does not appear equally in them all.
- c Rem. It need not appear strange, when we consider the analogy of other languages, that a noun which in form is properly *abstract* afterwards acquired a *concrete* sense, and vice versa. So in English, we say *his acquaintance*, for the *persons* with whom he is *acquainted*; the *Godhead* for *God* himself; in Hebrew מֵרִירָה *acquaintance* and an *acquaintance*.
- d The inner connexion in thought between Semitic noun-forms and the corresponding verbal forms is investigated in the works of De Lagarde and Barth (see the titles at the head of § 79) on very different lines, but with many points of agreement. De Lagarde starts from the fact that language consists of sentences. A sentence which consists of only *one* word is called a verb, and anything which serves as a complement to it is a noun. The oldest form of the sentence is the imperative. Closely related to it are three kinds of sentences of the nature of verbal forms, differing according as the property of the particular object of sense is to be represented as invariable (form *qatula*), or as liable to change (form *qatila*), or, finally, as a circumstance which takes place before our eyes (form *qatala*). Like the imperative, these three forms of sentences have also been transformed into nouns, by means of certain phonetic changes,—especially by the omission of the final vowels and the addition of different terminations to the last consonant of the stem. But just as the forms of the verbal sentence undergo numerous modifications (in the tenses, moods, and conjugations), so also do the nouns, sometimes by assimilation of the unessential to the characteristic vowel (*qatul*, *qitil*), sometimes by the lengthening of the characteristic vowel (*qatûl*, *qatîl*, *qatâl*), or else through the displacement of the accent and the consequent reduction of the noun to a monosyllabic form (*qat*, *qul*, *qit*), or, finally, by their being formed from the derived stems (or conjugations), e. g. *qatal*, *qatâl*; *qitil*, *qitâl*, &c. Further modifications arise from the use of the various imperfect

and infinitive forms, and also from the employment of the prefix *m*. Lastly, *denominabilia* are formed from *deverbalia* by appending certain suffixes.

De Lagarde does not, however, claim to be able to show in the case of each particular noun the sense it conveyed in primitive times; the origin of a number of nouns can now no longer be detected. In those, however, which are clearly derived from verbs, the original meaning is chiefly determined by the characteristic vowel.

Barth's system is based on the thesis that 'all Semitic nouns, adjectives, and participles are derived from either the perfect or the imperfect stem'. Thus, e.g. קָטַל is the infinitive of the perfect stem, קָטַל the infinitive of the imperfect stem, שָׁכַב infinitive of יָשַׁב, &c. In dissyllabic noun-forms the second vowel is always alone characteristic and essential, the first vowel unessential, and therefore variable. Further modifications of the simple form are effected by strengthening (sharpening) the second or third consonant, by lengthening the characteristic vowel (instead of which, however, the feminine termination may also be used), or by 'metaplasm', i. e. by the use of noun-forms derived from one of the two intransitive stems for the other, e. g. *qull* for *qil*, and vice versa.

In nouns of the perfect stem, the vowels *i* and *u* indicate intransitive formations, the vowel *a* a transitive sense. In nouns of the imperfect stem on the contrary, *u* and *i*, being characteristic vowels, indicate a transitive and *a* an intransitive sense: for *yagtilū* is imperfect of the transitive perfect *gatala*, and *yagtilū* imperfect of the intransitive perfects *qatila* and *qatula*, &c. This explains how nouns, apparently identical in form, may yet in sense belong to different classes: a *qull*-form from a *u*-imperfect has a transitive meaning, but the same form from a *u*-perfect has an intransitive meaning. This double system of perfect and imperfect forms runs through the whole scheme of noun-formation, not only the forms connected with the conjugations, but also the forms with prefixes and suffixes.

Against the whole theory it has been urged that it postulates for the development of the language a much too abstract mechanism, and further, that the meanings of words as we find them may in many cases be due to a modification of the original sense. But though many of the details (e.g. the alleged unessential character of the vowel of the first syllable) remain doubtful, yet the agreement between the characteristic vowel of certain noun formations and that of the perfect or imperfect stem, is supported by such a number of incontestable instances, that there can be no doubt as to a systematic, intimate connexion between the two. At the same time it must be admitted that De Lagarde has put forward many important and suggestive points, and both scholars agree in laying stress on one characteristic vowel as indicative of the meaning.

### § 84<sup>a</sup>. Nouns derived from the Simple Stem.

*Preliminary remark.*—From the statement made above, § 83 d, it follows that *a* an external similarity between forms is no proof of their similar origin, and, vice versa, external difference does not exclude the possibility of their being closely related both in origin and meaning.

#### I. Nouns with One Vowel, originally Short.

R. Rāzička, 'Beiträge zur Erklärung der nomina segolata,' in *Sitz.-ber. d. böhmischen Ges. d. Wiss.*, Prag, 1904.

1. Nouns with one of the three short vowels after the first radical: *present* ground-form *qāl*, *qūl*, *qūl*.

The supposition of *monosyllabic* ground-forms appeared to be required by the character of forms now existing in Hebrew, as well as in Arabic, &c. But there are strong reasons for believing that at least a large proportion of these forms go back to original dissyllabic bases with a short vowel in each syllable. When formative additions were made, the vowel of the 2nd syllable



was dropped, i.e. before case-endings in Assyrian and early Arabic, and before pronominal suffixes in Hebrew. From the forms thus produced, the bases *gaḥ*, *qāḥ*, *quḥ* have been assumed, although they never appear in Hebrew except in the singular and then in connexion with suffixes.

In support of this view of a large number of original dissyllabic bases, we must not, however, appeal to the Seghöl or Pathah under the 2nd consonant of the existing developed forms, *גָּחַר*, *קָחַר*, &c. These are in no sense survivals or modifications of an original full vowel in the 2nd syllable, but are mere helping-vowels (§ 28 e) to make the monosyllabic forms pronounceable,<sup>1</sup> and consequently disappear when no longer needed. Under certain circumstances even (e.g. in *קִשְׁטָה*) they are not used at all. Actual proofs of such original toneless full vowels in the 2nd syllable of existing Segholates are—

1. Forms like Arab. *mālik*, for which rarely *maḥk*, corresponding to the Hebrew ground-form; cf. De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 72 ff.

2. In Hebrew *גָּחַר*, *קָחַר*, *גָּחַר*, *קָחַר*, the connective forms of *גָּחַר*, *קָחַר*, &c., which latter can only come from ground-forms *gāḥr*, *qāḥr*, *kāḥd*, *kāḥp*.

3. The forms treated under c, which are in many ways related to the Segholates proper, in so far as they are to be referred to original dissyllabic bases.

4. The plurals of Hebrew Segholates, since, with very rare exceptions, they take *Qameṣ* under the 2nd radical before the termination *ים*, *fen*, *ות*—,

of the absolute state, as *מְלָכִים*, *מְלָכוֹת*, *מְכָרִים*, &c. This *Qameṣ* (see note 1 on § 26 e) can only be due to a lengthening of an original short vowel in the 2nd syllable, and hence it would seem as though the vowel were always *ā*. This is impossible from what has been said, especially under 1 and 2. Hence the explanation of the consistent occurrence of *Qameṣ* in the plurals of all Segholates can only be that the regularly formed plurals (i.e. from singulars with original *ā* in the 2nd syllable) became the models for all the others, and ultimately even for some really monosyllabic forms.<sup>2</sup>

(a) From the strong stem the above three ground-forms are further developed to *קָחַל*,<sup>3</sup> *קָחַל*, *קָחַל* (cf. § 27 r and in § 93 the explanations of Paradigm I, a-c); without a helping vowel (§ 28 d) *קִשְׁטָה* truth. If the second

<sup>1</sup> According to Delitzsch (*Assyr. Gram.*, p. 157 f.) the same is true in Assyrian of the corresponding *gaḥ*-forms. Without case-endings they are *kalab*, *šamas*, *aban* (= *כָּלַב*, *שָׁמַשׁ*, *אַבְנִי*), with case-endings *kalbu*, *šamsu*, *abnu*.

On the other hand, acc. to Sievers, *Metrik*, i. 26r, Hebrew ground-forms probably have a twofold origin: they are shortened according to Hebrew rules partly from old absolute forms like *kāḥu*, *sifru*, *qāḥu*, and partly from old construct-forms like the Assyrian types *kalab*, *sifru*, *quḥu*.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Ungnad, *ZA*. 1903, p. 333 ff., rejecting all previous explanations, maintains that the *a* in *m'lākūh*, *m'lākūh* is inserted merely to facilitate the pronunciation. From *gaḥim* arose *gaḥim*, then *gaḥim* and finally *q'ḥim*. See, however, Nöldeke, 'Zur semit. Pluralendung,' *ZA*. 1904, p. 68 ff., who points out that the Semitic nouns *fa'l*, *f'l*, *fa'l* with their corresponding feminines *fa'la*, &c., on assuming the plural termination commonly take an *a* before the 3rd radical, but that no satisfactory account can be given for it. M. Margolis, 'The plural of Segholates' (*Proc. of the Philol. Assoc. of the Pacific Coast*, San Francisco, 1903, p. 4 ff.), and S. Brooks, *Vestiges of the broken plural in Hebrew*, Dublin, 1883, explain *m'lākūh* as a *pluralis fractus*.

<sup>3</sup> It is worthy of notice that St. Jerome also (cf. Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 76) frequently represents the vowel of the first syllable by *a*, e.g. *gader*, *aben*, *ader*, *areb*, for *גָּדַר*, *אָבֵן*, *אָדַר*, *חָרֵב*, but *cedem*, *secel*, *deber*, &c., for *שָׂקַל*, *סֶכֶל*, *דָּבַר*, &c.

or third radical be a guttural, a helping *Pathah* takes the place of the helping *Seghōl*, according to § 22 d, e.g. זֶרַע *seed*, נֶצַח *eternity*, פֶּעַל *work*; but with middle ה or ח, note לֶחֶם *bread*, רֶחֶם (as well as רַחֵם) *womb*, אֶהָל *tent*, אֶתֶן *thumb*; so with final א, אֶפְרָא *a wild ass*, &c.; with a middle guttural also the modification of the principal vowel *ä* to *è* does not occur, e.g. נָעַר, רֶהַב, לָחִין (exceptions, again, לֶחֶם, רֶחֶם). On the inflexion, cf. § 93, Paradigm I, a-f, and the explanations. In חַטָּא *sin*, the א has wholly lost its consonantal value.

Examples of feminines: מַלְכָּה (directly from the ground-form *malik*, *king*), בִּטְרָה *a covering* (also בִּטְרָה), אֶכְלָה *food* (also אֶכְלָה); with a middle guttural נְעֻרָה *girl*, מְהֻרָה *purity* (also מְהֻרָה). Cf. § 94, Paradigm I.

(b) From weak stems: (a) from stems ע"נ, e.g. אֶפֶס *nose* (from 'anp, hence C with formative additions, e.g. אֶפֶס for 'anpī, *my nose*); אֶפֶס *a she-goat* (ground-form 'in); fem. חֶפֶה *wheat*; (β) from stems ע"ע (§ 93, Paradigm I, l-n); פֶּחַ *a morsel*, עַם *people* (so, when in close connexion with the next word; unconnected עם; with article הָעַם, הָעָם, &c.); רַב in the sense of *much*, but רַב *great*, numerous (in close connexion also רַב); עָוֵל *evil*, with the article in close connexion הָעָוֵל, unconnected הָרָע; with the *ä* always lengthened to *ā*, יָם *sea*; fem. חַיָּה *life*, and with attenuation of the *ä* to *i*, מִדָּה *measure*; from the ground-form qūl, אִם *mother*; fem. גִּנָּה *a shearing*; from the ground-form qūl, חֻק *statute*, fem. חֻקָּה. (γ) from stems ע"י (Paradigm I, g and i); מוֹת *death* (from mī-ūt, the *u* passing into the corresponding consonant, as in מִתְנָה *middle*) or contracted יוֹם *day*, שׁוֹט *whip*, שׁוֹר *a bull*; fem. עֲוִלָּה *perverseness* (also contracted עוֹלָה); from the ground-form qūl, צֶרֶךְ *a rock*; fem. סוּפָה *a storm*. (δ) from stems ע"י (Paradigm I, h); יָת *an olive-tree* (with a helping Hīreq instead of a helping Seghōl) from sī-it, the *i* passing into the corresponding consonant; or contracted חֵיק *bosom*, חֵיל 2 K 18<sup>17</sup> (elsewhere חֵיל) *host*; fem. שֵׁבֶה *grey hair*; from the ground-form qūl, דִּין *judgement*; fem. בִּינָה *understanding*. (e) from stems ל"ה (Paradigm I, k); partly forms such as בָּכָה *weeping*, הִגָּה *murmuring*, נִתְּנָה *a present*, קִנְיָה *the end*, partly such as אֶרֶץ *a lion* (ground-form bākī, 'āy); cf. also the forms from stems originally ל"י, שָׂחָה *swimming* (ground-form sūhīw); fem. שָׁלוֹחַ *rest*, גִּבְעָה *exaltation*; from stems ל"י, אֶלְיָה *a fat tail*, and with attenuation of *ä* to *i* שְׁבִיָּה *captivity*, also שְׁבִיָּת, formed no doubt directly from the masc. שָׁבִי with the fem. termination ת; from the ground-form qūl, חָצִי (from hīy); fem. חֵדוּהָ *joy*, עֲרִיָּה and עֲרֻהָ *nakedness*; from the ground-form qūl, בָּהוּ (from bōhīw) *waste*, תְּרוּהָ *emptiness*; דְּלִי, for דְּלִי, *bucket*; fem. אֶנְיָה *a ship* (directly from אֶנְיָ *a fleet*).

The masculines as well as the feminines of these *segholate* forms may have *ū* either an *abstract* or a *concrete* meaning. In the form קָטַל the *passive* or at any rate the *abstract* meaning is by far the more common (e.g. נָעַר *youthfulness*, abstract of נָעַר *boy*; אֶכְלָה *food*, &c.).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Lambert also (REF. 1896, p. 18 ff.), from statistics of the Segholates, arrives at the conclusion that the qūl-form is especially used for concretes (in nouns without gutturals he reckons twenty concretes as against two abstracts), and the qūl-form, and less strictly the qūl, for abstracts.

c 2. Nouns with one of the three short vowels under the second radical (present ground-form *qāṭāl*, *qāṭīl*, *qāṭūl*), e. g. דְּבֵשׁ *honey*, חֲרָה *sickness*, חֲתָה *terror*; and so always with middle א, בָּאֵר *a well*, זָאֵב *a wolf*, בָּאֵשׁ *stench*. In reality these forms, like the segholates mentioned in No. 1 (see above, a), are, probably, for the most part to be referred to original dissyllabic forms, but the tone has been shifted from its original place (the penultima) on to the ultima. Thus *dibāš* (originally *dibāš*) as ground-form of דְּבֵשׁ is supported both by the Hebrew דִּבְשִׁי (with suffix of the first person), and by the Arabic *dibs*, the principal form; *ḏi'ir* (according to Philippi with assimilation of the vowel of the second syllable to that of the first) as ground-form of בָּאֵר is attested by the Arabic *bīr*; for בָּאֵשׁ (Arabic *bu's*) similarly a ground-form *bu'is* may be inferred, just as a ground-form *qāṭūl* underlies the infinitives of the form קָטַל.<sup>1</sup>

## II. Nouns with an original Short Vowel in both Syllables.

f 3. The ground-form *qāṭāl*, fem. *qāṭālāt*, developed in Hebrew to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, a, b) and קָטְלָה (§§ 94, 95, Paradigm II, a, b), mostly forms intransitive adjectives, as חָכָם *wise*, חָדָשׁ *new*, יָשָׁר *upright*; but also substantives, as דָּבָר *a word*, and even abstracts, as אִשָּׁם *guilt*, רָעָב *hunger*, שָׂבַע *satiety*; in the fem. frequently abstract, as צִדְקָה<sup>2</sup> *righteousness*; with an initial guttural אֶרֶץ *earth*.—Of the same formation from verbs ע"ע are בָּדָד *alone*, עָנָן *cloud*; passive חָלַל *pierced*.—In verbs ל"ה a final *lōdh* is almost always rejected, and the *ā* of the second syllable lengthened to *ē*. Thus שָׂרִי *field*, after rejection of the *ʾ* and addition of ה as a vowel-letter, becomes שָׂרָה (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, f); fem. e. g. שָׁנָה *year*; cf. § 95, Paradigm II, c. From a verb ל"ו the strong form עָנָן *afflicted* occurs.

g 4. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, fem. *qāṭīlāt*, developed to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, c-e) and קָטְלָה, is frequently used as participle of verbs middle *e* (§ 50 b), and hence mostly with an intransitive meaning; cf. זָקֵן *old*, an old man; כָּבֵד *heavy*; fem. בְּהֵמָה *cattle*, אִפְלָה *darkness*.—From verbs פ"י: irregularly, דִּלְיוֹתָיו *the branches of it*, Jer 11<sup>16</sup>, &c., generally referred to a sing. דִּלְיָה (stem וְדָלָה), הִרְיוֹתָיו Ho 14<sup>1</sup> *their women with child* (from הָרָה, st. constr. הָרָה, plur. st. absol. and constr. הָרָוּת).—From a verb ל"ו with consonantal Wāw: שָׁלוֹ at ease, incorrectly written *plene* שָׁלִי Jb 21<sup>23</sup>.

h 5. The ground-form *qāṭūl*, developed to קָטַל (also written קָטוּל), generally forms adjectives, e. g. אִים *terrible*, בָּרִד *piebald*, מְרוּחַ *sweet*, נֶקֶד *speckled*, עֵבָה *interwoven*, עוּל *round*, עֹמַק *deep*, עֵקֶב *hilly*, צָהָב *golden*; קָטַן *small*, only in sing. masc., with a parallel form קָטָן of the class treated under f, fem. קָטְנָה, plur. קָטְנִים. These forms are not to be confounded with those in No. III, from

<sup>1</sup> On this theory cf. Stade, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 199 b; De Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 57 f.; A. Müller, *ZDMG*. xlv, p. 226, and especially Philippi, *ZDMG*. xlix, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> In St. Jerome's time these forms were still pronounced *ṣadaca* (צִדְקָה), *ṣaaca* (צִעְקָה), *nabala* (נִבְלָה), &c., see Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 79. Moreover, the numerous abstracts of this form (e. g. even קִצְפָּה *a splintering*, צִיָּה *a crying*, &c.) are undoubtedly to be regarded (with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 87) as feminines of infinitives of the form *qāṭāl*, the lengthening of the second syllable being balanced, as in other cases, by the addition of the feminine termination.

the ground-form *qāṭāl*.—Fem. אִפְיָה, בְּבוּדָה (*glorious*), עֲבֻתָה, עֲנֻנָה (*delicate*), עֲנֻלָה, עֲנֻקָה, with sharpening of the third radical, in order to keep the original *ā* short, and similarly in the plurals בְּרָדִים, נְקָדִים, עֲנָלִים, אֲכָפִים *stores*, &c.

6. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to קָטַל (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, Rem. 1), i.e. g. לִבָּב *heart*, אֶנְב *a bunch of grapes*, שָׁכַר *strong drink*; from a verb לָ"ה, probably of this class is רָעָה, generally contracted to רָע *friend*, ground-form *ri'ay*: the full form is preserved in רֵעֵהוּ *his friend*, for רָעִיהוּ.

III. *Nouns with an original Short Vowel in the First and a Long Vowel in the Second Syllable.*

7. The ground-form *qāṭāl* in Hebrew always develops to the form קָטַל, the *ā* becoming an obscure *ō*. The fact that this form is also written קָטַל must not lead to the confusion of these forms with those mentioned in No. 5, from the ground-form *qāṭāl*.<sup>1</sup> Moreover the *qāṭāl*-class includes forms of various origin, and therefore of various meaning, as (a) intransitive adjectives like בְּרוֹל *great*, קְדוֹשׁ *holy*, fem. בְּרוּלָה, the short vowel becoming Š<sup>w</sup>ā, whereas in בְּרוֹל, &c., before the tone it is lengthened to *ā*; (b) the infinitives absolute of the form קָטַל (§ 45 a) as representing the abstract idea of the verb, and abstract substantives like כְּבוֹד *honour*, שְׁלוֹם *peace* (Arab. *sālām*); (c) substantives and adjectives in an active sense, as בְּרוֹן *assayer* (of metals), עֹשִׁיוֹן *an oppressor*, חֹמֵץ *expressing*; in the feminine בְּגוּדָה *treacherous* Jer 37<sup>10</sup>, the irregular retention of the *ā* in the third syllable from the end is no doubt to be explained, with Brockelmann, from Aramaic influence, the punctuator having in mind the Aramaic nomen agentis *qāṭāl*.

8. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to קָטַל (cf. § 93, Paradigm IV, a and b).<sup>2</sup> Here also forms of various origin and meaning are to be distinguished: (a) adjectives used substantivally with a passive meaning to denote duration in a state, as אֲסִיר *a prisoner*, מְשִׁיחַ *an anointed one*. These proper *qāṭāl*-forms are parallel to the purely passive *qāṭāl*-forms (see m), but others are due to a strengthening of original *qāṭāl*-forms. These are either (b) intransitive in meaning, as צָעִיר *small*, and, from ל"י stems, נָקִי *pure*, עָנִי *poor* (see § 93 vv), or (c) active, as נְבִיא *a speaker* (prophet), פֶּקִיד *an overseer*.—Of a different kind again (according to De Lagarde, infinitives) are (a) forms like אֲסִיף *the ingathering*, בְּצִיר *vintage*, חֲרִישׁ *ploughing time*, קְצִיר *harvest*. On *qāṭāl*-forms with a kindred meaning, cf. § 84<sup>b</sup> f.

9. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to קָטַל. As in the *qāṭāl* and *qāṭāl*-forms m (see k and l), so here forms of various kinds are to be distinguished: (a) *qāṭāl*-forms proper, with passive meaning, especially all the passive participles of Qal; fem. e.g. בְּתוּלָה *virgin* (properly *secluded*). On the other hand, by strengthening an original *qāṭāl*-form we get (b) certain stative adjectives (§ 50 f): אֲנֻשׁ *incurable*, עָצוֹם *strong*, עָרֹם *subtil*, or even transitive, as אֲחוּז *holding*; (c) active substantives, as יָקִישׁ *a Fowler*. Further, some of the forms mentioned in § 84<sup>b</sup> g belong to this class; see above, the remark on l.

10. The ground-form *qāṭāl* or *qāṭāl* in Hebrew changes the *ī* to vocal Š<sup>w</sup>ā, n

<sup>1</sup> In Na 1<sup>2</sup> only the Q<sup>re</sup> requires בְּרָל (in the constr. state) for the K<sup>ethibh</sup> בְּרוֹל.

<sup>2</sup> On the *fu'āl*-forms (regarded by Wellhausen as original diminutives) see Nöldeke, *Beiträge* (Strassb. 1904), p. 30 ff. He includes among them נְעֻת *torc*, and מְחָרִים *hemorrhoids*.

*e* 2. Nouns with one of the three short vowels under the second radical (present ground-form *q<sup>a</sup>tāl, q<sup>e</sup>tāl, q<sup>i</sup>tāl*), e. g. דְּבַשׁ *honey*, נִי *sickness*, חֵת *terror*; and so always with middle *ā*, בְּאֵר *a well*, זֶבֶד *a wolf*, בֹּאֵשׁ *stench*. In reality these forms, like the segholates mentioned in No. 1 (see above, *a*), are, probably, for the most part to be referred to original *dissyllabic* forms, but the tone has been shifted from its original place (the penultima) on to the ultima. Thus *dibāl* (originally *dibāš*) as ground-form of דְּבַשׁ is supported both by the Hebrew דְּבַשְׁי (with suffix of the first person), and by the Arabic *dibs*, the principal form; *bi'ir* (according to Philippi with assimilation of the vowel of the second syllable to that of the first) as ground-form of בְּאֵר is attested by the Arabic *bi'r*; for בֹּאֵשׁ (Arabic *bu's*) similarly a ground-form *bu'āš* may be inferred, just as a ground-form *qūtāl* underlies the infinitives of the form קָטַל.<sup>1</sup>

## II. Nouns with an original Short Vowel in both Syllables.

*f* 3. The ground-form *qātāl*, fem. *qātālāt*, developed in Hebrew to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, *a, b*) and קָטְלָה (§§ 94, 95, Paradigm II, *a, b*), mostly forms intransitive adjectives, as חָכָם *wise*, חָדָשׁ *new*, יָשָׁר *upright*; but also substantives, as דָּבָר *a word*, and even abstracts, as אָשָׁם *guilt*, רָעָב *hunger*, שָׂבִיעַ *satiety*; in the fem. frequently abstract, as צִדְקָה <sup>2</sup> *righteousness*; with an initial guttural אֶרֶץ *earth*.—Of the same formation from verbs עָצַד *alone*, עָנַן *cloud*; passive חָלַל *pierced*.—In verbs לָהּ a final *Yōdh* is almost always rejected, and the *ā* of the second syllable lengthened to *ē*. Thus שָׂרִי *field*, after rejection of the *ā* and addition of ה as a vowel-letter, becomes שָׂרָה (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, *f*); fem. e. g. שָׁנָה *year*; cf. § 95, Paradigm II, *c*. From a verb לָיו the strong form עָנִי *afflicted* occurs.

*g* 4. The ground-form *qātāl*, fem. *qātālāt*, developed to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, *c-e*) and קָטְלָה, is frequently used as participle of verbs middle *e* (§ 50 *b*), and hence mostly used as an intransitive meaning; cf. זָקֵן *old*, an *old man*; כָּבֵד *heavy*; fem. בְּהֵמָה *cattle*, אֲפֵלָה *darkness*.—From verbs פָּי: irregularly, דְּלִיּוֹתֵי *the branches of it*, Jer 11<sup>16</sup>, &c., generally referred to a *sing.* דְּלִית (stem חָלַל), and הַרְיוֹתֵי Ho 14<sup>1</sup> *their women with child* (from הָרָה, *st. constr.* הָרָת, plur. *st. absol. and constr.* הָרוֹת).—From a verb לָיו with consonantal Wāw: שָׁלוֹ *at ease*, incorrectly written *plene* שָׁלִי Jb 21<sup>23</sup>.

*h* 5. The ground-form *qātāl*, developed to קָטַל (also written קָטֹל), generally forms adjectives, e. g. אִים *terrible*, בָּרָד *piebald*, מְתוֹךְ *sweet*, נֶקֶד *speckled*, עֵבֶת *interwoven*, עֹגֵל *round*, עֶמֶק *deep*, עֵקֶב *hilly*, צָהָב *golden*; קָטַן *small*, only in *sing. masc.*, with a parallel form קָטְנָה of the class treated under *f*, fem. קָטְנָה, plur. קָטְנִים. These forms are not to be confounded with those in No. III, from

<sup>1</sup> On this theory cf. Stade, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 199 *b*; De Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 57 *f*.; A. Müller, *ZDMG*. xlv, p. 226, and especially Philippi, *ZDMG*. xlix, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> In St. Jerome's time these forms were still pronounced *šadaca* (צִדְקָה), *šacaca* (צִעְקָה), *nabala* (נֶבֶלָה), &c., see Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 79. Moreover, the numerous abstracts of this form (e. g. even קִצְפָּה *a splintering*, צְרוּחָה *a crying*, &c.) are undoubtedly to be regarded (with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 87) as feminines of infinitives of the form *qātāl*, the lengthening of the second

the ground-form *qāṭāl*.—Fem. *אֵצְמָה*, *כְּבוֹדָה* (*glorious*), *עֲבֻתָה*, *עֲנֻתָה* (*delicate*), *עֲנֻלָה*, *עֲנֻמָה*, with sharpening of the third radical, in order to keep the original *ā* short, and similarly in the plurals *בְּרָדִים*, *נְקָדִים*, *עֲנֻלִים*, *אֲסָפִים* *stores*, &c.

6. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to *קָטַל* (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, Rem. 1), *i* e. g. *לֵבָב* *heart*, *עֵנַב* *a bunch of grapes*, *שִׁכָר* *strong drink*; from a verb *לָחַץ*, probably of this class is *רֵעָה*, generally contracted to *רֵעַ* *friend*, ground-form *ri'ay*: the full form is preserved in *רֵעֵהוּ* *his friend*, for *רֵעִיהוּ*.

III. *Nouns with an original Short Vowel in the First and a Long Vowel in the Second Syllable.*

7. The ground-form *qāṭāl* in Hebrew always develops to the form *קָטַל*, the *k* becoming an obscure *ā*. The fact that this form is also written *קָטַל* must not lead to the confusion of these forms with those mentioned in No. 5, from the ground-form *qāṭāl*.<sup>1</sup> Moreover the *qāṭāl*-class includes forms of various origin, and therefore of various meaning, as (a) intransitive adjectives like *גָּדוֹל* *great*, *קָדוֹשׁ* *holy*, fem. *קְדוּלָה*, the short vowel becoming *Š-wā*, whereas in *גָּדוֹל*, &c., before the tone it is lengthened to *ā*; (b) the infinitives absolute of the form *קָטַל* (§ 45 a) as representing the abstract idea of the verb, and abstract substantives like *כְּבוֹד* *honour*, *שָׁלוֹם* *peace* (Arab. *sālām*); (c) substantives and adjectives in an active sense, as *בֹּחֵן* *assayer* (of metals), *עוֹשֵׁק* *an oppressor*, *חַכוּץ* *oppressing*; in the feminine *בְּנוּדָה* *treacherous* Jer 37.<sup>10</sup>, the irregular retention of the *ā* in the third syllable from the end is no doubt to be explained, with Brockelmann, from Aramaic influence, the punctuator having in mind the Aramaic nomen agentis *qāṭōl*.

8. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to *קָטַל* (cf. § 93, Paradigm IV, a and b).<sup>2</sup> Here also forms of various origin and meaning are to be distinguished: (a) adjectives used substantivally with a passive meaning to denote duration in a state, as *אֲסִיר* *a prisoner*, *כִּשְׁיָה* *an anointed one*. These proper *qāṭāl*-forms are parallel to the purely passive *qāṭāl*-forms (see m), but others are due to a strengthening of original *qāṭāl*-forms. These are either (b) intransitive in meaning, as *צָעִיר* *small*, and, from *לָחַץ* stems, *נָקִי* *pure*, *עֲנִי* *poor* (see § 93 vv), or (c) active, as *נְבִיא* *a speaker* (prophet), *פֶּקִיד* *an overseer*.—Of a different kind again (according to De Lagarde, infinitives) are (d) forms like *אֲסִיפָה* *the ingathering*, *בְּצִיר* *vintage*, *חֲרִישׁ* *ploughing time*, *קְצִיר* *harvest*. On *qāṭāl*-forms with a kindred meaning, cf. § 84<sup>b</sup> f.

9. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to *קָטַל*. As in the *qāṭāl* and *qāṭāl*-forms *m* (see k and l), so here forms of various kinds are to be distinguished: (a) *qāṭāl*-forms proper, with passive meaning, especially all the passive participles of Qal; fem. e. g. *בְּתוּלָה* *virgin* (properly *secluded*). On the other hand, by strengthening an original *qāṭāl*-form we get (b) certain stative adjectives (§ 50 f); *אֲנִישׁ* *incurable*, *עָצוֹם* *strong*, *עָרוֹם* *subtil*, or even transitive, as *אֲחִיז* *holding*; (c) active substantives, as *יֹקֵד* *a Fowler*. Further, some of the forms mentioned in § 84<sup>b</sup> g belong to this class; see above, the remark on l.

10. The ground-form *qāṭāl* or *qāṭāl*<sup>2</sup> in Hebrew changes the *ā* to vocal *Š-wā*, *n*

<sup>1</sup> In Na 13 only the *Q<sup>rd</sup>* requires *גָּדֹל* (in the constr. state) for the *K<sup>thibh</sup>* *גָּדֹל*.

<sup>2</sup> On the *fu'āl*-forms (regarded by Wellhausen as original diminutives) see



and develops to קטל (cf. § 93, Paradigm IV, c) or קטול, with *ā* obscured to *ō* (as above, *k*). Cf. נִשְׁאָר *remnant*, יָקָר *honour*, בִּתּוּב *book* (Arab. *kitāb*), קָרַב *war* (the last three probably loan-words from the Aramaic); of the other form, חִלּוּם *a dream*, חֲמֹר *an ass* (Arab. *ḥimār*), אֱלֹהִים *God* (Arab. *ʾilāh*); with *ā* prosthetic (§ 19 m), אֶזְרָע *arm* (twice: usually אֶזְרָע); fem. בְּשׂוּרָה *good news* (Arab. *bishārūt*); עֲבוּדָה *service*, בְּתֻכָּה (Arab. *kitābāt*) *tattooing*.

o 11. The ground-form *qāṭil* seems to occur e.g. in Hebrew אֵילִיל *foolish*, אֵילִיל *vanity*, בְּרִיל *lead*, בָּסִיל *a fool*, חֲזִיר *a swine* (the prop. name חֲזִיר points to the ground-form *qāṭil*, cf. Arab. *ḥinzir*).

p 12. The ground-form *qāṭil* or *qāṭūl*, Hebr. קָטוּל, e.g. גְּבִיל *a boundary*, לְבִישׁ *a garment*; fem. גְּבוּרָה *strength*, אֱמוּנָה *faithfulness*.

q Rem. When the forms *qāṭūl* and *qāṭōl* begin with *ā*, they almost invariably take in the singular a *Ṣere* under the *ā* instead of the ordinary *Ḥaṭeph-Ṣeḡhōl*; cf. אָבִים *a crib*, אָמֵן *thread*, אָמֵן *faithful*, אָוֶב *hyssop*, אָוֶר *a waist-band*, אָסֹר *a bond*, אָפֹד *an 'ephod'*; cf. § 23 h, and the analogous cases of *Ṣere* for *Ḥaṭeph-Ṣeḡhōl* in verbal forms § 52 n, § 63 p, § 76 d.

#### IV. Nouns with a Long Vowel in the First Syllable and originally a Short Vowel in the Second Syllable.

7' 13. The ground-form *qāṭūl*, in Hebrew, always changes the *ā* into an obscure *ō*, קֹטֵל (קָטֵל), e.g. עוֹלָם (§ 93, Paradigm III, a), Arab. *ʾālam*, *eternity*; חֹתֶם (Arab. *ḥatīm*) *a seal* (according to Barth a loan-word of Egyptian origin), fem. חֹתֶמֶת (from *ḥitāmūt*), חֹלֶעַץ *worm* (unless from a stem *ḥlʿ*, like חֹלֶשֶׁב from *ḥlʿ*); see the analogous cases in § 85 b). On the participles *Qal* of verbs *lʿh* (§ 93, Paradigm III, c), cf. § 75 e; on the feminines of the participles *Qal*, which are formed with the termination *ā*, see below, s.

Rem. Of a different kind (probably from a ground-form *qauṭal*) are such forms as אֹפֶן (or אֹפִין Ez 10<sup>9</sup> in the same verse) *a wheel*; גֹּזֵל *a young bird*, דּוֹנָה *wax*, &c.

s 14. The ground-form *qāṭūl* also becomes in Hebrew almost invariably קֹטֵל (קָטֵל). Besides *participles active masc. Qal* this class includes also feminines of the form קֹטֵלָה, if their ground-form *qāṭūt* (§ 69 c) goes back to an original *qāṭūl*. The substantives of this form, such as כֹּהֵן *priest* (Arab. *kāhīn*), were also originally participles *Qal*. The fem. of the substantives has *ā* (lengthened from *i*) retained before the tone, e.g. יֹלְרָה *a woman in travail* (cf. also בְּנִדָּה *the treacherous woman*, Jer 3<sup>8</sup>; הַחֲלֵעָה *her that halteth*, Mi 4<sup>2</sup>, Zp 3<sup>19</sup>; כֹּחֲלָה *a buckler*, ψ 91<sup>4</sup>); the participles as a rule have the form יֹלְרָה, &c., the original *i* having become *Ṣeḡdā*; however, the form with *Ṣere* occurs also in the latter, Is 29<sup>8,9</sup>, 34<sup>9</sup>, ψ 68<sup>28</sup>, 118<sup>16</sup> (all in principal pause; in subordinate pause 2 S 13<sup>20</sup>, Is 33<sup>14</sup>; with a conjunctive accent, Ct 1<sup>6</sup>).

t 15. The ground-form *qāṭūl*, Hebrew קֹטֵל (as יַבֵּל *river*, Jer 17<sup>8</sup>) or קֹטֵל e.g. עֵינֵב *a pipe*, commonly עֵיב, and to be so read, with Baer, also in ψ 150<sup>4</sup>, עֵיב.

#### V. Nouns with a Long Vowel in each Syllable.

u 16. קִטּוּל, e.g. קִטּוּר *smoke*. The few forms of this kind are probably

§ 84<sup>b</sup>. *Formation of Nouns from the Intensive Stem.*

This includes all forms which have arisen, either through the *a* doubling of the middle radical, or the repetition of one or of two consonants of the simple stem.

VI. *Nouns with the Middle Consonant sharpened.*

As in the corresponding verbal stems (cf. § 52 *f*), so also in some noun-formations of this class, the Dageš in the second radical expresses an intensification of the idea of the stem, either emphasizing the energy of the action or relation, or else indicating a longer continuance of the relation or state. Other nouns of this character are evidently only by-forms of the nouns derived from the simple stem, which were treated in the last section: cf. the instances adduced under *fand g*, and Barth, *Nominalbildung*, Introd., p. x.

17. The ground-form *qūṭṭāl* is mostly lengthened in Hebrew to קָטַל; cf. *b* אֵיל *a stag*, fem. אֵילָה, constr. st. אֵילָה (from 'äyyāṭl); cf. also the fem. (originating from *Qal*) לֶהָבֵה *a flame* (according to § 27 *q* for *lühhābhā*), (for *harrābhā*), בֶּרֶךְתָּ and בֶּרֶכְתָּ *a burning fever*, יַבֶּשֶׁת and יַבֶּשֶׁת *dry land*, טַבַּעַת *a seal-ring*, שֶׁחָפַת *consumption*. Adjectives of this class ('intensified participles of the active verb', Barth, *ibid.*, § 33) are חַפָּא *sinful*, נָפַח *went to gore*, קָנָא *jealous*, בָּקַשׁ (for *kahhāš*, by § 22 *c*) *lying*. *Nomina opifecum* also, curiously enough, are so treated in Hebrew (at least in the constr. state of the sing.), although the corresponding Arabic form *qūṭṭāl* points to an original (unchangeable) *ā* in the second syllable; cf. נָבֵב *a thief*, דִּין *a judge* (constr. st. דִּין *ψ* 68<sup>b</sup>), מֶבֶךָ *a cook*, חָרַשׁ (for *harrāš*) *artificer* (constr. st. חָרַשׁ, but plur. constr. חָרָשִׁי), פָּרָשׁ *horseman* (for *parrāš*), const. st. פָּרָשׁ Ez 26<sup>10</sup>.

18. The ground-form *qūṭṭāl* appears in צָחָה *dry*, נָאָה *haughty* (the *i* being *c* lengthened to *ē* according to § 22 *c*), if these forms go back to original *siḥhāy*, *g'āy*. On the analogy, however, of the adjectives denoting defects (see *d* below), we should rather expect a ground-form *qūṭṭil*; moreover, *iwāṭl*, ground-form of the fem. אֵילָת *foolishness*, goes back to an original *iwāṭl*, see § 69 *c*.

19. The ground-form *qūṭṭāl* and *qūṭṭil*; cf. the fem. בִּפְסָחַת *spelt*, בִּפְסָחַת *coat*.

20. The ground-form *qūṭṭil*; from the intensive stem, the infinitives *Pi'el* of *d* the form קָטַל.

21. The ground-form *qūṭṭil*, in Hebrew lengthened to קָטַל. Of this form are a considerable number of adjectives which denote a bodily or mental fault or defect. Cf. אֵמֶר *disabled*, אֵלֶם *dumb*, גִּבֵּן *hump-backed*, עֵוֶר *blind*, חֵרֶשׁ *deaf* (for *hivvāš*), פֶּפֶחַ *lame*, קָרַח *bald*, עָקוּשׁ *perverse*; בִּפְתָּח *open-eyed* follows the same analogy.

22. The ground-form *qūṭṭāl*, cf. the remarks in *b* above, on the *nomina opifecum*; moreover, to this class belong infinitives *Pi'el* of the Aramaic form בִּקְרָה *a searching out*; בִּקְשָׁה *a request*; with middle guttural (see § 22 *c*) נֶאֱחָצָה *contumely*; but cf. also נֶאֱחָצֶרָה Ez 35<sup>12</sup>, with full lengthening of the original *ā* before א; נֶחֱמָה *comfort*. From the attenuation of the *ā* of this form to *i*, arises undoubtedly:

23. The ground-form *qūṭṭāl*, e. g. אִמְרָן *husbandman* (Arab. 'akkār).

r); cf. גָּבוֹר *hero* (Arab. *gābbār*), צָפוֹר *caviller*, צִפּוֹר (*pipet* or *chirper*) a bird, שָׁפוֹר *drunkard*. On the other hand, יָלוּד *born* probably arises from *yullūd*, an old participle passive of *Qal*, the *ū* being dissimilated in the sharpened syllable before *ō*: so Barth, *ibid.*, p. 41 f.

- f 25. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, קָטִיל, almost exclusively of persons, who possess some quality in an intensive manner, e.g. אָבִיר *strong*, צַדִּיק *righteous*, בָּרִיחַ *fugitive* (for *barriah*), עָרִיץ *violent* (for *ʿarīṣ*).

That some of these are only by-forms of the *qāṭīl*-class (see above, remark on a), appears from the constr. st. פָּרִיעַ *ravenous*, Is 35<sup>a</sup> (but פָּרִיעִים, plur. always), and according to Barth (*ibid.*, 35 a) also from the constr. st. אָבִיר (but also אָבִיר 1 S 21<sup>a</sup>) of אָבִיר. However, the form אָבִיר, as a name of God, may be intentionally differentiated from אָבִיר, a poetic term for the bull.

In the same way אָסִיר *prisoner*, סָרִיס *eunuch* (constr. st. always סָרִיס, plur. סָרִיסִים, constr. st. סָרִיסִי Gn 40<sup>r</sup>, but in the book of Esther always סָרִיסִי, with suffix סָרִיסִי, &c.), and קָעָנָה *wearied*, may be regarded as by-forms of the *qāṭīl*-class with passive meaning, see § 84<sup>a</sup> l.

- g 26. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, קָטִיל, e.g. חַנּוּן *gracious*, רַחוּם *compassionate* (with virtual strengthening of the ח), חָרִין *diligent* (for *harrūs*), probably, again, to a large extent by-forms of the *qāṭīl*-class, § 84<sup>a</sup> m. The same applies to substantives like אֶשֶׁר *a step* (in אֲשֶׁרִי, as well as אֲשֶׁר, &c.), עֶמֶד *pillar*; fem. חֲבוּרָה *a stripe* (also חֲבֻרָתוֹ, security: cf. Barth, *ibid.*, § 84.

- h 27. The ground-form *qāṭīl*; besides the infinitives absolute *Pīʿel* of the form קָפַל, also קָנָא *jealous* (as well as קָנָא, an obscured form of *qāṭīl*, see e).

- i 28. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, קָטִיל, e.g. צָפוּי *a coating of metal*, שְׁקִיל *requital*, שָׁקַי *drink*, שִׁקְיָי *deceivable thing*; with concrete meaning לַמּוֹד *a disciple*, עָזוֹ *strong*; frequently in the plural in an abstract sense, as גְּדוּפִים *reproach*, מְלֵאִים *filling* (the induction of a priest), נְחֻמִּים *consolations, compassion*, שְׁבִלִים *bereavement*, שְׁלֵחִים *dismissal*, שְׁמֵרִים *observance*.

#### VII. Nouns with the Third Consonant repeated.

- k 29. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, e.g. שָׁאֵן *quiet*, fem. שְׁאֵנָה (with sharpening of the second *Nūn*, in order to keep the preceding vowel short); רֶעֶנָּה *green*, plur. רֶעֶנִּים.

- l 30. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, in Hebrew קָטִיל; of this form are e.g. the infinitives *Pīʿel* (prop. *Paʿʿel*), cf. § 55 d.

- m 31. The ground-form *qāṭīl*; so the plur. גְּבָנִים *ridges* (with sharpening of the *Nūn*, as in No. 29).

32. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, in פָּרָחַח *a brood*.

33. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, in אָמָלֵל *saint*.

34. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, e.g. עֲבָטִים *plunder*, סָרִיר *rain-storm*, שִׁפְרִיר *glittering tapestry*, Jer 43<sup>10</sup> K<sup>re</sup>; with attenuation of the *ā* to *i* בְּמִרְרִים *all that maketh black*, Jb 3<sup>b</sup> (but the better reading is בְּמִרְרִי).

35. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, e.g. שְׁפָרוֹר Jer 43<sup>10</sup> K<sup>eth</sup>; נֶאֱפָרִים *adulteries*.

#### VIII. Nouns with the Second and Third Consonants repeated.

- n 36-39. *Qāṭīl*, *qāṭīl*, *qāṭīl*; *qāṭīl*, *qāṭīl* (in fem. and plur. often with the last consonant sharpened for the reason given in a above); cf. הַפְּכָפָה.

*crooked*, חֲלָקְלוֹת *slippery places*, עֲקָלְלוֹת *crooked (ways)*; חֲתָחֵל *tortuous*; also words denoting colours, אֲדָמָם (Lv 13<sup>42,49</sup> in pause) *reddish*, fem. אֲדָמָת, plur. אֲדָמָוֹת; יִרְקָק; יִרְקָקָת *greenish*, plur. fem. יִרְקָקָת; יִפְיָה, יִפְיָהָ *very fair* (to be read in Jer 46<sup>20</sup> for יִפְהָיָה); יִפְיָהָ, יִפְיָהָ (fem.) *blackish*; אֲסַפְסָף *a rabble* (augmented from אָסַף *collected*). From a verb פִּי"ש with aphaeresis of the initial syllable צִצְצָאִים *offspring*. Moreover, of the same form, probably, is חֲצִצְרָה *a trumpet* (for חֲצִרָה, cf. § 55 e). Also in Is 2<sup>20</sup> לְחַפְּרוֹת is to be read instead of לְחַפְּרוֹת (from the sing. חֲפְּרוֹה *a digging or burrowing animal, perhaps the mole*). But פִּתְּחוֹת *opening*, Is 61<sup>1</sup> (ed. Mant., Baer, Ginsb. פִּתְּחוֹת), is an evident mistake due to dittography; read פִּתְּחָה as in 42<sup>7</sup>.

#### IX. Nouns in which the Whole (Biliteral) Stem is repeated.

Naturally this class includes only isolated forms of the stems ע"ו and ע"ע o (on פִּיפִּיּוֹת see § 96 under פִּה). Thus:—

40. גִּלְגָּל *a wheel*, and, with attenuation of the first ā to ġ, גִּלְגָּל (from גלל); fem. חֲלָחָה *anguish* (from חוּל or חֵיל); כִּכָּר (for kirkar) *a talent*; cf. also כּוֹכֵב *a star* (from kākūb, Arabic kaukūb, for כִּכְבָּב), מִטְּפָפֶת *bands*, for מִטְּפָפֶת; צִלְצִל probably *a whirring locust*.

41. פִּלְפֵּל infin. *Palpel* (prop. *Palpūl*) from פוּל; fem. מִלְמִלָּה *a hurling* (from מלל טוּל).

42. כִּרְכֵּר perhaps *a ruby* (for kākūb), from כרר.

43. קִרְקָר *the crown of the head* (for qūqūā), from קרר; fem. גִּלְגִּלָּה *a skull* (for gūlgūl), from גלל.

44. גִּרְדָּה *girded*, from גרר; בִּקְבֹּק *a bottle*, from בקק; בִּרְבֵּרִים *fattened birds* (?).

#### § 85. Nouns with Preformatives and Affirmatives.

These include nouns which are directly derived from verbal forms *a* having preformatives (*Hiph'il, Hoph'al, Hithpa'el, Niph'al, &c.*), as well as those which are formed with other preformatives (א, י, נ, מ, ט), and finally those which are formed with affirmatives. The quadriliterals and quinqueliterals also are taken in connexion with these formations, inasmuch as they arise almost always by the addition or insertion of one or two consonants to the trilateral stem.

#### X. Nouns with Preformatives.

45. Nouns with נ prefixed. Cf. the substantives with נ prosthetic (§ 19 m), *b* such as אֲרֹעַ *arm* (Jer 32<sup>21</sup>, Jb 31<sup>22</sup>; elsewhere always אֲרֹעַ); אֲצִבֵּעַ *a finger*, אֲרֵבָה *a locust*, אֲרֹוֹף *fist* (others *mattock, or clod*), אֲשֶׁבֶת or אֲשֶׁבֶת *a watch*. In these examples the נ is a 'euphonic' prefix (Barth, *ibid.*, § 150 b); in other cases it is 'essential'; cf. especially the adjectives, אֲבֹנִי *deceitful*, אֲכֹר *crud*, אֲיָן *perennial* (for 'aitan) [=the Arab. 'elative', used for expressing the compar. and superl. degrees]. The fem. אֲנֹכְרָה *fragrant part*<sup>1</sup> (of the meal-

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps more correctly with Jacob, *ZAW.* 1897, p. 79, 'declaration,' i.e. the part of the meal-offering which 'announces the sacrifice and its object'.

offering) is a *nomen verbale* of *Hiph'il*, answering to the Aramaic infinitive of the causal stem ('*Aph'el*), hence with suff. אֶפְרָתָה Lv 2<sup>2</sup>, &c.

- c 46. Nouns with ה prefixed. Besides the ordinary infinitives of *Hiph'il* הִקְטִיל and הִקְטִיל, the הִקְטִיל (for *hinq.*), and of the conjugations formed with the prefix הָה, this class also includes some rare *nomena verbalia* derived from *Hiph'il* (cf. § 72 z), viz. הִבְרָה appearance (from הִבֵּר, Is 3<sup>9</sup>; הִנְפָה a swinging (from הִנֵּף, [Is 30<sup>28</sup>; הִנְתָה a rest-giving, Est 2<sup>18</sup>]; הִצִּלָה deliverance (from הִצִּיל, [Est 4<sup>14</sup> an Aram. form: cf. הִוָּדָה Dn 5<sup>20</sup>]; perhaps also הִיבֵל palace, from *haikāl*, unless it is borrowed from the Assyrian; see the Lexicon.

- d 47. Nouns with י prefixed, as יִצְהָר oil, יִלְקוּט wallet, יִנְשֹׁף owl(?); from verbs יָעַי, e. g. יָקוּם a living thing, יָתַר a range; from a verb יָעַי an adversary. Of a different character are the many proper names which have simply adopted the imperfect form, as יַעֲקֹב, יִצְחָק, &c.

- e 48. Nouns with מ prefixed. This *preformative Mem*, which is no doubt connected with מִי who, and מַה what (see § 37 and § 52 c), appears in a very large number of nouns, and serves to express the most varied modifications of the idea of the stem: (1) מ subjective, when preformative of the participles *Pu'al*, *Hiph'il*, *Hithpa'el*, and other active conjugations. (2) מ objective, when preformative of the participles *Pu'al*, *Hoph'al*, and other passive conjugations, as well as of numerous nouns. (3) מ instrumental, as in מִפֶּתַח a key, &c. (4) מ local, as in מִרְבֵּר a drive for cattle, &c.

f As regards the formation of these nouns, it is to be remarked that the preformative מ was originally in most cases followed by a short *ä*. This *ä*, however, in a closed syllable is frequently attenuated to *i*; in an open syllable before the tone it is lengthened to *ā* (so also the *i*, attenuated from *ä*, is lengthened to *e*), and in מָגֵן shield (with suff. מִגְנִי) it even becomes unchangeable *ä*. But in an open syllable which does not stand before the tone, the *ä* necessarily becomes *Säwa*.

- g The following forms are especially to be noticed: (a) ground-form *māgūtāl*, in Hebrew מִמְּטָל, e. g. מִמְּטָל food; fem. מִמְּלָכָה kingdom, מִמְּאֵלָה a knife, מִמְּלָכָה (for מִמְּלָכָה by § 23 c) business; from a verb מִמְּן a gift; from verbs מִמְּן, מִמְּן a going forth, מִמְּשֵׁב a seat; from verbs מִמְּן, מִמְּן the best (from *maṭṭāb*); with י (or *i*) assimilated, מִמְּעָה a bed; from verbs מִמְּעָה, מִמְּעָה a screen, and with the shortening of the *ä* under the preformative, מִמְּרָה bitterness (from מִמְּרָה developed to a segholate), fem. מִמְּשִׁפָּה desolation; from a verb מִמְּשִׁפָּה, probably of this class is מִמְּקוֹם place, the *ä* lengthened to *ā* and obscured to *ō* (Arabic *māgām*); from verbs מִמְּרָה, מִמְּרָה appearance, מִמְּעָה (for מִמְּעָה) prop. intention, only in מִמְּעָה on account of, in order that.

- h (b) Ground-form *miqāl* (the usual form of the infin. *Qal* in Aramaic), Hebr. מִקְּטָל, e. g. מִקְּטָר (in Jer 2<sup>31</sup> also, where Baer requires הִמְדִּיר, read with ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. הִמְדִּיר) a cattle-drive, fem. מִמְּלָחָה war, מִמְּרָבָה a chariot (with *Sghöl* instead of *i*, but in constr. st. מִמְּרָבָה Gn 41<sup>43</sup>; cf. מִמְּרָח distance), מִמְּשִׁפָּה a watch; from verbs מִמְּשִׁפָּה, e. g. מִמְּשִׁבָּה surroundings (from *mi-süb*; *i* in the open syllable being lengthened to *e*; but cf. also מִמְּשִׁבָּה Is 33<sup>4</sup> as constr. state from שָׁקַק with sharpening of the first radical; cf. § 67 g); from verbs מִמְּרָה, מִמְּרָה a possession, fem. מִמְּרָה.

<sup>1</sup> In מִמְּטָל Ct 5<sup>16</sup>, Neh 8<sup>10</sup>, the first syllable is artificially opened to avoid the cacophony; on the *ä* of the second syllable cf. § 93 ee.





- 7 With a long vowel in the second syllable: (d) *tiqûl*, as תִּיחֹם the ocean, the deep (for תִּיחָם; in Assyrian the fem. *tiāmtu*, constr. st. *tiāmat*, is the usual word for sea), unless it is to be derived with Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 113, from the stem תָּחַם; (e) *lūqûl* (in Arabic the usual form of the infinitive of conjugation II. which corresponds to the Hebrew *Pī'āl*), e.g. from a verb לָיָה fem. תִּקְלִית completeness; תִּרְבִּית increase, usury, with a parallel form מִרְבִּית; in a passive sense, תִּלְמִיד a disciple; (f) תִּקְוִיל, e.g. תִּפְוִית an apple (for *tiānpū'ah*); very frequently used to form abstracts, e.g. תִּנְמוּל a benefit (also תִּנְמֹל); from verbs עָוָה a treading down, תִּנְוָה a treading (like תִּרְוָה a lifting up, from the *Hiph'ûl* stem), תִּשְׁוָה a longing, &c.; very frequently also as an abstract plural, e.g. תִּפְּסוּכֹת perverseness, תִּתְּבִלוֹת guidance, תִּמְרָרִים bitterness, תִּנְחֻמִּים and תִּנְחֻמוֹת consolation; from a verb עָוָה, תִּנְחֻמִּים toil.

#### XI. Nouns with Affirmatives.

- § 52. Nouns with ל affixed. Perhaps חֲשֵׁמֶל *amber* (?), and probably בְּרוֹן *iron*, בְּרִיחַ *garden-land* (*S<sup>g</sup>hōl* in both cases is probably a modification of the original *ā* in the tone-syllable), בְּעֵל *bloom*, cf. § 30 g.—According to Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 530 ff., *al* is an affix of endearment in the proper names מִיבֵל, מִיבֵל (little lizard ?), אֲבִינֵל (also אֲבִינֵל).
- † 53. Nouns with ם affixed. With an original *ām* as affirmative, אֵילִם *vestibule* (although the *ā* in the *sing.* remains unchangeable), plur. אֵילִים; but in בָּנִים a swarm of gnats, the ם is radical. With original affirmative *um*, עִירָם (also עִירָם) naked (from עוּר), plur. עִירָמִים Gn 37, parallel form עִירָם, plur. עִירָמִים Gn 23. —To this class also belong the adverbs in *ām* and *um*, mentioned in § 100 g, and many proper names, as גִּרְשָׁם, also גִּרְשָׁם, and גִּרְשָׁן (*patronymic* גִּרְשָׁנִי מֶלֶכָם, עֲמָרָם, &c.; but for גִּרְשָׁן ransom (?), Nu 34, probably גִּרְשָׁן is to be read.
- ‡ 54. Nouns with ך affixed. The ך is added by means of a simple helping vowel in כְּנָעַן *Canaan*, צַפְרָן a finger nail; more frequently the addition is made by means of a tone-bearing *ā*, which in Hebrew is modified to *S<sup>g</sup>hōl* (as גִּרְן *axe*) or lengthened to *ā* (but cf. also אֲחֵרִית and אֲחֵרִית); e.g. קִנְיָן a possession, שִׁלְחָן a table, קָרְבָן an offering. From an original *ā* being changed into an obscure *ō* we may probably explain such forms as יָאָבוֹן a pinning away; דָּרְבוֹן (also דָּרְבָן) a goad; רָעָבוֹן hunger; from verbs לָיָה *pride*, הָמוֹן noise, חֲוִין a vision; שִׁרְיוֹן a coat of mail; from a verb מִשְׁאוֹן guile (the only instance with both *o* preformative and *on* affirmative)<sup>1</sup>; very frequently from the simple stem with an unorganic sharpening of the second radical, e.g. מִמְּנוֹן memorial, בְּלִיֹן destruction (constr. st. מִמְּנוֹן and בְּלִיֹן), &c.; cf. also הִרְיוֹן pregnancy (for הָרָה) and § 93 *uu* שִׁמְיוֹן shame, קִלְקָלוֹן. Proper names occur with the termination *ūn*, as יִשְׂרָאֵן, § 86 g, and others.

<sup>1</sup> The plurals נִצְנִים *flowers*, Ct 212, and קִמְשָׁנִים *thorns* appear to be formed directly from the singulars נִצָּה (cf. נִצָּה) and קִמְשָׁן with the insertion of *ūn* (which in קִמְשָׁן is obscured to *on*). See Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, p. 169, Rem. 3; similarly, according to Hoffmann, 'Einige phöniz. Inschriften', p. 15 (*Abh. der Gött. Ges. der Wiss.*, xxxvi), עֲוֹבָנִים *wares*, Ez 27<sup>14,16</sup> from עֲוֹב = עֲוֹב.

Rem. A large number of proper names now ending in  $\text{נִין}$  or  $\text{יִין}$  used to  $\text{ו}$  be classed as nouns originally formed with the affix  $\text{נִין}$ —. The subsequent rejection of the final *Nûn* seemed to be confirmed by the form  $\text{מְגִדֹן}$ , once used (Zc 12<sup>11</sup>) for  $\text{מְגִדֹן}$  (and conversely in Pr 27<sup>20</sup> *Kēthibh*  $\text{אֲבִדָה}$ ,  $\text{אֲבִדָה}$  for  $\text{אֲבִדָה}$  destruction), also by the fact that for  $\text{שִׁלֹמֹה}$  the LXX give the form  $\Sigma\lambda\omega\mu\acute{o}\nu$  or  $\Sigma\alpha\lambda\omega\mu\acute{o}\nu$ , and especially that in patronymics and tribal names (§ 86 h) a *Nûn* appears before the termination  $\text{י}$ , as  $\text{גִּלְוִי}$  *Gilonite* from  $\text{גִּלָּה}$  and  $\text{שִׁילִי}$  from  $\text{שִׁילָה}$  (modern name *Sailûn*). Wetzstein, however (in Delitzsch's *Commentary on Job*, 1st ed., p. 599), explained the *Nûn* in  $\text{מְגִדֹן}$  as a secondary addition to the common old-Palestinian termination  $\delta$  ( $\text{יִרְיָחוֹ}$ ),  $\text{עֵבֹ}$ ,  $\text{רְמוֹנוֹ}$ , &c.), and Barth (*Nominalbildung*, § 224 b) has since shown the unsoundness of the prevailing view on other grounds: the rejection of the *Nûn* would be much more likely to occur in the numerous appellatives in  $\text{ֹן}$  than in proper names, and  $\text{גִּלְוִי}$  and  $\text{שִׁילִי}$  are due to the necessity of avoiding, for euphonic reasons, such forms as  $\text{גִּלּוֹ-י}$ ,  $\text{שִׁלּוֹ-י}$ , &c.; cf. also  $\text{שִׁלִּי}$  from  $\text{שִׁלָּה}$ .

On the affirmatives  $\text{יִין}$ —,  $\text{יִין}$ —,  $\text{יִין}$ —, see below, § 86 h-l.

## XII. Quadriliterals and Quinqueliterals.

55.  $\text{בָּרְרִין}$  *barren*,  $\text{חֲלָמִישׁ}$  *a flint*, and the fem  $\text{וֶלְעָפָה}$  *heat*, &c., have probably  $\text{זו}$  arisen from the insertion of a  $\text{ל}$ ;  $\text{חֲרָגֹל}$  *a locust*,  $\text{אֶזֶז}$  *an axe*,  $\text{סִרְעָפָה}$  *a branch*, Ez 31<sup>6</sup> (verses 6, 8  $\text{סִרְעָפָה}$ ),  $\text{שִׁרְעָפִים}$  (also  $\text{שִׁרְעָפִים}$ ) *anxious thoughts*,  $\text{שִׁרְעָפִים}$  *sceptre*, from insertion of a  $\text{ר}$ , which is common in Aramaic. Cf., moreover,  $\text{חֲרָמִישׁ}$  *a sickle*,  $\text{סִרְעָפָה}$  *vine-blossom*; with an initial  $\text{ע}$ ,  $\text{עֵטָלָה}$  *a bat*,  $\text{עֵפְבִּיט}$  *a spider*,  $\text{עֵפְבִּיט}$  *a mouse*,  $\text{עֵקָרִב}$  *a scorpion*,<sup>1</sup> &c.—Quinqueliteral,  $\text{צִפְרִידָע}$  *a frog*.

## § 86. Denominative Nouns.

1. Such are all nouns formed *immediately* from another noun,  $\text{א}$  whether the latter be primitive or derived from a verb, e.g.  $\text{קִרְמוֹן}$  *eastern*, immediately from  $\text{קָרַם}$  *the east* (verbal stem  $\text{קָרַם}$  *to be in front*).

2. Most of the forms which nouns of this class assume have already  $\text{ב}$  been given in §§ 84 and 85, since the denominatives, as secondary (although in some cases very old) forms, invariably follow the analogy of the verbal derivatives. As, for instance, the verbals with a prefixed  $\text{מ}$  (§ 85 e to m) express the place, &c., of an action, so the denominatives with  $\text{מ}$  *local* represent the place where a thing is found or its neighbourhood (see e).

The most common forms of denominatives are—

1. Those like the participle *Qal* (§ 84<sup>a</sup> s), e.g.  $\text{שָׁעֵר}$  *a porter*, from  $\text{שָׁעַר}$  *a gate*;  $\text{בָּקֵר}$  *a herdsman*, from  $\text{בָּקַר}$  *a herd*;  $\text{בָּרֵם}$  *a vinedresser*, from  $\text{בָּרַם}$  *a vineyard*.
2. Those like the form *qāḥḥāl* (§ 84<sup>b</sup> b), e.g.  $\text{קִשֵּׁת}$  *an archer*, from  $\text{קִשָּׁת}$  *a bow*.  $\text{ל}$

<sup>1</sup> Derenbourg (*REJ.*, 1883, p. 165) infers from the above examples and a comparison of the Arabic *ʿusfūr*, *sparrow* (from *ṣafara*, *to chirp*), that  $\text{ע}$  was especially employed to form quadriliteral names of animals.



arising from *ay*, in אֵשֶׁה *belonging to fire* (אֵשׁ), i. e. *a sacrifice offered by fire*; לִבְנֵה; (prop. *milkly*) the *storax-shrub*, Arabic *lubnay*.

6. Abstract nouns formed from *concretes* by the addition of וֹת, הַת, הַי [י-] k (§ 95 i), cf. our terminations *-dom, -hood, -ness*, e. g. יְלֻדוֹת *youth*, מְלָכּוֹת *kingdom* (the omission of the *Dageš* in כ shows that the *Šewā* is weakened from a full vowel; on *malik* as underlying the present form מֶלֶךְ cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> a); אֲלֻמְנוֹת *widowhood*, from אֲלָמָן *widower*, אֲלֻמְנָה *widow*. In Aram. this fem. ending וֹת (or י with rejection of the ת) is a common termination of the infinitive in the derived conjugations (cf., as substantival infinitives of this kind, הִשְׁמָעוֹת *the announcing*, Ez 24<sup>26</sup>, and הִתְחַבְּרוֹת *the making of a league*, Dn 11<sup>23</sup>); in Hebr. וֹת as a termination to express abstract ideas (including some which appear to be directly derived from the verbal stem, as סְכָלּוֹת *folly*, רְפָאוֹת *a healing*<sup>1</sup>) becomes more common only in the later books. It is affixed to adjectives ending in *i* (see above, h) in אֲבִירִיּוֹת *cruelty*, and קוֹמָמִיּוֹת *upright position* (Lv 26<sup>13</sup>, used adverbially).

The ending וֹת is found earlier, e. g. in שְׁאֵרִית *remainder*, רִאשִׁית *princeps*, from ראש = ראש (head) *princeps*. The termination *ōth* seems to occur in חֲכָמוֹת *wisdom* (in Pr 1<sup>20</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>, joined to a singular; so also חֲכָמוֹת Pr 14<sup>1</sup>, where, probably, חֲכָמוֹת should likewise be read) and in הוֹלָלוֹת Ec 1<sup>17</sup>, &c., with the parallel form הוֹלָלוֹת Ec 10<sup>13</sup>.

## § 87. Of the Plural.

Broeckmann, *Grundriss*, i. 426 ff., and on the feminines, p. 441 ff.; M. Lambert, 'Remarques sur la formation du pluriel hébreu,' *REJ.* xxiv. 99 ff., and 'Les anomalies du pluriel des noms en Hébreu,' *REJ.* xliii. 206 ff.; P. Lašćak, *Die Plural- u. Dualendungen im semit. Nomen*, Lpz. 1903; J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Pluralbildung des Semit.,' *ZDMG.* 1904, p. 431 ff., i. 'the *ai* of the constr. st.'

1. The regular plural termination for the masculine gender is יִם, *a* always with the tone, e. g. סוּסִים *horse*, plur. סוּסִים *horses*; but also very often written defectively יִם, especially when in the same word one of the vowel letters, ו or י, precedes, e. g. גִּנּוּיִם Gn 1<sup>21</sup>. Nouns in יִי make their plural in יִים, e. g. עִבְרִי *a Hebrew*, plur. עִבְרִיִּים (Ex 3<sup>16</sup>); but usually contraction takes place, e. g. עִבְרִים; עֲרֻמִּים *crimson garments*, from עֲרֻמִּי.

Nouns in הִי lose this termination when they take the plural *b* ending, e. g. הִי *seer*, plur. הִיִּים (cf. § 75 h).—In regard to the loss of the tone from the יִם in the two old plurals מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, cf. § 88 d and § 96.

The termination יִם is sometimes assumed also by feminines (cf. c שִׁים *women*, § 96 under אֵשֶׁה; שָׁנִים *years*, from שָׁנָה; נָשִׁים *wives*, from נָשָׁה), so that an indication of gender is not necessarily implied in it (cf. also below, *m-p*).—On the use of this termination יִם to express abstract, extensive, and intensive ideas, cf. § 124.

<sup>1</sup> [See a complete list of instances in König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 1, p. 205 f.]

d The ending *im* is also common in Phoenician, e. g. צִרְנִים *Sidonii*; Assyrian has *āni* (acc. to P. Haupt originally *āmi*, cf. § 88 d); Aramaic has *in*; Arabic *āna* (nominative) and *ina* (in the oblique cases, but in vulgar Arabic *in* is also used for the nominative); Ethiopic *an*. Cf. also the verbal ending *in* in the 3rd plur. perf. (§ 44 l) and in the 3rd and 2nd plur. impf. (§ 47 m).<sup>1</sup>

e Less frequent, or only apparent terminations of the plur. masc. are—

(a) *—*, as in Aramaic,<sup>2</sup> found almost exclusively in the later books of the O. T. (apart from the poetical use in some of the older and even the oldest portions), viz. מְלָכִין *kings*, Pr 31<sup>a</sup>, יָרְדִין 1 K 11<sup>23</sup>, רָצִין *the guard*, 2 K 11<sup>13</sup>, חֲטָיִן *wheat*, Ez 4<sup>9</sup>; defectively אִילָנִים *islands*, Ez 26<sup>18</sup>; יָמִין *days*, Dn 12<sup>13</sup>. Cf. also כִּרְמִין *carpets*, Ju 5<sup>10</sup>, in the North-Palestinian song of Deborah, which also has other linguistic peculiarities; עֵינִין *heaps*, Mi 3<sup>12</sup> (before ת; cf. § 44 k); מִלִּין *words* (from the really Aram. מִלָּה), Jb 4<sup>2</sup>, and twelve other places in Job (beside מִלִּים, ten times in Job); further, חֲזִין Jb 24<sup>22</sup>, אֲחֲרִין 31<sup>10</sup>, and שְׂוֹמְמִין La 1<sup>4</sup>, חֲזִין 4<sup>2</sup>.—The following forms are doubtful:

f (b) *—* (with the *ד* rejected, as, according to some, in the dual יָרִי for יָרִים Ez 13<sup>18</sup>, cf. § 88 c), e. g. מְכִין *stringed instruments*, ψ 45<sup>9</sup> for מְכִים (unless it is to be so written)<sup>3</sup>; עַמִּין *peoples*, ψ 144<sup>2</sup>, and, probably, also La 3<sup>14</sup> (in 2 S 22<sup>44</sup> it may be taken as עַמִּי *my people*; cf. in the parallel passage ψ 184<sup>44</sup> עַם; also in Ct 8<sup>2</sup> the *י* of רַבִּי is better regarded as a *suffix*); see also 2 S 23<sup>8</sup> as compared with 1 Ch 11<sup>11</sup>, and on the whole question Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 524 ff. More doubtful still is—

g (c) *—* (like the constr. state in Syriac), which is supposed to appear in e. g. שָׁרִין *princes*, Ju 5<sup>15</sup> (perhaps *my princes* is intended: read either the constr. st. שָׁרִי, which also has good authority, or with LXX שָׁרִים); for חֲלֹנֵי וס' Jer 22<sup>14</sup> (according to others *dual*, see § 88 c, or a loan word, cf. ZA. iii. 93) read חֲלֹנֵי קֶפֶן. On חֲלֹנֵי and חֲלֹרִי, which have also been so explained, see above, § 86 i.—חֲשׂוּפִי Is 20<sup>4</sup> (where the right reading is certainly חֲשׂוּפִי) must be intended by the Masora either as a singular with the formative syllable *—* = *bareness* or, more probably, as a constr. st. with the original termination *ay* (cf. § 89 d) to avoid the harsh combination *ḥašūfē šet*<sup>4</sup>; in אֲרִנִי the Lord (prop. *my lord*, from the plur. *majestatis*, אֲרִנִים *lord*, the *ay* was originally a *suffix*, § 135 g).

h (d) *—* a supposed *plural* ending in בָּנִים = בָּנִים *gnats* (or *lice*), and בָּלָם *ladder* (supposed by some to be a plur. like our *stairs*); but cf. on the former, § 85 t.

i 2. The plural termination of the *feminine gender* is generally indicated by the termination נוֹת (often written defectively ת—, e. g. תְּהִלָּה *song of praise, psalm*, plur. תְּהִלוֹת (only in post-biblical Hebrew

<sup>1</sup> On the connexion between all these endings see Dietrich's *Abhandl. zur hebr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 51 ff.; Halévy, *REJ.* 1888, p. 138 ff. [cf. also Driver, *Tenses*, § 6, Obs. 2].

<sup>2</sup> So also always in the Meša' inscription, e. g. line 2 שלשן *thirty*; line 4 מלכין *kings*; line 5 ימן רבן *many days, &c.*

<sup>3</sup> According to some this *י* is simply due to a neglect of the point (§ 5 m), which in MSS. and elsewhere marked the abbreviation of the plur. ending.

<sup>4</sup> Pratorius, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 525, regards חֲשׂוּפִי as an instance of the affix of endearment (cf. אֲחֻבִּי, אֲרֻבִּי) transferred to an appellative, but such an explanation is rendered unlikely by the meaning of this isolated instance.

סֵפֶר תְּהִלֹת, as in the headings of the printed editions, as well as תְּהִלֹת *the Book of Psalms*; אֵלֶּכֶת *a letter*, plur. אֵלֶּכֶת; בְּאֵר *a well*, plur. בְּאֵרוֹת. Feminines in יָת form their plural in יָתוֹת, e.g. מִצְרִית *an Egyptian woman*, plur. מִצְרִיֹת; and those in יִת either make יָתוֹת, as מְלִכִּית *kingdom*, plur. מְלִכִּיֹת, Dn 8<sup>22</sup> (cf. תְּחִיֹת *cells*, Jer 37<sup>16</sup>), or are inflected like עֲדוֹת *testimonies* (pronounced 'adh<sup>h</sup>wōth for 'adhūwōth).

It is only from a mistake or disregard of these feminine endings יָת and יִת that some words ending with them form their plural by the addition of יָם or יוֹת, e.g. תְּחִיֹת *spear*, plur. תְּחִיֹתִים; רְחִיֹת *whoredom*, plur. רְחִיֹתִים (by the side of רְחִיֹתִים; וְנִיֹתִים *widowhood*; שְׁחִיֹתוֹת *pits*, plur. בְּשִׁתוֹת (if connected with Assyr. *kāsu*, to bind), &c.

The termination -āth stands primarily for -āth (which is the form it has in Arab., Eth., in the constr. st. of Western Aramaic, in Eastern Syriac, and also in Assyrian; on the change of ā into an obscure ō, see § 9 a). On the other hand, it is doubtful whether this āth is to be regarded as a lengthened and stronger form of the singular fem. ending āth (cf. § 80 b).

How the changeable vowels of a noun are shortened or become Šewā in consequence of the addition of the plural endings is explained in §§ 92-5.

3. Words which in the singular are used both as masculine and feminine (§ 122 d), often have in the plural parallel forms with the masculine and feminine terminations, e.g. עֶבֶד *cloud*, plur. עֲבִידִים and עֲבוֹת; and each form may be treated either as masculine or feminine, according to the usage of the particular word.—But even those words, of which the gender is invariable, sometimes have both plural forms, e.g. דֹּר masc. *a generation*, plur. דֹּרוֹת and דֹּרִים; שָׁנָה fem. *a year*, plur. שָׁנִים and שָׁנוֹת (see the Rem.). In these words the gender of both plural forms remains the same as in the singular, e.g. אֶרֶץ masc. *a lion*, plur. אֶרֶצוֹת masc., Zp 3<sup>3</sup>, דֹּרוֹת masc., Jb 42<sup>16</sup>.

Sometimes usage makes a distinction between the two plural forms of the same word. Thus, יָמִים *days*, שָׁנִים *years* are the usual, but יָמוֹת (only twice, in the constr. st. Dt 32<sup>7</sup>, ψ 90<sup>15</sup>) and שָׁנוֹת (also only in the constr. st. and before suffixes) are rarer poetic forms.

A difference of meaning appears in several names of members of the body, o the dual (see § 88) denoting the living members themselves, while the plur. in יָת expresses something like them, but without life (§ 122 u), e.g. יָדַי *hands*, יָדוֹת *artificial hands*, also e.g. the *arms* of a throne; כַּפַּי *hands*, כַּפּוֹת *handles* (Lat. *manubria*); רַגְלִי *foot*, רַגְלֹת *artificial feet* (of the ark); קַרְנִי *horns*, קַרְנוֹת (of the altar); עֵינַי *eyes*, עֵינוֹת *fountains*; cf. also אֶרְיִים *lions*, אֶרְיוֹת *the figures of lions* on Solomon's throne, תְּמָר *palm*, תְּמָרָה *a palm-like column*, plur. תְּמָרִים and תְּמָרוֹת.

4. A considerable number of masculines form their plural in יָת, p while many feminines have a plural in יָם. The gender of the singular, however, is as a rule retained in the plural.



Undoubted instances of masculines with (masculine) plural in **ות** are: **אב** *father*, **אוצר** *treasure*, **באר** and **בור** *cistern*, **זנב** *tail*, **חלום** *dream*, **כִּסֵּא** *throne*, **לב** and **לֵבב** *heart*, **לוח** *tablet*, **לַיִל** and **לַיְלָה** *night*, **מזבח** *altar*, **מקום** *place*, **נאר** *skin-bottle*, **נר** *lamp*, **עור** *skin*, **קול** *voice*, **שֻׁלְחָן** *table*, **שֵׁם** *name*, **שופר** *trumpet*.

q Feminines ending in **ת** which take in the plural the termination **ים** are **אלה** *terebinth*, **אימה** *terror* (but also **אימות**), **דבילה** *a cake of figs*, **חטה** *wheat*, **לבנה** *a brick*, **מלה** (only in poetry) *a word*, **סאה** *seā, a dry measure*, **שעורה** *barley*, and the following names of animals **דבורה** *a bee* and **יונה** *a dove*; also, for **ביצים** fem. *eggs*, a singular **ביצה** is to be assumed. **אלמה** *sheaf* and **שנה** *year* (see above, n) take both **ים** and **ות**; cf. finally **טפלת** *an ear of corn*, plur. **שגלים**, and without the fem. termination in the singular **פילגוש** *concubine*, plur. **פילגשים**.

r 5. A strict distinction in gender between the two plural endings is found, in fact, only in adjectives and participles, e.g. **טובים** *boni*, **טובות** *bonae*, **קטלים** masc., **קטלות** fem. So also in substantives of the same stem, where there is an express distinction of sex, as **בנים** *filii*, **בנות** *filiae*; **מלכים** *reges*, **מלכות** *reginae*.

s Rem. 1. In some few words there is added to the plural ending **ות** a second (masculine) plural termination (in the form of the constr. st. **י**, cf. § 89 c), or a dual ending **ים**, e.g. **במה** *a high place*, plur. **במות**, constr. st. **במותי** (also **במותי** *bāmōthē*, Is 14<sup>14</sup>, Jb 9<sup>8</sup>, &c., sometimes as *Qere* to the K<sup>ethibh</sup> **במותי**; see § 95 o); **מראשתי** *from Saul's head*, 1 S 26<sup>13</sup>; **חומה** *wall*, plur. **חומות** *moenia*, whence dual **חומתי** *double walls*. This double indication of the plural appears also in the connexion of suffixes with the plural ending **ות** (§ 91 m).

t 2. Some nouns are only used in the singular (e.g. **אדם** *man*, and collectively *men*); a number of other nouns only in the plural, e.g. **מרים** *men* (the old sing. **מרת** is only preserved in proper names, see § 90 c; in Eth. the sing. is *mät*, man); some of these have, moreover, a singular meaning (§ 124 a), as **פנים** *face*. In such cases, however, the same form can also express plurality, e.g. **פנים** means also *faces*, Gn 40<sup>7</sup>, Ez 1<sup>6</sup>; cf. **אלהים** *God*, and also *gods* (the sing. **אלה**, a later formation from it, occurs only ten times, except in Job forty-one and in Daniel four times).

## § 88. Of the Dual.

Cf. the literature on the Semitic dual in Grünert, *Die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab.* (Wien, 1886), p. 21; Broeckmann, *Grundriss*, p. 455 ff.

a 1. The *dual* is a further indication of number, which originated in early times. In Hebrew, however, it is almost exclusively used to denote those objects which naturally occur in pairs (see e). The dual termination is never found in adjectives, verbs, or pronouns. In the noun it is indicated in both genders by the termination **ים**.

appended to the ground-form,<sup>1</sup> e.g. יָדַי *both hands*, יָמַי *two days*. In the feminine the dual termination is always added to the old ending *ath* (instead of הַ), but necessarily with *ā* (since it is in an open syllable before the tone), thus יָמַיִם, e.g. שִׁפְתַּי *lips*, שִׁפְתַּיִם *both lips*. From a feminine with the ending תַּ, e.g. נְהַשְׁתָּ (from *nēhušt*) the dual is formed like נְהַשְׁתַּיִם *double fetters*.

With nouns which in the singular have not a feminine ending, the dual termination is likewise really added to the ground-form; but the latter generally undergoes certain changes in consequence of the shifting of the tone, e.g. כְּנָף *wing* (ground-form *kēnāph*), dual כְּנָפַיִם, the first *ā* becoming *šwā*, since it no longer stands before the tone, and the second *ā* being lengthened before the new tone-syllable. In 1 K 16<sup>24</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>23b</sup> the form כְּנָפַיִם (which should be כְּנָפַיִם) evidently merely points to the *constr. st.* כְּנָפַי, which would be expected before כְּנָפַיִם; cf. כְּנָפַיִם in 2 K 5<sup>23a</sup>, and on the syntax see § 131 d. In the segholate forms (§ 84<sup>a</sup> a) the dual ending is mostly added to the ground-form, e.g. רַגְלַי *foot* (ground-form *rāgl*), dual רַגְלַיִם; cf., however, קַרְנַיִם (only in the book of Daniel), as well as קַרְנַיִם from קַרְן *horn*, and לְחַיִם from לֶחַי *cheek* (as if from the plurals קַרְנוֹת, לְחָיִם).—A feminine dual of an adjective used substantivally occurs in עֲצֵלַיִם *a sluggish pair* (of hands) Ec 10<sup>18</sup> from the sing. עֲצֵל.

Rem. 1. Certain place-names were formerly reckoned as dual-forms (so in earlier editions of this Grammar, and still in König's *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 437), viz.—(a) those in יָנַי and יָנַי, e.g. דִּתַּי Gn 37<sup>17a</sup> (locative דִּתַּיִם, but in 17<sup>b</sup> דִּתַּי), and דִּתַּי 2 K 6<sup>13</sup>; קִרְתַּי Jos 21<sup>32</sup>, identical with קִרְתַּיִם in 1 Ch 6<sup>61</sup> (cf. also the Moabite names of towns in the Mēša' inscription, line 10 קִרְתַּי = Hebrew קִרְתַּיִם; line 30 דִּבְלַחַת בַּת דִּבְלַחַתִּים= Jer 48<sup>22</sup>; lines 31, 32 חֲרֻנַּיִם= חֲרֻנַּי Is 15<sup>5</sup>, &c.); (b) in יָנַי, Jos 15<sup>54</sup> הָעֵינַיִם (= עֵינַיִם Gn 38<sup>21</sup>). The view that יָנַי and יָנַי arise from a contraction of the dual terminations יָנַי (as in Western Aramaic, cf. also nom. *āni*, accus. *aini*, of the dual in Arabic) and יָנַי seemed to be supported by the Mēša' inscription, where we find (line 20) מֵאָתַי *two hundred*=מֵאָתַיִם, Hebrew מֵאָתַיִם. But in many of these supposed duals either a dual sense cannot be detected at all, or it does not agree at any rate with the nature of the Semitic dual, as found elsewhere. Hence it can hardly be doubted that יָנַי and יָנַי in these place-names only arise from a subsequent expansion of the terminations יָנַי and יָנַי: so Wellhausen, *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, xxi. 433; Philipp, *ZDMG*. xxxii. 65 f.; Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 319, note 5; Strack, *Kommentar zur Genesis*, p. 135. The strongest argument in favour of this opinion is that we have a clear case of such an expansion in the *Qérā perpetuum* (§ 17 c) יְרֻשָּׁתַיִם for יְרֻשָּׁתַי (so, according to Strack, even in old MSS. of the Mišna; cf. *Urusalim* in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, and the Aramaic form יְרֻשָּׁתַיִם: similarly in

<sup>1</sup> On dual endings appended to the plural see § 87 s and § 95 o at the beginning.

the Aramaic שַׁמְרִין = שְׁמֶרֶן for the Hebrew שְׁמֶרֶן *Samaria*.—We may add to this list אֶפְרַיִם, נַחֲרִים *the river country* (in the Tel-el-Amarna letters *nařima*, *nařima*), מִצְרַיִם *Egypt*, Phoenician מִצְרָם; also the words denoting time, צַהֲרִים *midday* (Meša' inscription, line 15 צַהֲרִים), and perhaps עֶרְבַּיִם *in the evening*, if the regular expression בֵּין הָעֶרְבַּיִם Ex 12<sup>6</sup>, 16<sup>12</sup>, &c., is only due to mistaking עֶרְבַּיִם for a dual: LXX πρὸς ἑσπέραν, τὸ δελτινόν, ὕψέ, and only in Lv 23<sup>5</sup> ἀπὸ μέσων τῶν ἑσπερινῶν. The Arabs also say *el 'iṣā'ān*, *the two evenings*, cf. Kuhn's *Literaturblatt*, iii. 48.

Instead of the supposed dual יָדַי Ex 13<sup>18</sup> read יָדַיִם. On חַלּוּנֵי (generally taken to be a *double window*) Jer 22<sup>14</sup>, see above, § 87 g.

- d 2. Only apparently dual-forms (but really plural) are the words מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*. According to P. Haupt in *SBOT*. (critical notes on Isaiah, p. 157, line 18 ff.), they are to be derived from the old plural forms (found in Assyrian) *māmi*, *šamāmi*, whence the Hebr. מַיִם, שָׁמַיִם arose by inversion of the *i*, *māmi*, *māmi*, *māim*. It is simpler, however, to suppose that the primitive singulars *may* and *šamay*, when they took the plural of extension (§ 124 b), kept the tone on the *ay*, thus causing the *im* (which otherwise always has the tone, § 87 a) to be shortened to *im*. Cf. the analogous formations, Arab. *tarḡaina*, 2nd fem. sing. imperf. of a verb *لَئِي*, for *tarḡay + ina*, corresponding to *taḡtulina* in the strong verb; also bibl.-Aram. כְּפִיִּן the *abs. st. plur.* of the *ptcp.* Qal of כָּפָה (*לָפַי*), which otherwise always ends in *im* with the tone, e.g. in the *ptcp.* Qal of the strong verb, קָדְּבִיִּן *sacrificing*.

- e 2. The use of the dual in Hebrew is confined, except in the numerals 2, 12, 200, &c. (see § 97), practically to those objects which are by nature or art always found in *pairs*, especially to the double members of the body (but not necessarily so, cf. יָרְעִים and יָרְעוֹת *arms*, never in the dual), e.g. יָדַיִם *both hands*, אָזְנוֹיִם *both ears*, שִׁנָּיִם *teeth* (of both rows), also נַעֲלָיִם *a pair of sandals*, מִאֲזִנִּים *a pair of scales*, Lat. *bilanx*, &c.; or things which are at least thought of as forming a pair, e.g. יוֹמַיִם *two (successive) days*, Lat. *biduum*; שָׁבָעַיִם *two weeks*; שְׁנָתַיִם *two years* (in succession), Lat. *biennium*; אַמְתַּיִם *two cubits*.<sup>1</sup>

- f In the former case the dual may be used for a plural, either indefinite or defined by a numeral, where it is thought of in a double arrangement, e.g. אַרְבַּע רַגְלִים *four feet*, Lv 11<sup>23</sup>; שֵׁשׁ כְּנָפַיִם *six wings* (i.e. three pairs), Is 6<sup>2</sup>, Ez 1<sup>6</sup>; even שִׁבְעָה עֵינַיִם *seven eyes*, Zc 3<sup>9</sup>, כָּל-כַּפְּרָיִם *all knees*, Ez 7<sup>17</sup>; כָּל-יָדַיִם *all hands*, Ez 21<sup>12</sup>; מִצְלָתַיִם *cymbals*, Ezr 3<sup>10</sup>; שְׁפָתַיִם *double-hooks*, Ez 40<sup>48</sup>.—To express a certain emphasis the numeral *two* is used with the dual, as in Ju 16<sup>28</sup>, Am 3<sup>12</sup>.—See some other remarks on the use of the dual in § 87 o and s.

- g It is not impossible that Hebrew at an earlier period made a more extensive and freer use of the dual, and that the restrictions and limitations of its use, mentioned above, belong to a relatively later phase of development. The

<sup>1</sup> But for דְּרָכַיִם Pr 28<sup>9,18</sup> (which the Masora takes as two roads leading from the cross-ways) דְּרָכַיִם is to be read.

Arabic literary language forms the dual in the noun, pronoun, and verb, almost as extensively as the Sanskrit or Greek; but in modern Arabic it has almost entirely disappeared in the verb, pronoun, and adjective. The Syriac has preserved it only in a few stereotyped forms, with which such duals as the Latin *duo, ambo, octo* may be compared. In the same way, the dual of the Sanskrit is lost in the modern Indian languages, and its full use in Old Slavonic has been restricted later, e.g. in Bohemian, just as in Hebrew, to *pairs*, such as hands, feet, eyes, ears. On the Germanic dual, see Grimm's *Gramm.*, 2nd ed., i. p. 814.

### § 89. The Genitive and the Construct State.

Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des Stat. Constr. im Hebr.* . . . , Weimar, 1871, p. 98 ff: on which cf. Nöldeke in the *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, p. 23.—Broekelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 459 ff.

1. The Hebrew language no longer makes a living use of *case-endings*,<sup>1</sup> but either has no external indication of case (this is so for the *nominative*, generally also for the *accusative*) or expresses the relation by means of prepositions (§ 119), while the *genitive* is mostly indicated by a close connexion (or interdependence) of the *Nomen regens* and the *Nomen rectum*. That is to say, the noun which as genitive serves to define more particularly an immediately preceding *Nomen regens*, remains entirely unchanged in its form. The close combination, however, of the governing with the governed noun causes the tone first of all to be forced on to the latter,<sup>2</sup> and the consequently weakened tone of the former word then usually involves further changes in it. These changes to some extent affect the consonants, but more especially the vocalization, since vowels which had been lengthened by their position *in* or *before* the tone-syllable necessarily become shortened, or are reduced to *Šewā* (cf. § 9 a, c, k; § 27 e-m); e.g. *בֵּרַךְ* *word*, *אֱלֹהִים* *word of God* (a sort of compound, as with us in inverted order, *God's-word, housetop, landlord*); *יָד* *hand*, *הַמֶּלֶךְ* *the hand of the king*; *דְּבָרִים* *words*, *הָעָם* *the words of the people*. Thus in Hebrew only the noun which stands *before* a *genitive* suffers a change, and in grammatical language is said to be dependent, or in the *construct state*, while a noun which has not a genitive after it is said to be in the *absolute state*. It is sufficiently evident from the above that the *construct state* is not strictly to be regarded as a *syntactical* and *logical* phenomenon, but rather as simply *phonetic* and *rhythmical*, depending on the circumstances of the tone.

<sup>1</sup> On some remains of obsolete case-endings see § 90.

<sup>2</sup> The same phenomenon of the tone may also be easily seen in other languages, when two words are closely connected in a similar way. Observe, for example, in German the natural stress on the last word in '*der Thron des Königs*'; though here the other order of the words (inadmissible in Hebrew) '*des Königs Thron*' exhibits the same peculiarity.

*b* Very frequently such interdependent words are also united by *Maqqeph* (§ 16 a); this, however, is not necessary, but depends on the accentuation in the particular case. On the wider uses of the *constr. st.* see the *Syntax*, § 130.

*c* 2. The *vowel* changes which are occasioned in many nouns by the *construct state* are more fully described in §§ 92-5. But besides these, the *terminations* of the noun in the *construct state* sometimes assume a special form. Thus:

(a) In the *construct state*, plural and dual, the termination is 'ֿֿֿ, e. g. סוּסִים *horses*, פָּרָעָה סוּסִים *the horses of Pharaoh*; עֵינַיִם *eyes*, עֵינֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ *the eyes of the king*.

*d* Rem. The 'ֿֿֿ of the dual has evidently arisen from 'ֿֿֿ (cf. נִדְרִים), but the origin of the termination 'ֿֿֿ in the *constr. st. plur.* is disputed. The Syriac *constr. st.* in *ay* and the form of the plural noun before suffixes (סוּסִיךָ, סוּסִיךָ, &c., § 91 h) would point to a contraction of an original 'ֿֿֿ, as in the dual. But whether this *ay* was only transferred from the dual to the plural (so Olshausen, and Noldeke, *Beitr. zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb. 1904, p. 48 ff.), or is to be regarded as the *abstract, collective* termination, as in אֲשֶׁה (see *f*) and חֲוִי (so Philippi, *ThLZ.* 1890, col. 419; Barth, *ZDMG.* 1904, p. 431 ff.), must be left undecided.

*e* (b) The original תֿֿֿ is regularly retained as the feminine termination in the *construct state* sing. of those nouns which in the *absolute state* end in תֿֿֿ, e. g. מְלִכָּה *queen*, מְלִכַת שֶׁבַע *the queen of Sheba*. But the feminine endings תֿֿֿֿ, תֿֿֿֿֿ, and also the plural תֿֿֿֿ, remain unchanged in the *construct state*.

*f* (c) Nouns in תֿֿֿֿ (cf. § 75 e) from verbs לִ"ה (§ 93, Paradigm III c) form their *constr. st.* in תֿֿֿֿ, e. g. רִאָּה *seer*, constr. רִאָּה. If this תֿֿֿֿ is due to contraction of the original 'ֿֿֿֿ, with ה added as a vowel letter, we may compare יָ, constr. יָ *sufficiency*; חַ, constr. חַ *life*; נָיִ, constr. נָיִ (נָיִ) *valley*.

On the terminations י and 'ֿֿֿ in the *constr. st.* see § 90.

## § 90. Real and Supposed Remains of Early Case-endings.

תֿֿֿ *local*, י *in compound proper names*, 'ֿֿֿ *and* י *in the Construct State*.

K. U. Nylander, *Om Kasusändelserna i Hebräiskan*, Upsala, 1882; J. Barth, 'Die Casusreste im Hebr.', *ZDMG.* liii. 593 ff.

*a* 1. As the Assyrian and old Arabic distinguish three cases by special endings, so also in the Hebrew noun there are three endings which, in the main, correspond to those of the Arabic. It is, however, a question whether they are all to be regarded as real remnants of former case-endings, or are in some instances to be explained other-

wise. It can hardly be doubted (but cf. *h*, Rem.) that the (locative) termination  $\text{הַ}$  is a survival of the old accusative termination *a*, and that  $\text{י}$  in certain compound proper names is the old sign of the nominative. The explanation of the  $\text{ז}$  as an old genitive sign, which, as being no longer understood in Hebrew, was used for quite different purposes, and the view that  $\text{י}$  is a form of the nominative termination  $\text{י}$ , are open to grave doubts.

In Assyrian the rule is that *u* marks the nominative, *i* the genitive, and *a* the accusative,<sup>1</sup> 'in spite of the many and various exceptions to this rule which occur' (Delitzsch, *Assyrische Gramm.*, § 66). Similarly, the Arabic case-endings in the fully declined nouns (*Triptotes*) are *-u* for the nominative, *-i* for the genitive, and *-a* for the accusative; in the *Diptotes* the ending *-a* represents the genitive also. In modern Arabic these endings have almost entirely disappeared, and if they are now and then used, as among the Beduin, it is done without regularity, and one is interchanged with another (Wallin, in *ZDMG.* v, p. 9, xii, p. 874; Wetzstein, *ibid.*, xxii, p. 113 f., and especially Spitta, *Gramm. des arab. Vulgärdialekts von Ägypten*, Lpz. 1880, p. 147 ff.). Even as early as the Sinaitic inscriptions, their regular use is not maintained (Beer, *Studia Asiatica*, iii. 1840, p. xviii; Tuch, *ZDMG.* iii. 139 f.). Ethiopic has preserved only the *-a* (in proper names *-hā*), which is, however, still used for the whole range of the accusative, and also (the distinction of case being lost) as a termination of the *constr. st.* to connect it with a following genitive.

2. As remarked above, under *a*, the accusative form is preserved *c* in Hebrew most certainly and clearly in the (usually toneless) ending  $\text{הַ}$ , originally  $\text{ā}$ , as in the old Arabic accusative. This is appended to the substantive:

(a) Most commonly to express direction towards an object, or motion to a place,<sup>2</sup> e. g.  $\text{יָמָה}$  seaward, westward,  $\text{מִן־יָמָה}$  eastward,  $\text{צָפוֹנָה}$  northward,  $\text{אֲשֶׁרָה}$  to Assyria,  $\text{בָּבֶלָה}$  to Babylon,  $\text{הָרָה}$  (from  $\text{הָר}$ ) to the mountain, Gn 14<sup>10</sup>,  $\text{אֶרֶץ}$  to the earth,  $\text{בֵּיתָה}$  to the house,  $\text{תִּרְצָה}$  to Tirzah ( $\text{תִּרְצָה}$ ) 1 K 14<sup>17</sup>, &c.,  $\text{עֵזָה}$  to Gaza ( $\text{עֵזָה}$ ) Ju 16<sup>1</sup>; with the article  $\text{הָהָרָה}$  to the mountain,  $\text{הַבֵּיתָה}$  into the house,  $\text{הַחֲבֵרָה}$  into the chamber, 1 K 1<sup>15</sup>;  $\text{הָאֹהֶלָה}$ <sup>3</sup> into the tent, Gn 18<sup>6</sup>, &c.; similarly with adverbs, as  $\text{שָׁמָּה}$  thither,  $\text{אֵינָה}$  whither?; even with the *constr. st.* before a genitive  $\text{בֵּיתָה יוֹסֵף}$  into Joseph's house, Gn 43<sup>17,24</sup>;  $\text{אֶרֶץ הַיָּבֵב}$  toward the land of the south, Gn 20<sup>1</sup>;  $\text{מִצְרָה מִצְרָה}$  to the land of Egypt, Ex 4<sup>20</sup>;  $\text{מִדְבָּרָה דַּמָּשְׁק}$  to the wilderness of Damascus, 1 K 19<sup>15</sup>;  $\text{מִזְרָה שָׁמֶשׁ}$  toward the sun-rising, Dt 4<sup>41</sup>; and even with the plural  $\text{בְּשָׂרֵימָה}$  to the Chaldeans, Ez 11<sup>21</sup>;  $\text{הַשָּׁמַיִמָה}$  towards the heavens.

<sup>1</sup> This rule is almost always observed in the Tell-el-Amarna letters (see § 2f); cf. the instances cited by Barth, l. c., p. 595, from Winckler's edition.

<sup>2</sup> On this meaning of the accusative see the Syntax, § 118 d, and cf. the Latin accusative of motion to a place, as in *Romam profectus est, domum reverti, rus ire*.

<sup>3</sup>  $\text{הָאֹהֶלָה}$  in Baer's text, Gn 18<sup>6</sup>, is an error, according to his preface to Isaiah, p. v.



Rem. The above examples are mostly rendered definite by the article, or by a following genitive of definition, or are proper names. But cases like *יְמִינָהּ, הָרָה, בֵּיתָהּ* show that the locative form of *itself* possessed a defining power.

d (b) In a somewhat weakened sense, indicating the place *where* something is or happens (cf. § 118 d), e.g. *מִחַנֵּימָה* in *Mahanaim*, 1 K 4<sup>14</sup>; *שָׁמָּה* *there* (usually *thither*, see c), Jer 18<sup>2</sup>, cf. 2 K 23<sup>8</sup>, and the expression to *offer a sacrifice* *בְּפִנְיֹתָהּ*, properly *towards the altar for on the altar*. On the other hand, *בָּבֶלְיָהּ* Jer 29<sup>15</sup>, and *וּבְלֵלָהּ* Hb 3<sup>11</sup>, are to be regarded as ordinary accusatives of direction, *to Babylon, into the habitation*; also expressions like *פָּאֵת צְפוֹנָהּ* *the quarter towards the north*, Jos 15<sup>5</sup> (at the beginning of the verse, *גְּבוּל קִדְרָמָה* *the border toward the east*), cf. 18<sup>15,20</sup>, Ex 26<sup>18</sup>, Jer 23<sup>8</sup>.

e (c) The original force of the ending *הָ* is also disregarded when it is added to a substantive with a preposition prefixed (cf. also *עַד-אֵיכָּהּ* *how long?*), and this not only after *לְ*, *אֶל-*, or *עַד-* (which are easily explained), e.g. *לְמַעֲלָהּ* *upwards*, *לְמַטָּהּ* *downwards*, *לְשִׂאוֹלָהּ* *to Sheol*, ψ 9<sup>18</sup>; *עַד-אַפְקָהּ* *unto Aphek*, Jos 13<sup>4</sup>, *אֶל-הַצְפּוֹנָהּ* *toward the north*, Ez 8<sup>14</sup>, cf. Ju 20<sup>16</sup>; but also after *בְּ*, and even after *מִן*, e.g. *בְּצָפוֹנָהּ* *in the south*, Jos 15<sup>21</sup>, cf. Ju 14<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 23<sup>15,19</sup>, 3 I<sup>13</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>15</sup>, Jer 52<sup>10</sup>; *מִבְּבֶלְיָהּ* *from Babylon*, Jer 27<sup>16</sup>; cf. 1<sup>18</sup>, Jos 10<sup>36</sup>, 15<sup>20</sup>, Ju 21<sup>19</sup>, Is 45<sup>6</sup>.

f Rem. Old locative forms (or original accusatives) are, according to the Masora, still to be found in

(a) *לַיְלָהּ*, in *pause* *לַיְלָהּ*, the usual word in prose for *night*, which is always construed as masculine. The nominative of this supposed old accusative<sup>1</sup> appeared to be preserved in the form *לַיִל*, only used in poetry, Is 16<sup>8</sup>, *constr. st.* *לַיִל* (even used for the *absol. st.* in *pause* Is 21<sup>11</sup>). Most probably, however, *לַיִלָהּ* is to be referred, with Nöldeke and others, to a reduplicated form *לַיְלִילָהּ*; cf. especially the western Aramaic *לַיְלִיָּא*, Syr. *lilya*, &c.—Another instance is *מֵאֲמָהּ* *something*, probably from *מָאֵם*, *מָאֵם* *spot, point*, generally with a negative = *nothing*. Similarly *אֶרְצָהּ* Is 8<sup>23</sup> and (in *pause*) Jb 34<sup>13</sup>, *סוּפָתָהּ* Ho 8<sup>7</sup>, and the place-name *חֶזְקָהּ* 1 Ch 6<sup>63</sup>, might be explained as accusatives. Elsewhere, however, the toneless *הָ* can be regarded only as a meaningless appendage, or at the most as expressing poetic emphasis; thus *אֶרְצָהּ* (in *pause*) Jb 37<sup>12</sup>; *הַפְּתוּתָהּ* *death*, ψ 116<sup>15</sup>; *נְגִידָתָהּ* ψ 116<sup>14,18</sup>; *נְהָלָהּ* *stream*, ψ 124<sup>4</sup>; *הַחֲשִׁמְלָהּ* *amber*, Ez 8<sup>2</sup> [in 1<sup>4</sup> *הַחֲשִׁמְלָהּ*, cf. § 80 k], &c. In Jos 15<sup>12</sup> *הַיְמִינָהּ* is probably only a scribal error (dittography). In Ju 14<sup>18</sup> instead of the quite unsuitable poetic word *הַחֲרִירָהּ* (towards the sun??) read as in 15<sup>1</sup> *הַחֲרִירָהּ* *to the bride-chamber*.

<sup>1</sup> Broekelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 113, also takes it as such, *laylā* being properly *at night*, then *night* simply. Barth, however (*Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, p. 16, note 1), refers it to an original *לַיְלִילָהּ*, like *אֵמָה* from *אֵמָהּ*.

(b) In the termination  $\text{הַ־}$  often used in poetry with feminines, viz.  $\text{אִיְיָ־}$  *terror* (=  $\text{אִיְיָ־}$ , Ex 15<sup>16</sup>;  $\text{עֲזָרָה־}$  *help* (=  $\text{עֲזָרָה־}$ ),  $\psi$  44<sup>27</sup>, 63<sup>8</sup>, 94<sup>17</sup>;  $\text{יִשְׁעָה־}$  *salvation* (=  $\text{יִשְׁעָה־}$ ),  $\psi$  3<sup>8</sup>, 8c<sup>3</sup>, Jon 2<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{עוֹלָה־}$  *unrighteousness* (=  $\text{עוֹלָה־}$ ), Ez 28<sup>16</sup>, Ho 10<sup>13</sup>,  $\psi$  125<sup>8</sup>;  $\text{עֲלֵהָ־}$   $\psi$  92<sup>16</sup> *Keth.* Jb 5<sup>16</sup>;  $\text{צָרָה־}$   $\psi$  120<sup>1</sup>;  $\text{עִיפָה־}$  *darkness*, Jb 10<sup>22</sup>;  $\text{הַמְּוֹפָה־}$  Jer 11<sup>16</sup> is corrupt, see the LXX and Commentaries. These cases are not to be taken as double feminine endings, since the loss of the tone on the final syllable could then hardly be explained, but they are further instances of an old accusative of direction or intention. In examples like  $\text{עֲזָרָה־}$  *for help* ( $\psi$  44<sup>27</sup>) this is still quite apparent, but elsewhere it has become meaningless and is used merely for the sake of poetical emphasis.<sup>1</sup>

This termination  $\text{הַ־}$  usually has reference to *place* (hence called *h locale*<sup>2</sup>); sometimes, however, its use is extended to time, as in  $\text{יָמִים־}$  *from year to year*. Its use in  $\text{הָלֵילָה־}$ , properly *ad profanum* != *absit*! is peculiar.

As the termination  $\text{הַ־}$  is almost always toneless (except in  $\text{מִוֶּרְחָה־}$  *constr. st.* i Dt 4<sup>11</sup>;  $\text{גִּתָּה־}$  and  $\text{עֲנָה־}$  Jos 19<sup>13</sup>) it generally, as the above examples show, exercises no influence whatever upon the vowels of the word; in the *constr. st.*  $\text{מִדְּבָרָה־}$  Jos 18<sup>12</sup>, 1 K 19<sup>15</sup>, and in the proper names  $\text{נָתָה־}$  1 K 2<sup>40</sup>,  $\text{דָּנָה־}$  2 S 24<sup>6</sup> (so Baer; ed. Mant. and Ginsb.  $\text{דָּנָה־}$ ),  $\text{צִפְתָּה־}$  2 Ch 14<sup>9</sup>,  $\text{צִרְפָּה־}$  1 K 17<sup>9</sup>,  $\text{צִרְתָּה־}$  1 K 4<sup>12</sup>, an *ä* is retained even in an open tone-syllable (cf., however,  $\text{הָרָה־}$  Gn 14<sup>10</sup>,  $\text{פְּדָה־}$  Gn 28<sup>2</sup> from  $\text{פָּדַן־}$ , with modification of the *a* to *è*; also  $\text{פְּרָמָה־}$  1 S 25<sup>5</sup> from  $\text{פָּרַמָּל־}$ ). In segholate forms, as a general rule, the  $\text{הַ־}$  *local* is joined to the already developed form of the *absol. st.*, except that the helping-vowel before  $\text{הַ־}$  naturally becomes *S<sup>wa</sup>*, e.g.  $\text{בִּיתָה־}$ ,  $\text{הָאֹהֶלָה־}$  Gn 18<sup>6</sup>, &c.;  $\text{הַיְעָרָה־}$  Jos 17<sup>15</sup>,  $\text{הַשְּׁעָרָה־}$  Ju 20<sup>16</sup>, &c., but also  $\text{נָחָלָה־}$  Nu 34<sup>5</sup> (*constr. st.*; likewise to be read in the *absolute* in Ez 47<sup>19</sup>, 48<sup>23</sup>) and  $\text{שְׁעָרָה־}$  Is 28<sup>6</sup> (with *Sillug*); cf.  $\text{נָגְבָה־}$  Ez 47<sup>19</sup> and  $\text{גִּרְנָה־}$  (Baer, incorrectly,  $\text{גִּרְנָה־}$ ) Mi 4<sup>12</sup> (both in *pause*).—In the case of feminines ending in  $\text{הַ־}$  the  $\text{הַ־}$  *local* is added to the original feminine ending  $\text{ת־}$  (§ 80 b), the *ä* of which (since it then stands in an open tone-syllable) is lengthened to *ā*, e.g.  $\text{תִּרְצָתָה־}$ .—Moreover the termination  $\text{הַ־}$  is even weakened to  $\text{ה־}$  in  $\text{נֹבָה־}$  *to Nob*, 1 S 21<sup>2</sup>, 22<sup>9</sup>;  $\text{אֲנָה־}$  *whither*, 1 K 2<sup>36, 42</sup> and  $\text{דִּדְנָה־}$  *to Dedan*, Ez 25<sup>13</sup>.

3. Of the three other terminations<sup>3</sup> may still be regarded as a *h* survival of the old nominative ending. It occurs only in the middle

[<sup>1</sup> The form clings also to a few place-names, as  $\text{גִּרְנָה־}$  Dt 10<sup>7</sup>;  $\text{שִׁלְשָׁה־}$  1 S 9<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>42</sup>;  $\text{קֹהֶלֶתָה־}$  Nu 33<sup>22 f.</sup>;  $\text{יִמְצָתָה־}$  verse 33 f.;  $\text{הַמְּנָתָה־}$  Jos 19<sup>43</sup>, &c.;  $\text{אִפְרָתָה־}$  Mi 5<sup>1</sup>, &c.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sarauw, 'Der hebr. Lokativ,' ZA. 1907, p. 183 ff. He derives the  $\text{הַ־}$  from the adverbs  $\text{שָׁמָּה־}$ ,  $\text{אֲנָה־}$  and holds that it has nothing whatever to do with the old accusative.

<sup>3</sup> So Qimhi, and the Mant. ed. (Baer  $\text{הַשְּׁעָרָה־}$ , i. e. locative from  $\text{שָׁעַר־}$  (Is 7<sup>20</sup>). The reading  $\text{הַשְּׁעָרָה־}$  (Opit., Ginsb.) implies a feminine in  $\text{הַ־}$ .

of a few (often undoubtedly very old) proper names,<sup>1</sup> viz. אֶחָיוֹ (if compounded of אָחוּ and כִּי), חֲמוּטַל (for which in Jer 52<sup>1</sup> אֶחָיוֹ), מְהִישָׁאֵל and מְהִישָׁאֵל (otherwise in Hebrew only in the plur. מְהִישָׁאֵל men; to מְהִישָׁאֵל corresponds most probably מְהִישָׁאֵל in בְּהִישָׁאֵל Gn 32<sup>31</sup> (but in ver. 32 פְּנֵי אֵל) face of God (otherwise only in the plur. פְּנֵי constr. st. פְּנֵי).<sup>2</sup>—שָׂמֹר Neh 6<sup>6</sup> (elsewhere שָׂמֹר), is the name of an Arab, cf. 6<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand the terminations '— and ' are most probably to be regarded (with Barth, l. c., p. 597) as having originated on Hebrew soil in order to emphasize the constr. st., on the analogy of the constr. st. of terms expressing relationship.

In view of the analogies in other languages (see b) there is nothing impossible in the view formerly taken here that the *litterae compaginis* '— and ' are obsolete (and hence no longer understood) case-endings, ' being the old genitive and ' for the nominative sign *u*. Barth objects that the ' and ' almost invariably have the tone, whereas the accusative הִ— is toneless, and that they are long, where the Arab. ' and ' are short. Both these objections, however, lose their force if we consider the special laws of the tone and syllable in Hebrew. The language does not admit a final ' or ', and the necessarily lengthened vowel might easily attract the tone to itself. On the other hand a strong argument for Barth's theory is the fact that these *litterae compaginis* are almost exclusively used to emphasize the close connexion of one noun with another, hence especially in the constr. st. Consequently it seems in the highest degree probable that all these uses are based upon forms in which the constr. st. is expressly emphasized by a special termination, i. e. the constr. st. of terms of relationship, אָבִי, אִמִּי, חָמִי from אָב father, אִמָּה mother, brother, חָמָה father-in-law (cf. § 96). The instances given under *l* and *m* followed this analogy.

Like ' and ' is also used only to emphasize the constr. st. (see n), and must therefore have a similar origin, but its exact explanation is difficult. According to Barth, the ' corresponds to a primitive Semitic *ā* (cf. § 9 g) and is traceable to 'abā, 'ahā, the accusatives of terms of relationship in the constr. st., which have *ā* only before a genitive. Against this explanation it may be objected that there is no trace of the supposed Hebrew accusatives אָבִי, אִמִּי, חָמִי, and only of the analogous בְּנִי. It is also remarkable that so archaic a form should have been preserved (except in בְּנִי) only in two words and those in quite late passages. However we have no better explanation to offer in place of Barth's.

Finally we cannot deny the possibility, in some cases, of Barth's explanation of the ' in compound proper names like בְּהִישָׁאֵל, &c. (see above), as due to the analogy of terms of relationship with nominative in ' . But this in no way militates against the view expressed above, that in some very old names, like פְּנֵי אֵל, בְּהִישָׁאֵל, &c., the original common nominative sign has simply been preserved.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the list in L. Kaila, *Zur Syntax des in verbaler Abhängigkeit stehenden Nomens im ältest. Hebr.*, Helsingfors, 1906, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> The name שְׂמֹרַל formerly regarded as a compound of שְׂמֹר = שָׂמֹר name and אֵל, is better explained with Prätorius, *ZDMG*. 1903, p. 777, as a name of affection, for שְׂמֹרַל = שְׂמֹרַל [but see Driver on I S 1<sup>20</sup>]; similarly, according to Prätorius, אֵל-פְּהִישָׁאֵל and many others.

The instances found are:

(a) Of the ending '—: *אֶחָדוּ בְנֵי אִשָּׁתוֹ* *his ass's colt*, Gn 49<sup>11</sup>; *שֹׁכֵנֵי הַצֹּאֵן* *the dweller in the bush*, Dt 33<sup>16</sup> (on *שֹׁכֵנֵי* cf. below Jer 49<sup>16a</sup>, Ob<sup>3</sup>); appended to the feminine *לַיְלָה יוֹם וַיִּגְנַבְתִּי* *whether stolen by day or stolen by night*, Gn 31<sup>30</sup> (in prose, but in very emphatic speech); *מִלְּפָנַי מְשֻׁשִׁט* *plena iustitiae*, Is 1<sup>21</sup>; *עַם רַבָּתִי* *full of people*, La 1<sup>1</sup> (on the retraction of the tone before a following tone-syllable, cf. § 29.e; in the same verse the second *רַבָּתִי* and *שְׁרָתִי*, see below, follow the example of *רַבָּתִי*, although no tone-syllable follows; cf. also Ho 10<sup>11</sup> below); *עַל־דְּבָרָתִי מִלְכִּי־צֶדֶק* *after the order of Melchizedek*, ψ 110<sup>4</sup>; cf. also ψ 113<sup>9</sup>, Jer 49<sup>16b</sup>. To the same category belong the rather numerous cases, in which a preposition is inserted between the *construct state* and its genitive (cf. § 130 a), without actually abolishing the dependent relation, e.g. *בְּגוֹיִם רַבָּתִי* *she that was great among the nations*, עֲרֹתֵי *princess among the provinces*, La 1<sup>1</sup>; *אֲהַבָּתִי לְדוֹשׁ* *that loveth to tread*, Ho 10<sup>11</sup>; cf. also Jer 49<sup>16a</sup>, Ob<sup>3</sup>.—In Ex 15<sup>6</sup> *נֶאֱדָרִי* can only be so explained if it is a vocative referring to *יְהוָה*, but perhaps we should read *נֶאֱדָרָה* as predicate to *יְמִינִי*.

Further, the *Hireq compaginis* is found with certain particles which are really also nouns in the *constr. st.*, as *וְיִלְכָּה (= וּלְכָה) except*, מִי (poetical for מִן) *from*, בְּלֹתִי *not*, אִפְסִי *not* (thrice in the formula *אֲנִי וְאִפְסִי עוֹד* *I am, and there is none else beside me*; but many take the '— as a suffix here), Is 47<sup>3,10</sup>, Zp 2<sup>15</sup>. [The above are all the cases in which this '— is attached to independent words in the O.T.; it occurs, however, besides] in compound proper names (again attached to the *constr. st.*), as *מֶלֶךְ־צֶדֶק* (*king of righteousness*), *אֱבִיר־אֵל* (*man of God*), *חַיִּי־אֵל* (*favour of God*), and others (cf. also the Punic name *Hannibal*, i.e. *חַיִּי־בַעַל* *favour of Ba'al*).

Otherwise than in the *constr. st.* the *Hireq compaginis* is only found *m* in participial forms, evidently with the object of giving them more dignity, just as in the case of the construct forms in *z*. We must distinguish, however, between passages in which the participle nevertheless does stand in close connexion, as Gn 49<sup>11</sup>, Is 22<sup>16</sup> (*הַקָּנִי* and *הַצִּבְי*), also in impassioned speech), Mi 7<sup>14</sup> (probably influenced by Dt 33<sup>16</sup>), ψ 101<sup>5</sup>, 113<sup>7</sup>; and passages in which the *z* added to the participle with the article merely serves as an ornamental device of poetic style, e.g. in the late Psalms, 113<sup>5,6,7,9</sup> (on verse 8 see *n*), 114<sup>8</sup>, 123<sup>1</sup>.

In *K'ithib* the termination *i* also occurs four times in *יוֹשְׁבֵיתִי*, i.e. *יוֹשְׁבֵתִי*, *m* Jer 10<sup>17</sup>, 22<sup>23</sup> (before *q*), Ez 27<sup>3</sup> (before *על*), La 4<sup>21</sup> (before *q*). The *q're* always

requires for it  $\text{יִשְׁבֶּת}$  (or  $\text{יִשׁ}$ ), except in Jer 22<sup>23</sup>  $\text{יִשְׁבֶּת}$ ; cf. *ibid.*  $\text{מִקְנֵנִי}$  *Keth.*,  $\text{מִקְנֵנִי}$  *Q're*, and finally Jer 51<sup>18</sup>  $\text{שְׁכֵנִי}$  *Keth.*,  $\text{שְׁכֵנִי}$  *Q're*. Perhaps  $\text{יִשְׁבֶּתִי}$  and  $\text{שְׁכֵנִי}$  are *formae mixtae*, combining the readings  $\text{יִשְׁבֶּת}$  and  $\text{יִשְׁבֶּתִי}$  (2nd fem. perf.), &c., but  $\text{מִקְנֵנִי}$  may be merely assimilated to  $\text{יִשְׁבֶּתִי}$  which immediately precedes it.

The following are simply textual errors: 2 K 4<sup>23</sup>  $\text{הוֹלֵכִי}$  *Keth.*, due to the preceding  $\text{אֲתִי}$ , and to be read  $\text{הוֹלֵכֶת}$  as in the *Q're*;  $\psi$  30<sup>8</sup> (read  $\text{הָרִירִי}$ ), 113<sup>8</sup> (read  $\text{לְהוֹשִׁיבִי}$ ), 116<sup>1</sup> (read  $\text{קוֹל תַּח'}$ , as in five other places). On  $\text{בְּרִיתִי}$ , thrice, in Lv 26<sup>42</sup>, cf. § 128 d.

- o (b) Of the ending  $\text{ִי}$  (always with the tone): in prose only in the Pentateuch, but in elevated style, Gn 1<sup>24</sup>  $\text{חִיתֵּי-אָרֶץ}$  *the beast of the earth* (=  $\text{חֵית הָאָרֶץ}$  ver. 25); similarly in  $\psi$  50<sup>10</sup>, 79<sup>2</sup>, 104<sup>11,20</sup>, Is 56<sup>9</sup> (twice), Zp 2<sup>14</sup>; otherwise only in  $\text{בְּנוֹ צִפּוֹר}$  *son of Zippor*, Nu 23<sup>18</sup>;  $\text{בְּנוֹ בְּעֹר}$  *son of Beor*, Nu 24<sup>3,15</sup>; and  $\text{מַעְיֵינוּ מַיִם}$  *a fountain of waters*,  $\psi$  114<sup>8</sup>.

### § 91. The Noun with Pronominal Suffixes.

W. Diehl, *Das Pronomen pers. suffixum 2 u. 3 pers. plur. des Hebr.*, Giessen, 1895; A. Ungnad, 'Das Nomen mit Suffixen im Semit.', *Vienna Oriental Journal*, xx, p. 167 ff.

- a With regard to the connexion of the noun with pronominal suffixes, which then stand in a genitive relation (§ 33 c) and are, therefore, necessarily appended to the *construct state* of the noun, we shall first consider, as in the verb (§ 57 ff.), the forms of the suffixes themselves, and then the various changes in the form of the noun to which they are attached. The nouns are also tabulated in the Paradigms of the flexion of the noun in § 92 ff. Cf. also Paradigm A in the Appendix. We are here primarily concerned with the different forms of the suffixes when added to the singular, plural, and dual.

- b 1. The Suffixes of the singular are—

With nouns ending in a—

| Vowel. |    |   | Consonant.  |  |
|--------|----|---|---|--|
| Sing.  | 1. | c. $\text{ִי}$  | $\text{ִי}$   | <i>my.</i>   |
|        | 2. | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{ ךְ} \\ f. \text{ ךִּי} \end{array} \right.$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ךְ} \\ \text{ךִּי} \end{array} \right.$ ( <i>pause</i> $\text{ךְ} \text{ִּי}$ ) | $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array} \right\}$ <i>thy.</i>                |
|        | 3. | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{ ם, ו} \\ f. \text{ ם} \end{array} \right.$  | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ו} \text{ (ח׳)}, \text{ ם} \\ \text{ם}, \text{ ם} \end{array} \right.$          | $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array} \right\}$ <i>his.</i><br><i>her.</i> |

| Vowel.   |                  | Consonant.         |        |
|----------|------------------|--------------------|--------|
| Plur. 1. | c. נו            | נו                 | our.   |
| 2.       | { m. כם<br>f. כן | { כם<br>כן         | your.  |
| 3.       | { m. הם<br>f. מו | { הם<br>(poet. מו) | eorum. |
|          | { f. הן (הו)     | הן                 | earum. |

Rem. 1. There is less variety of forms in these than in the verbal suffixes; *c* the particular forms are used as follows:—

(a) Those without a connecting vowel (on the derivation of these 'connecting vowels' from original stem-vowels, see note on § 58 *f*) are generally joined to nouns of a peculiar form (see § 96), the *constr. st.* of which ends in a vowel, as אֲבִיךָ, אֲבִיחָהּ, אֲבִיו, אֲבִיחָהּ, אֲבִיכֶם, אֲבִיכֶן, אֲבִיחֶם, אֲבִיחֶן, sometimes also to segholate forms ending in *i* from *ל* stems (see § 93 *x, y*), e. g. פְּרִיָהֶם *the fruit of them*, Am 9<sup>14</sup> (also פְּרִיָהֶם Is 37<sup>20</sup>, &c.), פְּרִיָהֶן Jer 29<sup>28</sup> (also פְּרִיָהֶן verse 5); cf., moreover, חֶלְבֶהֶן Lv 8<sup>16.25</sup> and similar examples with הֶן (Is 3<sup>17</sup> הֶן) Gn 21<sup>28</sup>, Ez 13<sup>17</sup>, 16<sup>33</sup>.<sup>1</sup> Also in Gn 1<sup>21</sup>, 4<sup>4</sup>, Ez 10<sup>12</sup>, Nah 2<sup>8</sup>, &c., the *Keth.* perhaps intends the singular, לְמִיָּהֶם, &c., but the Masora requires the plural with defective *ê*.

(b) The forms with connecting vowels (§ 58 *f*) are joined to nouns ending *d* in a consonant. The connecting vowel is regularly *a* in the 3rd sing. fem. הִיא (for *ahā*) and 3rd plur. הֵם, הֵן, also in the 3rd sing. masc. הוּ (הִ), since the *ô* is contracted from *a[h]â*, and in the pausal form of the 2nd masc. הָ (a modification of original הָ).

The forms with *ê* in the above-mentioned persons are common only with nouns in הָ (from stems *ל*), *constr. st.* הֵן (cf. § 89 *f*), e. g. שָׂדֶיהָ (from *sadaihā*) *his field*; עֶלְהָ *its leaf*, Is 1<sup>30</sup>; מֵרָאֶהָ *the appearance thereof*, Lv 13<sup>4</sup> (from *mar'āihā*; on the *Sēghōl* see *k*); but שָׂדֶיהָ *her field*. The orthographic retention of the *î*, e. g. מֵעֵשָׂיו, מֵעֵשָׂיךָ, gives to many forms the appearance of plurals; see the instances in § 93 *ss*.

Apart from these *ל* forms the connecting vowel *ê* in the 3rd pers. occurs only in isolated cases; אֹרְחֵהּ *his light*, Jb 25<sup>3</sup>; לְמִיָּהּ *after its kind*, Gn 12<sup>25</sup> [+ 12 times]; Na 1<sup>13</sup>; in Ju 19<sup>24</sup> read פִּילֵשׁוּ as in vv. 2, 25. On the other hand הָ in the 2nd sing. fem. and נו in the 1st plur. are by far the more common forms, while הָ, נו are of rare occurrence; see *e*.—Instead of הָ (הָ) in Gn 10<sup>19</sup>, Ex 13<sup>16</sup>, Jer 29<sup>25</sup>, &c., cf. בָּכָה, לָכָה § 103 *g*), כָּם, כָּן (with *Sēvā mobile*), if the last consonant of the noun is a guttural, the forms are הָ, כָּם, כָּן, e. g. רִיחֶךָ *thy spirit*, בְּרָאֶךָ *thy creator*, Is 43<sup>1</sup>, רִיעֶכָּם *your friend*, Jb 6<sup>27</sup> (on such cases as בְּחֻכֶּכֶם Hag 2<sup>5</sup>, see § 10 *g*).—With *Nun energicum* (cf. § 58 *i*, and on עֲנֶךָ Jb 5<sup>1</sup>, &c., cf. § 61 *h*) הִיא occurs in Pr 25<sup>10</sup>, in principal pause.

2. Rare or incorrect forms are—

*Sing. 1st pers.* הִי in קִשְׁתִּי Ez 47<sup>7</sup> (certainly only a scribal error, caused *C* by וּשְׁבִי in verse 6).

<sup>1</sup> Also in Jer 15<sup>10</sup> read (according to § 61 *h*, end) בְּלֶחֶם קָלְלִי in Ho 7<sup>6</sup> probably אֲפָהֶם for אֲפָהֶם.



2nd pers. *m.* in pause  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ , e.g.  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  (*thy hand*),  $\psi$  139<sup>5</sup>, cf. Pr 24<sup>10</sup>; once  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$   $\psi$  53<sup>6</sup> (cf. the analogous cases in the verbal suffix § 75 *ll*); *fem.*  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Ez 5<sup>12</sup> (in 16<sup>53</sup> also for  $\text{שְׁכִיבִיחֶיךָ}$  probably  $\text{שְׁכִיבִיחֶיךָ}$  is intended),  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Jer 11<sup>15</sup>,  $\psi$  103<sup>3</sup>, 116<sup>10</sup>, 135<sup>5</sup> (corresponding to the Aramaic suffix of the 2nd *fem. sing.*; on the wholly abnormal  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Na 2<sup>14</sup>, cf. *l*),  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  *Keth.* 2 K 4<sup>2</sup>, Ct 2<sup>13</sup>. Also  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Is 22<sup>1</sup>, Ez 23<sup>28</sup>, 25<sup>4</sup>.

3rd pers.  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  (cf. § 7 c), e.g.  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Gn 9<sup>21</sup>, 12<sup>8</sup>, 15<sup>3</sup>, 35<sup>21</sup> (always with *Qere*  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ );  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Nu 10<sup>36</sup>;  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Dt 34<sup>7</sup>;  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Jer 20<sup>7</sup>, Na 2<sup>1</sup> *Qere*;  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  2 K 19<sup>23</sup> *Keth.*, for which  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  is read in Is 37<sup>24</sup>;  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  and  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Gn 49<sup>11</sup>, cf. Ex 22<sup>26</sup> (*Qere*  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ ;  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$   $\psi$  10<sup>9</sup>, 27<sup>5</sup> *Keth.*;  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Ez 31<sup>18</sup>, &c., *Keth.*;  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Ez 48<sup>18</sup> [altogether fourteen times in the Pentateuch, and some forty times in other books: see Driver, *Samuel*, p. xxxv, and on 2 S 2<sup>9</sup>, 21<sup>1</sup>].

3rd *fem.*  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  for  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  (with the softening of the *Mappiq*, cf. § 23 *h*, and the analogous cases in § 58 *g*) occurs repeatedly before *B'ghadhlk'phath* and other soft consonants, Ex 9<sup>18</sup> (before  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ , if the text is right), Lv 13<sup>4</sup> (before  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ ), Nu 15<sup>23,31</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>9</sup> (unless  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ , the *infin.* with *fem.* termination, is intended;  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  follows), Ez 16<sup>41</sup>, 24<sup>6</sup> (before  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ ), 1 S 20<sup>20</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>6</sup>, Pr 12<sup>28</sup> (before  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ ), Na 3<sup>9</sup> (before  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ ),  $\psi$  48<sup>14</sup> (before  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ ), Ez 47<sup>10</sup>, Jb 31<sup>22</sup> twice (before  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ ), Is 21<sup>2</sup>, Jer 20<sup>17</sup> (before  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ ), Nu 32<sup>42</sup>, Am 1<sup>11</sup> (before  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ ), Lv 6<sup>2</sup> (before  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ ); even in *pause*, Lv 12<sup>4a</sup> and 5<sup>b</sup>; Is 23<sup>17</sup>, Pr 21<sup>22</sup>, also with *Zaqeph*, Is 45<sup>6</sup>, Jer 6<sup>6</sup> (probably), 44<sup>10</sup>; on  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Lv 26<sup>24</sup>, &c., see § 67 *y*. Cf. also  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Ez 36<sup>5</sup>.—Sometimes the Masora appears (but this is very doubtful) to regard the  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  with feminines as a shortening of  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ , e.g.  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Gn 40<sup>10</sup> for  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ ,  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Pr 7<sup>8</sup> for  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ ; also  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  for  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  in  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Ho 13<sup>2</sup>, and  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Jb 5<sup>13</sup>. The examples, however, are for the most part uncertain, e.g. in Is 28<sup>4</sup> the reading is simply to be emended to  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ , and in Ze 4<sup>2</sup> to  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ , Jb 11<sup>9</sup> to  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ , Neh 5<sup>14</sup> to  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ . [See also, after prepositions, § 103 *g*.]

*f* *Plur.* 1st pers.  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ , in *pause*  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Jb 22<sup>20</sup> (where, however,  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  is certainly to be read); cf. Ru 3<sup>2</sup> [Is 47<sup>10</sup>, cf. § 61 c, *h*], and so always  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  *all of us*, Gn 42<sup>11</sup>, &c. [cf.  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ ,  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ ,  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ ,  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ ].

2nd pers. *fem.*  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Ez 23<sup>48,49</sup>.

3rd pers. *masc.*  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$   $\psi$  17<sup>10</sup> (on  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  in the same verse, and in  $\psi$  58<sup>7</sup> see *l*);  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  2 S 23<sup>6</sup>, according to Sievers probably to call attention to the reading  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ . *Fem.*  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  1 K 7<sup>37</sup>, Ez 16<sup>53</sup> (in *pause*);  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Gn 41<sup>21</sup>;  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Gn 30<sup>44</sup>;  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  Ru 1<sup>9</sup>; elsewhere generally in *pause* (Gn 21<sup>29</sup>, 42<sup>26</sup>, Jer 8<sup>7</sup>, Pr 31<sup>20</sup>, Jb 39<sup>2</sup>); finally  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  as suffix to a noun, only in Is 3<sup>17</sup>.

For examples of singulars with plural suffixes see *l*.

*g* 2. In the *plural masc.* and in the *dual* the suffixes are to be regarded primarily as affixed to the original ending of the *construct state* ( $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ , cf. § 89 *d*). This ending, however, has been preserved unchanged only in the 2nd *fem.* In most cases it is contracted to  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$ , as in the *constr. st.* without suffixes (so throughout the *plur.* and in the poetical suffix  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  of the 3rd *sing. masc.*); in the 2nd *masc.* and 3rd *fem. sing.* it is  $\text{כָּפָּחָךְ}$  (cf. *h*). On the 1st *pers.* and 3rd *masc. sing.* see *i*.—Thus there arise the following

## Suffixes of Plural Nouns.

h

| Singular.                                     | Plural.   |
|---|---|
| 1. c. '—, pause '— my.                        | 1. c. יָנוּ our.                                |
| 2. { m. תִּי thy.<br>f. הִי, pause הִי— }     | 2. { m. יָכֶם your.<br>f. הָכֶם }               |
| 3. { m. וִי, poet. הִי his.<br>f. הִי— her. } | 3. { m. יָהֶם, poet. הָיָם their.<br>f. הָיָם } |

Thus the original '— is (a) contracted in the 3rd sing. masc. *i* יָנוּ and throughout the plural, as סוֹסֵיָנוּ, סוֹסֵיָהֶם, &c.; (b) retained unchanged in the 1st sing. סִי, the real suffix-ending ' (see *b*) being united with the final *Yôdh* of the ending '—; and in the 2nd fem. sing. סִי, with a helping-*Ilireq* after the *Yôdh*. On the other hand (c) the *Yôdh* of '— is lost in pronunciation and the *a* lengthened to *ā* in the 3rd masc. sing. סִי, i. e. *sūsāw* (pronounced *susā-u*).<sup>1</sup> The 2nd masc. sing. סִי and the 3rd fem. sing. סִי were formerly also explained here as having really lost the ' , and modified the *a* of *sūsakā*, *sūsahā* to *S<sup>g</sup>ghōl*; but cf. the view now given in *g* and *k*.

Rem. 1. As סִי represents *sūsai-nā*, so סִי and סִי represent *sūsai-hā*, *k* *sūsai-hā*, and the use of *S<sup>g</sup>ghōl* instead of the more regular *Sere* is to be explained from the character of the following syllable,—so P. Haupt who points to יָקָטְלוּ as compared with יָקָטְלוּ. In support of the view formerly adopted by us that the ' is only orthographically retained, too much stress must not be laid on the fact that it is sometimes omitted,<sup>2</sup> thereby causing confusion in an unpunctuated text with the singular noun. A number of the examples which follow may be due to an erroneous assumption that the noun is a plural, where in reality it is a singular, and others may be incorrect readings. Cf. דִּרְבָּרָה *thy ways* (probably דִּרְבָּרָה is intended), Ex 33<sup>18</sup>, Jos 18, ψ 119<sup>87</sup>; for other examples, see Jos 21<sup>11</sup> ff. מִגְרָשָׁה; but in 1 Ch 6<sup>40</sup> ff. always יָהִי, Ju 19<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 5<sup>20</sup>, Is 58<sup>13</sup>, ψ 119<sup>41, 43, 98</sup> (probably, however, in all these cases the sing. is intended); אֲחֵרָה Nu 30<sup>8</sup>; מִכְלָה Jer 19<sup>8</sup>, 49<sup>17</sup>; מְבִיָּה Dn 11<sup>6</sup>. For the orthographic omission of the ' before suffixes cf. also רֵעֵיהֶם for רֵעֵיהֶם *his friends*, 1 S 30<sup>26</sup>, Pr 29<sup>18</sup>; Jb 42<sup>10</sup> (but it is possible to explain it here as a collective singular); עֲוֹנוֹ *our iniquities*, Is 64<sup>5, 6</sup>, Jer 14<sup>7</sup>; Ex 10<sup>9</sup>, Neh 10<sup>1</sup> (לָהֶם from לָהֶם which is always written defectively); נִסְכָּהֶם Nu 29<sup>33</sup>; רֵעֵיהֶם Jer 44<sup>9</sup>; יָהֶם יִרְבֶּה 134<sup>2</sup>; לְמִינֵהֶם *after their kinds*, Gn 1<sup>21</sup> (but see *c*), cf. 4<sup>4</sup> and Na 2<sup>8</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> In the papyrus of the decalogue from the Fayyûm, line 16, וִיקְרִישׁוּ occurs for וִיקְרִישׁוּ Ex 20<sup>14</sup>. Gall, *ZAW*. 1903, p. 349, takes this as an indication that the traditional forms of the noun-suffix יִי or י represent *aiû* or *eu*. P. Haupt aptly compares the Greek use of the *iota subscript* (̑).

<sup>2</sup> So in the Meša' inscription, l. 22 מְגִדְתָּהּ *its towers* (along with שַׁעֲרֶיהָ *its gates*). Can it have been the rule to omit ' after the termination *ôth*? Cf. below, *n*.

defective writing is especially frequent in the 3<sup>rd</sup> masc. sing.  $\text{לֹא}$ , which in  $Q^e r^e$  is almost always changed to  $\text{לֹא}$ , e.g.  $\text{לֹא}$  his arrows,  $\psi$  58<sup>8</sup>,  $Q^e r^e$   $\text{לֹא}$ . On  $\text{לֹא}$ , only three times  $\text{לֹא}$ , cf. § 135 r.

- l 2. Unusual forms (but for the most part probably only scribal errors) are—*Sing.* 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. fem  $\text{לֹא}$  (after  $\text{לֹא}$  happy!  $\text{Eo}$  10<sup>17</sup>, which has become stereotyped as an interjection, and is therefore unchangeable; cf. Delitzsch on the passage);  $\text{לֹא}$  (cf. Syr.  $\text{לֹא}$ ) 2 K 4<sup>3</sup>, and  $\text{לֹא}$  in  $K^e t^h$ ,  $\psi$  103<sup>3-5</sup>, 116<sup>7</sup> ( $\text{לֹא}$  in pause).—In  $\text{Ez}$  16<sup>21</sup>  $\text{לֹא}$  (so  $\text{לֹא}$  in 6<sup>8</sup>) occurs with an *infm.* ending in  $\text{לֹא}$ , the  $\text{לֹא}$  being therefore treated as a plural ending; similarly, the plural suffix is sometimes found with the feminine ending  $\text{לֹא}$  (Nu 14<sup>23</sup>, Is 54<sup>4</sup>, Jer 3<sup>8</sup>,  $\text{Ez}$  16<sup>15</sup>, 23<sup>7</sup>, as well as in 16<sup>20</sup>  $Q^e r^e$ , and Zp 3<sup>20</sup>), with the ending *ith* (Lv 5<sup>24</sup>, reading  $\text{לֹא}$ ), and even with the ordinary feminine ending *ath*; Is 47<sup>13</sup>,  $\text{Ez}$  35<sup>11</sup>,  $\psi$  9<sup>15</sup>,  $\text{Ezr}$  9<sup>15</sup>.—Wholly abnormal is  $\text{לֹא}$  thy messengers, Na 2<sup>14</sup>, evidently a case of dittography of the following  $\text{לֹא}$ : read  $\text{לֹא}$ .

3<sup>rd</sup> masc.  $\text{לֹא}$  Hb 3<sup>10</sup>, Jb 24<sup>23</sup>;  $\text{לֹא}$  1 S 30<sup>26</sup>,  $\text{Ez}$  43<sup>17</sup>, Na 2<sup>4</sup>;  $\text{לֹא}$  (a purely Aramaic form)  $\psi$  116<sup>12</sup>.—3<sup>rd</sup> fem.  $\text{לֹא}$   $\text{Ez}$  41<sup>15</sup>.

*Plur.* The strange 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. masc.  $\text{לֹא}$  (with *i*, so Qimhi; cf. Norzi) Jer 25<sup>34</sup>, is probably a mixed form combining  $\text{לֹא}$  and  $\text{לֹא}$ ; fem.  $\text{לֹא}$   $\text{Ez}$  13<sup>20</sup>.

3<sup>rd</sup> masc.  $\text{לֹא}$   $\text{Ez}$  40<sup>10</sup>; fem.  $\text{לֹא}$   $\text{Ez}$  1<sup>11</sup>.

3. The termination  $\text{לֹא}$  (also with the *dual*, e.g.  $\psi$  58<sup>7</sup>, 59<sup>13</sup>), like  $\text{לֹא}$  and  $\text{לֹא}$ , occurs with the noun (as with the verb,  $\psi$  58 g) almost exclusively in the later poets [viz. with a substantive in the singular,  $\psi$  21<sup>11</sup>, 17<sup>10,10</sup>, 58<sup>7</sup>, 59<sup>13</sup>, 89<sup>18</sup>; with a dual or plural, Dt 32<sup>27,32,37,38</sup>, 33<sup>29</sup>,  $\psi$  2<sup>3,3</sup>, 11<sup>7</sup>, 35<sup>16</sup>, 49<sup>12</sup>, 58<sup>7</sup>, 59<sup>14</sup>, 73<sup>6,7</sup>, 83<sup>12,12</sup>, 140<sup>4,10</sup>, Jb 27<sup>23</sup>; after prepositions, see § 103 f, o, notes], and cannot, therefore, by itself be taken as an indication of archaic language. On the other hand there can be no doubt that these are revivals of really old forms. That they are consciously and artificially used is shown by the evidently intentional accumulation of them, e.g. in  $\text{Ex}$  15<sup>5,7,9</sup>,  $\psi$  2<sup>3,5</sup>, and 140<sup>4,10</sup>, and also by the fact observed by Diehl (see the heading of this section) that in  $\text{Ex}$  15 they occur *only* as verbal suffixes, in Dt 32 *only* as noun suffixes.

- m 3. It is clear and beyond doubt that the *Yodh* in these suffixes with the plural noun belongs, in reality, to the ending of the *construct state* of the masculine plural. Yet the consciousness of this fact became so completely lost as to admit of the striking peculiarity (or rather inaccuracy) of appending those *suffix*-forms which include the plural ending  $\text{לֹא}$ , even to the feminine plural in  $\text{לֹא}$  (קיסותיני, קיסותיך, &c.), so that in reality the result is a double indication of the plural.<sup>1</sup>

- n Such is the rule: the singular suffix, however (see b), also occurs with the ending  $\text{לֹא}$  (probably through the influence of Aramaic), e.g.  $\psi$  132<sup>12</sup> (unless it be *sing.* for  $\text{לֹא}$ , as, according to Qimhi in his Lexicon, 2 K 6<sup>8</sup> is for  $\text{לֹא}$ ); Dt 28<sup>69</sup> (treated on the analogy of an *infm.*  $\text{לֹא}$ );

<sup>1</sup> See an analogous case in § 87 s. Cf. also the double feminine ending in the 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. perf. of verbs  $\text{לֹא}$ , § 75 i.

אֲהִיָּתָךְ Ez 16<sup>52</sup>. On the other hand מִצִּוְתָךְ (so Baer, Ginsb.; but Opit, מִצִּוְתִּי) ψ 119<sup>58</sup>, Dn 9<sup>5</sup> is merely written defectively, like מִצִּוְתָךְ according to Baer (not Ginsb.) in Pr 1<sup>9</sup>, &c. In the 3rd plur. the use of the singular suffix is even the rule in the earlier Books (see the instances in Diehl, l. c., p. 8), e. g. אֲבוֹתָם (*their fathers*) oftener than אֲבֹתֵיהֶם (this only in 1 K 14<sup>18</sup>, and in Jer, Ezr, Neh, and Ch [in 1 K, Jer, Ezr, however, אֲבוֹתָם is more common]); so always שְׁמוֹתָם *their names*, דִּירוֹתָם *their generations*. From parallel passages like 2 S 22<sup>46</sup> compared with ψ 18<sup>46</sup>, Is 24 with Mi 4<sup>8</sup>, it appears that in many cases the longer form in יָהֶם can only subsequently have taken the place of הֶם.

4. The following Paradigm of a masculine and feminine noun *O* with suffixes is based upon a monosyllabic noun with one unchangeable vowel. With regard to the ending הֶ- in the *constr. st.* of the fem. it should be further remarked that the short *a* of this ending is only retained before the *grave* suffixes כֶּם and כֵּן; before all the others (the *light* suffixes) it is lengthened to *ā*.

|          |      | <i>Singular.</i>                  |  |                                   |  |
|----------|------|-----------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|--|
|          |      | <i>Masculine.</i>                 |  | <i>Feminine.</i>                  |  |
|          |      | סוּם <i>a horse.</i>              |  | סוּמָה <i>a mare.</i>             |  |
| Sing. 1. | com. | סוּמִי <i>my horse.</i>           |  | סוּמָתִי <i>my mare.</i>          |  |
|          | 2. { | סוּמְךָ <i>thy horse.</i>         |  | סוּמָתְךָ <i>thy mare.</i>        |  |
|          | f.   | סוּמְךָ <i>thy horse.</i>         |  | סוּמָתְךָ <i>thy mare.</i>        |  |
| 3.       | {    | סוּמוֹ <i>equus eius (suus).</i>  |  | סוּמָתוֹ <i>equa eius (sua).</i>  |  |
|          | f.   | סוּמָה <i>equus eius (suus).</i>  |  | סוּמָתָהּ <i>equa eius (sua).</i> |  |
| Plur. 1. | com. | סוּמֵנוּ <i>our horse.</i>        |  | סוּמָתֵנוּ <i>our mare.</i>       |  |
|          | 2. { | סוּמֵכֶם <i>your horse.</i>       |  | סוּמָתֵכֶם <i>your mare.</i>      |  |
|          | f.   | סוּמֵכֶן <i>your horse.</i>       |  | סוּמָתֵכֶן <i>your mare.</i>      |  |
| 3.       | {    | סוּמָם <i>equus eorum (suus).</i> |  | סוּמָתָם <i>equa eorum (sua).</i> |  |
|          | f.   | סוּמָן <i>equus earum (suus).</i> |  | סוּמָתָן <i>equa earum (sua).</i> |  |

|          |      | <i>Plural.</i>                     |  |   |  |
|----------|------|------------------------------------|--|---|--|
|          |      | <i>Masculine.</i>                  |  | <i>Feminine.</i>                        |  |
|          |      | סוּמִים <i>horses.</i>             |  | סוּמוֹת <i>mares.</i>                   |  |
| Sing. 1. | com. | סוּמִי <i>my horses.</i>           |  | סוּמוֹתִי <i>my mares.</i>              |  |
|          | 2. { | סוּמֵיךָ <i>thy horses.</i>        |  | סוּמוֹתֶיךָ <i>thy mares.</i>           |  |
|          | f.   | סוּמֵיךָ <i>thy horses.</i>        |  | סוּמוֹתֶיךָ <i>thy mares.</i>           |  |
| 3.       | {    | סוּמֵי <i>equi eius (sui).</i>     |  | סוּמוֹתֵי <i>equae eius (suae).</i>     |  |
|          | f.   | סוּמֵיהָ <i>equi eius (sui).</i>   |  | סוּמוֹתֶיהָ <i>equae eius (suae).</i>   |  |
| Plur. 1. | com. | סוּמֵינוּ <i>our horses.</i>       |  | סוּמוֹתֵינוּ <i>our mares.</i>          |  |
|          | 2. { | סוּמֵיכֶם <i>your horses.</i>      |  | סוּמוֹתֵיכֶם <i>your mares.</i>         |  |
|          | f.   | סוּמֵיכֶן <i>your horses.</i>      |  | סוּמוֹתֵיכֶן <i>your mares.</i>         |  |
| 3.       | {    | סוּמֵיהֶם <i>equi eorum (sui).</i> |  | סוּמוֹתֵיהֶם <i>equae eorum (suae).</i> |  |
|          | f.   | סוּמֵיהֶן <i>equi earum (sui).</i> |  | סוּמוֹתֵיהֶן <i>equae earum (suae).</i> |  |

§ 92. *Vowel Changes in the Noun.*

*a* 1. Vowel changes in the noun may be caused (*a*) by dependence on a following genitive, (*b*) by connexion with pronominal suffixes, (*c*) by the plural and dual terminations, whether in the form of the absolute state or of the construct (before a following genitive of a noun or suffix).

*b* 2. In all these cases, the tone of the noun is moved forward either one or two syllables, while the tone of the *construct state* may even be thrown upon the following word. In this way the following changes may arise:—

(*a*) When the tone is moved forward only one place, as is the case when the plural and dual endings ים, וֹת and יִם are affixed, as well as with all monosyllabic or paroxytone suffixes, then in dissyllabic nouns the originally short vowel of the first syllable (which was lengthened as being in an open syllable before the tone) becomes *Ṣwā*, since it no longer stands before the tone. On the other hand, the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel, of the second syllable is retained as being now the pretonic vowel; e.g. דָּבָר *word* (ground-form *ḏabār*), plur. דְּבָרִים; with a light suffix beginning with a vowel, דְּבָרִי, דְּבָרֶיךָ; plur. דְּבָרַי, דְּבָרֶיךָ, &c.; כָּנָף *wing*, dual כְּנָפִים. With an unchangeable vowel in the second syllable: מְשַׁלֵּחַ *overseer*, plur. מְשַׁלְּחִים; with the suffix of the sing. מְשַׁלְּחִי, &c.; with the suff. of the plur. מְשַׁלְּחֵי, &c. With an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable: עוֹלָם *eternity*, plur. עוֹלָמִים, with suff. עוֹלָמִי, &c.<sup>1</sup>

*c* But in participles of the form קָטַל, with tone-lengthened *ē* (originally *ɛ*) in the second syllable, the *ē* regularly becomes *Ṣwā mobile* before a tone-bearing affix, e.g. אֹיֵב *enemy*, plur. אֹיְבִים, with suff. אֹיְבִי, &c. Likewise in words of the form קָטַל, קָטַל, &c. (with *ē* in the second syllable; § 84<sup>b</sup> *d, l, p*; § 85 *i* and *k*), e.g. אֵלֶם *dumb*, plur. אֵלָמִים.

*d* (*b*) When the tone of the *construct state*, plural or dual, is carried over to the following word, or, in consequence of the addition of the grave suffixes to the *constr. st.* plur. or dual, is moved forward two places within the word itself, in such cases the originally short vowel of the second syllable becomes *Ṣwā*, while the vowel of the first syllable reverts to its original shortness, e.g. הָעָם דְּבָרֵי *the words of the people*, דְּבָרֵיכֶם *your words*, דְּבָרֵיהֶם *their words* (in all which instances the *ɛ* of the first syllable is attenuated from an original *ā*).

<sup>1</sup> The participles *Niphal* נִתְּחַר Dt 30<sup>a</sup>, נִתְּחַר 2 S 14<sup>13</sup>, and some plurals of the participle *Niph.* of verbs נִתְּחַר form an exception; cf. § 93 *oo*.

In the segholate forms in the singular and mostly in the dual the suffix is *e* appended to the ground-form (מֶלֶךְ *my king*, מְלָכָי, &c.); on the other hand, before the endings ים, וֹת (sometimes also before ים, וֹת) a *Qameṣ* regularly occurs,<sup>1</sup> before which the vowel of the first syllable then becomes vocal *Ṣeḡdā* (מְלָכִים, מְלָכוֹת). This *Qameṣ* (on which cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> a) remains even before the light suffixes, when attached to the plur. masc. (מְלָכֶיךָ, &c.). On the other hand, the *constr. st.* plur. and dual, regularly, according to *a*, has the form מְלָכֵי, with grave suffix מְלָכֶיךָ, &c., דְּלָתַי from דְּלָתִים *folding-doors*.

(c) Before the *Ṣeḡdā* mobile which precedes the suffix ה when following a consonant, the *a*-sound, as a rule, is the only tone-lengthened vowel which remains in the final syllable (being now in an open syllable *before* the tone), e.g. דְּבָרֶיךָ, דְּבָרָי, &c. (on the forms with *e* in the second syllable, see § 93 qq); but before the grave suffixes בָּם and בָּן in the same position it reverts to its original shortness, as דְּבָרָם, דְּבָרָן (*debbārkhēm*), &c. In the same way the tone-lengthened *ā* or *ē* of the second syllable in the *constr. st.* sing. also becomes short again, since the *constr. st.* resigns the principal tone to the following word, e.g. דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים; דְּבַר הַיָּרֵחַ (from דְּבָרָה).

Rem. The Masora (cf. *Diqduq ha-famim*, p. 37) reckons thirteen words *g* which retain *Qameṣ* in the *constr. st.*, some of which had originally *a* and therefore need not be considered. On the other hand, אֵלֶם 1 K 7<sup>e</sup>, Ez 40<sup>48</sup>, &c. (in spite of the *constr. st.* plur. אֵלֵם); מִצֵּב 65<sup>e</sup>, Pr 25<sup>18</sup>; מִצָּב 1 S 13<sup>23</sup> (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. מִצָּב); מִשְׁקָל Ezr 8<sup>30</sup> and מִתָּן Pr 18<sup>16</sup> are very peculiar.

3. The vowel changes in the inflexion of *feminine nouns* (§ 95) are *h* not so considerable, since generally in the formation of the feminine either the original vowels have been retained, or they have already become *Ṣeḡdā*.

Besides the vowel changes discussed above in *a-g*, which take place according to the general formative laws (§§ 25-28), certain further phenomena must also be considered in the inflexion of nouns, an accurate knowledge of which requires in each case an investigation of the original form of the words in question (see §§ 84-86). Such are, e.g., the rejection of the ה of לִית stems before all formative additions (cf. § 91 a), the sharpening of the final consonant of ע"ע stems in such cases as חָק, חָקִי, &c.

A striking difference between the vowel changes in the verb and noun is *h* that in a verb when terminations are added it is mostly the second of the changeable vowels which becomes *Ṣeḡdā* (קָטַל, קָטְלָה, קָטְלוּ), but in a noun, the first (דְּבַר, דְּבָרִי, דְּבָרֶיךָ, &c.), cf. § 27. 3.

<sup>1</sup> For the rare exceptions see § 93 l and § 97 f, note 2.



§ 93. *Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.*<sup>1</sup>

*a* Masculine nouns from the simple stem may, as regards their form and the vowel changes connected with it, be divided into *four* classes. A synopsis of them is given on pp. 264, 265, and they are further explained below. Two general remarks may be premised:

(*a*) That all feminines without a distinctive termination (§ 122 *h*) are treated like these masculine nouns, e. g. חֶרֶב *f. sword*, like מֶלֶךְ *m. king*, except that in the *plural* they usually take the termination וֹת; thus חֶרֶבוֹת, *constr.* חֲרֻבוֹת (and so always before *suffixes*, see § 95).

*b* (*b*) That in the plural of the first three classes a changeable vowel is always retained even before the light suffixes as a lengthened pretonic vowel, whenever it also stands before the plural ending יִם. All suffixes, except בָּם, לָם, הֶם, הֵן (יָם, יָן, יָהֶם, יָהֵן), are called *light*. Cf. § 92 *c*.

*Explanations of the Paradigms* (see pp. 264, 265).

*c* 1. Paradigm I comprises the large class of *segholate* nouns (§ 84<sup>a</sup> *a-e*). In the three examples, from a strong stem, the ground-forms, מַלְכָּה, שִׁפְרָה, גֻּדְלָה have been developed by the adoption of a helping *Seghol* to מַלְכָּה (with *ā* modified to *è*), שִׁפְרָה (*ī* lengthened to *è*), גֻּדְלָה (*ū* lengthened to *ò*).<sup>2</sup> The next three examples, instead of the helping *Seghol*, have a helping *Pathah*, on account of the middle (*d, f*) or final guttural (*e*). In all these cases the *constr. st. sing.* coincides exactly with the *absolute*. The singular suffixes are added to the ground-form; but in *c* and *f* an *ò* takes the place of the original *ā*, and in *d* and *f* the guttural requires a repetition of the *ā* and *ò* in the form of a *Hateph* (חֶפֶץ, חֶפֶץ); before a following *Seva* this *Hateph* passes into a simple helping vowel (*ā, ò*), according to § 28 *c*; hence חֶפֶץ, &c.

*d* In the plural an *a*-sound almost always appears before the tone-bearing affix יִם (on the analogy of forms with original *a* in the

<sup>1</sup> A sort of detailed commentary on the following scheme of Hebrew declensions is supplied by E. König in his *Hist.-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Spr.*, ii. 1, p. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to P. Haupt 'The book of Nahum' in the *Journ. of bibl. Lit.*, 1907, p. 29, the *e* in מַלְכָּה and the *o* in שִׁפְרָה are not long but accented, and hence to be pronounced *stépp, òŕv.* (אֲוִן), a theory unknown at any rate to the Jewish grammarians.

second syllable; cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> a), in the form of a pretonic *Qameṣ*, whilst the short vowel of the first syllable becomes vocal *Ṣewā*. The original *a* of the 2nd syllable is elided in the *construct state*, so that the short vowel under the first radical then stands in a closed syllable. The omission of *Dageš* in a following *Begadkephath* (מַלְכִּי, not מֶלְכִּי, &c.) is due to the loss of a vowel between ל and כ. On the other hand, the pretonic *Qameṣ* of the *absolute state* is retained before the light plural suffixes, whilst the grave suffixes are added to the form of the *construct state*.—The ending of the *absolute state* of the dual is added, as a rule, to the ground-form (so in *a-d* and *h*, but cf. *k*). The *construct state* of the dual is generally the same as that of the plural, except, of course, in cases like *m*.

Paradigms *g* and *h* exhibit forms with middle *u* and *i* (§ 84<sup>a</sup> c, γ e and δ); the ground forms *maut* and *zait* are always contracted to *môth*, *zêth*, except in the *absol. sing.*, where *u* and *i* are changed into the corresponding consonants י and ו.

Paradigm *i* exhibits one of the numerous forms in which the contraction of a middle *u* or *i* has already taken place in the *absol. sing.* (ground-form *ṣaut*).

Paradigm *k* is a formation from a stem מ"ל (§ 84<sup>a</sup> c, ε).

Paradigms *l*, *m*, *n* are forms from stems מ"ע, and hence (see § 67 a) *f* originally biliteral, *yam*, 'im, *luq*, with the regular lengthening to ים, אים, חם. Before formative additions a sharpening, as in the inflexion of verbs מ"ע, takes place in the second radical, e.g. אפֿי, יפֿי, &c. (see § 84<sup>a</sup> c, β).

#### REMARKS.

I. A. On I. *a* and *d* (ground-form *qatl*). In *pause* the full lengthening to *ā* *g* generally takes place, thus כֶּרֶם *vineyard*, זֶרַע, זֵרַע *seed* (from זָרַע), and so always (except ψ 48<sup>11</sup>), in מִן־אֶרֶץ *earth* with the article, אֶרֶץ־מִן, according to § 35 o (cf. also in the LXX the forms 'Αβέλ, 'Ιαφὲθ for הָבֶל, יֶפֶת). However, the form with *è* is also sometimes found in *pause*, along with that in *ā*, e.g. חֶסֶד together with חֶסֶד; and very frequently only the form with *S<sup>g</sup>hōl*, e.g. מִן־הָעֵדֶשׁ *grass*, מִן־הַפֶּתַח *perpetuity*, מִן־הַפֶּלֶא *a wonder*, מִן־הַצְדִּיק *righteousness*, מִן־הַמֶּזְרָח *the East*, מִן־הַיָּד *help*, &c.—With two *S<sup>g</sup>hōl*s, although with a middle guttural, we find מִן־הַלֶּחֶם *bread* (in *pause* מִן־הַלֶּחֶם) and מִן־הַיָּד *womb* (in *pause* מִן־הַיָּד), besides מִן־הַיָּד Ju 5<sup>30</sup> (in *pause* מִן־הַיָּד). A helping *S<sup>g</sup>hōl* always stands before a final א, as מִן־הַיָּד, מִן־הַיָּד (with *stuff* מִן־הַיָּד), מִן־הַיָּד, מִן־הַיָּד (also written מִן־הַיָּד), except in מִן־הַיָּד, see v.

B. The *constr. st.* is almost always the same as the *absolute*. Sometimes, *h* however, under the influence of a final guttural or ך, Pathah appears in the second syllable as the principal vowel (see below, s), e.g. מִן־הַיָּד ψ 18<sup>26</sup>; מִן־הַיָּד

## Paradigms of

## I.

|                           | a.                  | b.                      | c.                    | d.                     | e.                    | f.               |
|---------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| <i>Sing. absolute</i>     | מֶלֶךְ<br>(king)    | סֵפֶר<br>(book)         | קֹדֶשׁ<br>(sanctuary) | נָעַר<br>(a youth)     | נֶצַח<br>(perpetuity) | פֶּעַל<br>(work) |
| „ <i>construct</i>        | מֶלֶךְ              | סֵפֶר                   | קֹדֶשׁ                | נָעַר                  | נֶצַח                 | פֶּעַל           |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | מֶלֶךְי             | סֵפֶרִי                 | קֹדֶשִׁי              | נָעָרִי                | נֶצְחִי               | פֶּעַלִי         |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | מֶלֶכְךָ            | סֵפֶרְךָ                | קֹדֶשְׁךָ             | נָעָרְךָ               | נֶצְחֶךָ              | פֶּעַלְךָ        |
| <i>Plur. absolute</i>     | מַלְכִּים           | סִפְרִים                | [קֹדֶשִׁים]           | נָעָרִים               | נֶצְחִים              | פִּעְלִים        |
| „ <i>construct</i>        | מַלְכֵי             | סִפְרֵי                 | קֹדֶשִׁי              | נָעָרֵי                | נֶצְחֵי               | פִּעְלֵי         |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | מַלְכֵי             | סִפְרֵי                 | [קֹדֶשִׁי]            | נָעָרֵי                | נֶצְחֵי               | פִּעְלֵי         |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | מַלְכֵיכֶם          | סִפְרֵיכֶם              | קֹדֶשֵׁיכֶם           | נָעָרֵיכֶם             | נֶצְחֵיכֶם            | פִּעְלֵיכֶם      |
| <i>Dual absolute</i>      | רַגְלַיִם<br>(feet) | קַבְצִים<br>(two heaps) | מַתְּנָיִם<br>(loins) | נַעֲלָיִם<br>(sandals) |                       |                  |
|                           | [proper name.]      |                         |                       |                        |                       |                  |
| „ <i>construct</i>        | רַגְלָי             |                         | מַתְנֵי               | נַעֲלֵי                |                       |                  |

## II.

|                           | a.                     | b.                  | c.                    | d.                     | e.               | f.                |
|---------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Sing. absolute</i>     | דָּבָר<br>(word)       | חָכָם<br>(wise)     | זָקֵן<br>(an old man) | בֵּיתֶךָ<br>(shoulder) | חֲצֵר<br>(court) | שָׂדֶה<br>(field) |
| „ <i>construct</i>        | דָּבָר                 | חָכָם               | זָקֵן                 | בֵּיתְךָ               | חֲצֵר            | שָׂדֶה            |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | דָּבָרִי               | חָכְמִי             | זָקְנִי               | בֵּיתִי                | חֲצָרִי          | שָׂדֵי            |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | דָּבָרְךָ              | חָכְמְךָ            |                       |                        |                  | שָׂדֶךָ           |
| <i>Plur. absolute</i>     | דְּבָרִים              | חֲכָמִים            | זָקֵנִים              |                        | חֲצָרִים         | פְּנֵים           |
| „ <i>construct</i>        | דְּבָרֵי               | חֲכָמֵי             | זָקְנֵי               |                        | חֲצָרֵי          | פְּנֵי            |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | דְּבָרֵי               | חֲכָמֵי             | זָקְנֵי               |                        | חֲצָרֵי          | פְּנֵי            |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | דְּבָרֵיכֶם            | חֲכָמֵיכֶם          | זָקְנֵיכֶם            |                        | חֲצָרֵיכֶם       | פְּנֵיכֶם         |
| <i>Dual absolute</i>      | כַּנְפָּיִם<br>(wings) | חֲלָצִים<br>(loins) | יָרְכָיִם<br>(thighs) |                        |                  | (face)            |
| „ <i>construct</i>        | כַּנְפָּי              |                     |                       |                        |                  |                   |

## Masculine Nouns.

## I.

| g.         | h.       | i.                 | k.         | l.        | m.          | n.        |
|------------|----------|--------------------|------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| מָוֶת      | זֵית     | שׁוֹט              | פֶּרִי     | יָם       | אִם         | חֵק       |
| (death)    | (olive)  | (whip)             | (fruit)    | (sea)     | (mother)    | (statute) |
| מוֹת       | זֵית     | שׁוֹט              | פֶּרִי     | יָם, יָם  | אִם         | חֵק       |
| מוֹתֵי     | זֵיתֵי   | שׁוֹטֵי            | פֶּרִיֵי   | יָמֵי     | אִמִּי      | חֻקִּי    |
| מוֹתֶדָּ   | זֵיתֶדָּ | שׁוֹטֶדָּ          | פֶּרִיֶדָּ | יָמֶדָּ   | אִמֶדָּ     | חֻקֶדָּ   |
| מוֹתֶכֶם   | זֵיתֶכֶם | שׁוֹטֶכֶם          | פֶּרִיֶכֶם | יָמֶכֶם   | אִמֶכֶם     | חֻקֶכֶם   |
| [מוֹתֵימִ] | זֵיתֵימִ | שׁוֹטֵימִ          | פֶּרִיֵימִ | יָמֵימִ   | אִמּוֹת     | חֻקִּים   |
| מוֹתֵי     | זֵיתֵי   | שׁוֹטֵי            | פֶּרִיֵי   | יָמֵי     | אִמּוֹת     | חֻקִּי    |
|            | זֵיתֵי   | שׁוֹטֵי            | (kids)     | יָמֵי     | אִמּוֹתֵי   | חֻקִּי    |
|            | זֵיתֶכֶם | שׁוֹטֶכֶם          |            | יָמֶכֶם   | אִמּוֹתֶכֶם | חֻקֶכֶם   |
|            | עֵינִים  | יּוֹמִים           | לְחָיִים   | כַּפָּיִם | שִׁנָּיִם   |           |
|            | (eyes)   | (two days, biduum) | (cheeks)   | (hands)   | (teeth)     |           |
|            | עֵינֵי   |                    | לְחָיֵי    | כַּפָּי   | שִׁנָּי     |           |

## III.

## IV.

| a.              | b.        | c.      | a.          | b.        | c.           |
|-----------------|-----------|---------|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| עוֹלָם          | אֵיב      | חֹזֶה   | פֶּקִיד     | עָנִי     | כְּתָב       |
| (eternity)      | (enemy)   | (seer)  | (overseer)  | (poor)    | (writing)    |
| עוֹלָם          | אֵיב      | חֹזֶה   | פֶּקִיד     | עָנִי     | כְּתָב       |
| עוֹלָמִי        | אֵיבִי    | חֹזִי   | פֶּקִידִי   |           | כְּתָבִי     |
| עוֹלָמֶדָּ      | אֵיבֶדָּ  | חֹזֶדָּ | פֶּקִידֶדָּ |           | כְּתָבֶדָּ   |
| עוֹלָמְכֶם      | אֵיבְכֶם  | חֹזְכֶם | פֶּקִידְכֶם |           | כְּתָבְכֶם   |
| עוֹלָמִים       | אֵיבִים   | חֹזִים  | פֶּקִידִים  | עָנִיִּים | [כְּתָבִים]  |
| עוֹלָמִי        | אֵיבִי    | חֹזִי   | פֶּקִידִי   | עָנִי     | [כְּתָבִי]   |
| עוֹלָמִי        | אֵיבִי    | חֹזִי   | פֶּקִידִי   |           | [כְּתָבִי]   |
| עוֹלָמֶכֶם      | אֵיבֶכֶם  | חֹזְכֶם | פֶּקִידֶכֶם | עָנִיכֶם  | [כְּתָבֶכֶם] |
| מִלְחָמִים      | מֵאֻנִּים |         | שָׁבָעִים   |           |              |
| (pair of tongs) | (balance) |         | (two weeks) |           |              |
|                 | מֵאֻנִּי  |         |             |           |              |

(only in Nu 11<sup>7</sup>, before Maqqeph), חָדָר Ju 3<sup>24</sup> (but Ct 3<sup>4</sup> חָדָר), נָטַע, סָחַר, נָטַע, as well as נָטַע, &c.; cf., moreover, קָחַת 2 K 12<sup>9</sup> (for קָחַת, *inf. constr.* from לָקַח).

i C. The הָ— locale is, according to § 90 i, regularly added to the already developed form, e.g. הַבְּתָרְהָ ψ 116<sup>14,18</sup>: הַבְּתָרְהָ Gn 19<sup>9</sup>, to the door; but also with a firmly closed syllable הַבְּתָרְהָ Ex 40<sup>24</sup>; under the influence of a guttural or ר, הַבְּתָרְהָ, in pause אֲרָצָה (cf. הַבְּתָרְהָ 1 Ch 14<sup>16</sup>, from הַבְּתָרְהָ).

k D. The suffixes of the singular are likewise added to the ground-form, but forms with middle guttural take *Haṭeph-Pathah* instead of the *S<sup>e</sup>wa quiescens*; נָעָרִי, &c. (but also לְחָמִי, נָעָמִי, &c.). In a rather large number of *qāṭi*-forms, however, before suffixes in the sing., as well as in the *constr. st. plur.* and dual, the *ā* of the first syllable is attenuated to *i*,<sup>1</sup> thus בְּמִנִּי my womb, יְהִירוֹ; so in בְּנִי, בָּעֵץ, בָּעֵץ, נָבַח, טָבַח, פָּשַׁע, פָּחַח, צָדָק, קָבַר, קָרַב, קָרַב, שָׁמַשׁ, and many others. In some cases of this kind besides the form with *ā* there most probably existed another with original *i* in the first syllable; thus certainly with יִשְׁעָ beside יִשְׁעָ, יִצָּחָ beside יִצָּחָ, &c. (According to the *Diqduq ha-ḥamim*, § 36, the *absolute st.* in such cases takes *ē*, the *constr. st.* *ē*; cf. נָדָר Nu 30<sup>4</sup> (*absol.*) and נָדָר 30<sup>10</sup> (*constr.*); נָשָׁר Lv 24<sup>20</sup> (*absol.*) and נָשָׁר Am 6<sup>6</sup> (*constr.*). According to this theory<sup>2</sup> פָּלָא (so the best authorities) Is 9<sup>5</sup> would be the *constr. st.*, although the accentuation requires an *absol. st.*)—A weakening of the firmly closed syllable occurs in בְּנִי, &c. from בְּנִי and יִקְבֹּד Dt 15<sup>14</sup>, 16<sup>13</sup>, in both cases evidently owing to the influence of the palatal in the middle of the stem. With *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl* for *i*: הַבְּלִי, יִשְׁעָ, נָבִי, &c.

l E. In the plural the termination וֹת is found as well as וֹתִים, e.g. נְפִשׁוֹת, נְפִשׁוֹת together with נְפִשִּׁים (Ez 13<sup>20</sup> [but read נְפִשִּׁים; see comm.]), &c., *constr. st. st. plur.* נְפִשִּׁים. Other nouns have only the ending וֹת, e.g. אֲרָצוֹת, *constr. st. plur.* אֲרָצוֹת. Without *Qames* before the ending וֹת we find רַחֲמִים (borels) mercy. On the numerals עֶשְׂרִים twenty, &c., cf. § 97 f, note 2. Moreover *a* is not inserted before plural suffixes with the tone on the penultima in אֲשֶׁרֶיךָ, &c., properly thy happiness! (a word which is only used in the *constr. st. plur.* and at an early period became stereotyped as a kind of interjection).

m F. In the *constr. st. plural* a firmly closed syllable is sometimes found, contrary to the rule, e.g. בְּסִפְיָהֶם Gn 42<sup>25,35</sup>; רִשְׁפִּי Ct 8<sup>6</sup> (רִשְׁפִּי ψ 76<sup>4</sup>); טְרִפִּי Ez 17<sup>9</sup>; צִמְיִי Is 5<sup>10</sup>, and so always in נְסִפְיָהֶם Nu 26<sup>29</sup>; נְסִפְיָהֶם ψ 16<sup>4</sup>, &c. (on the other hand, according to the best authorities not in חֲסִיִּי Is 55<sup>3</sup>, &c., though in ψ 107<sup>40</sup> Ginsburg reads חֲסִיִּי; cf. § 46 d. Even with a middle guttural בְּעִיָּהֶן Est 17<sup>20</sup>.—The attenuation of *ā* to *i* also occurs sometimes in this form (see above, k), e.g. זִבְחִי, &c., even יִלְרִי Is 57<sup>4</sup> beside יִלְרִי Ho 1<sup>2</sup>, &c.

n G. In the *dual absol.* beside forms like רַגְלֵיךָ feet, with suff. רַגְלֵיךָ, &c. רַגְלֵיךָ, &c. רַגְלֵיךָ two thousand, נַעְלָיִם sandals, בְּרַפְּיִם knees (*ā* attenuated to *i*, *constr. st. plur.* בְּרַפְּיִם with a firmly closed syllable), with suffixes בְּרַפְּיִם, &c. (cf., however, בְּרַפְּיָהֶם Ju 7<sup>6</sup>), forms with pretonic *Qames* are also found (in consequence of the

<sup>1</sup> According to M. Lambert, *REJ.* 1896, p. 21, *a* tends to remain with labials; so in 14 cases out of 22 masculines, and in 3 out of 6 feminines.

<sup>2</sup> Probably only a theory of one particular school and not generally accepted, or at any rate not consistently carried out; cf. König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 22.

tendency to assimilate the dual to the plural in form: so König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 17), as קַרְנִים *horns*, with suff. קַרְנָיו (Dn 5<sup>3</sup> π; elsewhere always קַרְנִים, קַרְנָיו, &c.), and so always דְּלָתַם *constr. st. דְּלָתֵי folding-doors*, דְּלָתִים (?) *double way*.

2. On Paradigms *b* and *e*. With a final *N* rejected (but retained orthographically) we find חָמָא *sin*. An initial guttural before suffixes generally receives *S'ghôl* instead of the original *h*, e.g. חָמָא, &c., so in the *constr. st. plur.* חָמָא, &c.; חָמָא forms חָמָא 2 K 10<sup>20</sup>, &c., retaining the *Qames* of חָמָא before the weak *N*.—The pausal forms חָמָא and חָמָא (out of pause always חָמָא, חָמָא) go back to by-forms חָמָא, חָמָא.—On עֵצָבוֹת (*constr. st. plur. of עֵצָב*) Pr 27<sup>26</sup>, cf. § 20 *h*; שִׁקְמֹרִים *sycamores*, without *Qames* before the termination ם (see above, *l*), is probably from the sing. שִׁקְמֹרָה found in the *Mišna*.

3. On Paradigms *c* and *f*. קִשָּׁט occurs in Pr 22<sup>21</sup> without a helping vowel; *p* with a middle guttural פָּעֵל, &c., but with ה also פָּהֵל, פָּהֵל; with a final guttural גָּבֵה, רָבֵעַ, &c., but with א, גָּמָא; with a firmly closed syllable אִסְפָּה Mi 7<sup>1</sup>.

Before suffixes the original *û* sometimes reappears in the sing., e.g. גָּדֹל *q* (ψ 150<sup>2</sup>) beside גָּדֹל, from גָּדֹל *greatness*; כָּבֵדוֹ (with *Dages forte dirimens*, and the *û* repeated in the form of a *Haſeph-Qames*, cf. § 10 *h*) Is 9<sup>8</sup>, &c.; נִשְׁמָחָה Ez 22<sup>24</sup>.—Corresponding to the form פָּעֵלָכֶם *pō'ôl'ekhem* we find קָטְבָךְ Ho 13<sup>14</sup>, even without a middle guttural; similarly קָטְבִי (so Jablonski and Opatius) 1 K 12<sup>10</sup>, 2 Ch 10<sup>10</sup>, from קָטַן *little finger*; but the better reading is, no doubt, קָטְבִי (so ed. Mant., 'the *q* proleptically assuming the vowel of the following syllable'; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 69), and the form is to be derived, with König, from קָטַן, not *gûttîn*, as Brockelmann quotes him, in *Grundriss*, p. 103. The reading קָטְבִי (Baer and Ginsburg) is probably not due to a confusion of the above two readings, but — is merely intended to mark the vowel expressly as *û*. In the forms פָּעֵלוֹ Is 1<sup>81</sup> (for פָּעֵלוֹ) and תָּאֲרֹו Is 52<sup>14</sup> (for תָּאֲרֹו 1 S 28<sup>14</sup>), the lengthening of the original *û* to *ô* has been retained even before the suffix; cf. § 63 *p* and § 74 *h* (בְּלִיאָכֶם Gn 32<sup>20</sup>).—In the same way *ô* remains before ה *locale*, e.g. פָּרְנָה, הָאֲהֵלָה Gn 18<sup>6</sup>, 24<sup>67</sup>, &c. Dissimilation of the vowel (or a by-form נָכַח?) seems to occur in נָכַח Ex 14<sup>2</sup>, Ez 46<sup>9</sup>, for נָכַח.

In the *absol. st. plur.* the original *û* generally becomes *S'wâ* before the *Qames*, *r* e.g. בֹּקֶרִים from בֹּקֶר *morning*, פְּעָלִים *works*, רִמְחִים *lances*, שְׁעָפִים *handfuls* (*constr. st.* שְׁעָפִי Ez 13<sup>19</sup>); on the other hand, with an initial guttural the *û*-sound reappears as *Haſeph-Qames*, e.g. חֳדָשִׁים *months*, עֲפָרִים *gazelles*, אֲרָחוֹת *ways*; and so even without an initial guttural, הַנְּרָחוֹת *the threshing-floors*, 1 S 23<sup>1</sup>, Jo 22<sup>24</sup>; קְדָשִׁים *sanctuaries*, and שְׁרָשִׁים *roots* (*qûdhâšîm*, &c., with *ô* for —); also קְדָשִׁי [but קְדָשִׁי, קְדָשִׁי, once 'ק'], where, however, the reading frequently fluctuates between 'ק and 'ק; with the article הַקְּ, הַקְּ, 'קְ, according to Baer and Ginsburg. On these forms cf. especially § 9 *v*. From אֶהֱלָה *tent*, both בְּאֶהֱלָיִם and אֶהֱלָיִם (cf. § 23 *h* and פָּעֵלוֹ above) are found; with light suffixes אֶהֱלִי, &c.; so from אֶרֶץ *way*, אֶרֶצִּי (also אֶרֶצִּי)—hence only with initial א, 'on account of its weak articulation' (König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 45). It seems that by these different ways of writing a distinction was intended between the



plural of אָרָה *caravan*, and of אָרָה *way*; however, אָרָהוּ is also found in the former sense (in *constr. st.* Jb 61<sup>9</sup>) and אָרָהוּ in the latter (e.g. Jb 13<sup>27</sup> according to the reading of Ben Naphtali and Qimhi); cf. also אָרָהוּ 2 Ch 81<sup>8</sup> K<sup>eth</sup>. (אָרָה Q<sup>re</sup>).—The *constr. st.* plural of בָּהֶן *thumb* is בָּהֶנוֹת Ju 1<sup>6f</sup>, as if from a sing. בָּהֶן: of נֶהָה *brightness*, Is 59<sup>9</sup> נֶהָהוֹת (on these *q<sup>al</sup>*-forms, cf. *t*).—If אָפְנִי Pr 25<sup>11</sup> is not dual but plural (see the *Lexicon*) it is then analogous to the examples, given in *l* and *o*, of plurals without a pretonic *Qames*; cf. בָּמִנִּים *pistachio nuts*, probably from a sing. בָּמִנָּה. According to Barth, ZDMG. xlii, 345 f. אָפְנִי is a sing. (אָפְנִי), the ground-form of אָפְנָה, with suffix).

In the *constr. st. plur.* the only example with original *ā* is רִכְסִי ψ 31<sup>21</sup>; otherwise like קָדְשִׁי, אֶהְיֶה, &c.

- § 4. Besides the forms treated hitherto we have to consider also a series of formations, which have their characteristic vowel under the *second* radical, as is ordinarily the case in Aramaic (on the origin of these forms see further, § 84<sup>a</sup> e). Thus (α) of the form קָטַל דְּבַשׁ; קָטַל מְעַט *honey*, *little*; in *pause* דְּבַשׁ, מְעַט; מְעַט גֶּבֶר *man* (as *constr. st.*, see above, *h*), ψ 18<sup>26</sup> (elsewhere always גֶּבֶר), and *infinitives* like שָׁכַב (cf. § 45 c; on קָחַת, see above, *h*); שָׁכַם *shoulder*, *ā* being modified to *è* (but in *pause* שָׁכַם); *locative* שָׁכַמָּה, also שָׁכַמָּה Ho 6<sup>9</sup>. With suffixes in the usual manner שָׁכַמְתִּי, שָׁכַמְתָּ Gn 19<sup>33.35</sup> (an *inf.* with suffix, therefore not שָׁכַמְתָּ). On the other hand, the *ā* is retained in the *plur. absol.* by sharpening the final consonant: אֲנָפִים (*constr.* אָנָפִי) *marshes*, הָרָפִים *myrtles*, מְעַטִּים *few*.

- t* (b) Of the form קָטַל בְּאֵר *a well*, וָאֵב *wolf*, &c.<sup>1</sup>; *locative* בְּאֵרָה, with *suff.* בְּאֵרִי, *plur.* וָאֵבִים, וָאֵבִי; but בְּאֵרוֹת, *constr.* בְּאֵרוֹת; on the *inf.* *constr.* שָׁאֵת, cf. § 76 b.

(c) of the form קָטַל בְּאֵשׁ *stench* (with *suff.* בְּאֵשׁוֹ, just as סָכַבוֹ occurs in Jer 4<sup>7</sup> along with the *constr. st.* סָכַבְתָּ ψ 74<sup>5</sup>; cf. for the Dageš, § 20 *h*), perhaps also לְאֵם *nation*, pl. לְאֵמִים.

- 26 5. Paradigms *g-i* comprise the segholate forms with middle ו or י: (a) of the form *qāḏl* with *Wāw* as a strong consonant, in which cases the original *ā* is almost always lengthened to *ā* (Paradigm *g*), thus בָּוֶן *vanity*, עָוֶל *iniquity*, מִדְּוֶן *midst*; with final נ, שָׁוֶן *falsehood*; cf. however, also רָוֶן *space*. In the *constr. st.* contraction always occurs, מוֹת, &c. (from original *maut*), and likewise before suffixes מוֹתוֹ, &c. Exception, עָוֶל as *constr. st.* Ez 28<sup>18</sup> (according to Qimhi) and with *suff.* עָוֶלִי. The contraction remains also in all cases in the plural (but see below, *w*).

- 27 (b) Of the form *qāḏl* with consonantal *Yōdh* (Paradigm *h*). With final נ, נִיָּא (also נִיָּי), in Is 40<sup>4</sup> נִיָּא, in the *constr. st.* (also *absol.* Zc 14<sup>4</sup>) נִיָּא (also נִיָּי); plur. 2 K 21<sup>6</sup> and Ez 6<sup>9</sup> K<sup>eth</sup>. according to Baer נִיָּאוֹת, i. e. doubtless נִיָּאוֹת (cf. נִיָּאוֹתֶיךָ Ez 35<sup>8</sup>; according to another reading [and so Ginsburg] נִיָּאוֹת, נִיָּאוֹת, &c., for נִיָּאוֹתֶיךָ, which was probably intended, see § 63 m.

<sup>1</sup> The proposal of Haupt (SBOT. 'Proverbs', p. 34. l. 44 ff.) to read בְּאֵר, וָאֵב, &c., does not seem to be warranted. The case here is quite different from that in Pr 1<sup>22</sup> where the Masora requires נִיָּאוֹתֶיךָ, no doubt on the analogy of נִיָּאוֹת, &c., for נִיָּאוֹתֶיךָ, which was probably intended, see § 63 m.

i. e. doubtless **בְּאִיּוֹת**), but in *Qere*, and all other passages, **בְּאִיּוֹת**. The uncontracted form (in the *absol. st.* with helping *Hireq*) remains also before **הַ** *locale*, e. g. **בְּיָתָהּ** (but in the *constr. st.* e. g. **יֹסֶפֶהּ**).—**עֵרִיר** (from **עֵרִיר**) Gn 49<sup>11</sup> is peculiar, so also **שִׁיתוֹ** Is 10<sup>17</sup> (from **שִׁיתוֹ**).—In the *plural absol.* uncontracted forms occur, like **הַלִּים** *hosts*, **עֵינֹת** *springs*, **עֵרִירִים** *young asses*, **הַיִּשִּׁים** *he-goats*, &c.; as *constr. st.* **עֵינֹת** for **עֵינֹת**.

(c) With the contraction of the **י** and **י** even in the *absol. st. sing.* (Paradigm *i*). In this way there arise formations which are unchangeable throughout; thus from the ground-form **qāḏl** : **יוֹם** (cf., however, § 96), **סוּף**, **שׁוּר**, &c.; with middle *Yōdh*, **חֵיל** 1 Ch 9<sup>18</sup> (elsewhere **חַיִּל**), **לֵיל** Is 21<sup>11</sup> (elsewhere **לָיִל**, in prose **לַיְלָה**, see above, § 90 *f*); from the ground-form **qūḏl**, **דֵּין**, **שִׁיר**, **רִנָּה**, &c. The plurals **דְּגָרִים** *pots*, **שׁוּקִים** *streets*, **שׁוּרִים** *oxen*, have a strong formation (but for plurals **חֲדָרִים** 1 S 13<sup>6</sup> read **חֲדָרִים** as in 14<sup>11</sup>). Finally, forms with a quiescent middle **א** also belong to this class, such as **רֹאשׁ** *head* (obscured from **רֹאשׁ** = *ra's*, see § 96) and **צֹאן** *sheep*.

6. On Paradigm *k*: segholate forms from **לִיָּה** stems. Besides the formations *x* mentioned in § 84<sup>a</sup> *e*, *e*, like **בִּכְכֹּה**, &c., and **שָׁהוּ** Ez 47<sup>5</sup>, with the original **י** resolved, according to § 24 *d* (cf. the *constr. plur.* **חֲבִי** *clefs*, Ob 3, &c., and **קֶצֶר** *ends*, ψ 48<sup>11</sup>, &c., where the **י** becomes again a strong consonant,<sup>1</sup> from **חֲבִי** and **קֶצֶר** or **חֲבִי** and **קֶצֶר**), there occur also (*a*) commonly, of the ground-form **qāḏl**, forms like **פָּרִי**, **בָּבִי**, **בָּרִי**, **לָחִי**, **צָבִי**, **אָרִי**, &c.; in *pause* **פָּרִי**, **בָּבִי**, **לָחִי**, **צָבִי** (cf. § 29 *m*), but **אָרִי** Ju 14<sup>18</sup>; with suffixes **פָּרִי** (attenuated from *pāryō*), **בָּבִי**, **לָחִי**, &c.; before a grave suffix **פָּרִי**, but also **פָּרִי**. Plur. **פָּרִי** (*constr.* **פָּרִי**, see above, *a*, **חֲבִי**, **אָרִי**, &c.; with softening of the **י** to **א** (as elsewhere in **בְּלֹאִי** Jer 38<sup>12</sup> for which there is **בְּלֹאִי** in verse 11, according to § 8 *k*; **עֲרֵבִי** 2 Ch 17<sup>11</sup>, cf. 26<sup>7</sup> *Keth.*; probably in **דְּרָאִים**, **לָלֵאֹת**, from **דְּרִי** and **לָלֵאֹת**; also **חֲלָבִים** ψ 10<sup>10</sup> *Keth.*, divided into two words by the Masora, is to be referred to a sing. **חֲלָבִי** *hapless*): **חֲלָאִים** *jewels*, Ct 7<sup>2</sup> (from **חָלִי**), **חֲלָאִים** *lambs*, Is 40<sup>11</sup> (from **חָלִי**); but instead of **חֲלָאִים** and **חֲלָאִים** (from **חָלִי** and **חָלִי**) the Masora requires **חֲלָאִים** and **חֲלָאִים**; dual: **חֲלָאִים**, *constr. st.* **חֲלָאִים**, with *suff.* **חֲלָאִי**, &c. On **דֶּל** *door*, cf. § 95 *f*, and on such formations generally, see Barth on biliteral nouns in *ZDMG.* 1887, p. 603 ff., and *Nominalbildung* (isolated nouns), p. 1 ff.

(b) From the ground-form **qāḏl**, **חֲבִי** *half*, in *pause* **חֲבִי**, with *suff.* **חֲבִי**, &c.—*y* From stems with middle *Wāw* arise such forms as **אֵי** (from *'iwy*), **עֵי**, *ship*, plur. **אֵי**, **עֵי**, &c.; instead of the extraordinary plur. **עֵי** Nu 24<sup>24</sup> read with the Samaritan **עֵי**, and for **בָּצִים** Ez 30<sup>9</sup> read probably with Cornill **בָּצִים**.

(c) From the ground-form **qūḏl** sometimes forms like **בָּהוּ**, **חָהוּ** (from *tühw*, *zühw*), sometimes like **חָהִי**, **עָהִי**, and even without an initial guttural **יָהִי**, **יָהִי**.

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke, *Beiträge*, p. 58: the direct or indirect retention of this **י** is hardly a feature of early Hebrew. The true Hebrew forms from **קָצָה** would be **קָצָה**, **קָצוֹת**, the aramaizing forms **קָצָה**, **קָצָה**, **קָצוֹת**.

צָרִי (also דָּמִי, יָפִי, יָצִרִי, רָאִי, &c.; in *pause* חָלִי, &c., with suff. חָלִי, plur. חָלִיִּים. From יָצִר *branch*, there occurs in  $\psi$  104<sup>12</sup> the plur. יָצָרִים (analogous to עָפָאִים, &c., see above, *x*); the *K<sup>th</sup>* evidently intends עָפָאִים (so Opatius and others). Dual, with *suff.* דָּלָי Nu 24<sup>7</sup>, *bucket* (from דָּלָי, for דָּלָי, more correctly, with the Masora, with *suff.* דָּלָי with *Munah* for *Metheg*. This unusual *Metheg* is to be treated as following the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 97.

all 7. On Paradigms l-n: segholate forms from stems ע"ע (see § 84<sup>a</sup> c, B).

(a) In the *qatl*-form the *ā* of the contracted formation is sometimes lengthened in the *absol. st.*, sing. as in יָם (so also in the *constr. st.*, except in the combination יָם-הַיָּם the *Red sea*; and even before *Magqeph*, יָם-הַיָּם the *salt sea*), sometimes it remains short, e.g. בַּת *morsel*, עַם *people*, but even these formations generally have *Qameṣ* in *pause*, as well as after the article (e.g. הָעַם). Adjectives under the influence of a guttural either have forms like לָחִים, לָחִים or, with *compensatory lengthening*, רָעִי, רָעִים. In the *constr. st.* חַי *living* (in the plural חַיִּים also a substantive, *life*), and יָדִי *sufficiency*, are contracted to חִי and יִי. As a locative form notice הָרָה *to the mountain*, Gn 14<sup>10</sup> (see § 27 q) beside הָרָה. The stem is expanded to a trilateral form in הָרָרִי (unless it is simply derived from a by-form הָרָר on the analogy of *qāṭal*-forms) Jer 17<sup>8</sup> (but in  $\psi$  30<sup>8</sup> for הָרָרִי read הָרָרִי) and הָרָרִם Gn 14<sup>9</sup>; plur. *constr.* הָרָרִי Nu 23<sup>7</sup>, &c. (but only in poetical passages), with suffix, הָרָרִי Dt 8<sup>9</sup>; עַמְּמִים Ju 5<sup>14</sup> (where, however, read probably עַמְּמִי, Neh 9<sup>22</sup>; עַמְּמִי Neh 9<sup>24</sup>; elsewhere עַמְּמִים, עַמְּמִי.—Before *suffixes* and in the plur. *ā* is sometimes attenuated to *i*, e.g. בָּתִּי, בָּתִּים, from בַּת; כָּפִי, כָּפִים and כָּפֹת 2 S 17<sup>28</sup>) from כָּף. Before *ā* is retained in a virtually sharpened syllable, e.g. פָּחִים *traps*.

bb (b) *Qāṭl*-forms: אֵשׁ, אֵשׁ *fire* (with suff. אֵשִׁי, but cf. also אֵשְׁכֶם Is 50<sup>11</sup>), חֵן *favour*, &c.; of a trilateral form, the plur. חֲנִיָּךְ  $\psi$  77<sup>18</sup>.

(c) *Qāṭl*-forms: חֵן, חֵן *totality*, before *Magqeph* חֵן, חֵן, with suff. חֲנִי, &c., with omission of *Dageṣ forte* (according to § 20 m) always חֲנִי, חֲנִי, but from עֵץ, עֵץ, עֵץ, עֵץ, עֵץ, עֵץ, for which עֵץ and עֵץ are also found. חֲנִי, expanded to a trilateral form, Ju 5<sup>15</sup> and Is 10<sup>1</sup>, generally explained as a secondary form of חֲנִי with abnormal weakening of the *ā* to *i*, is more probably to be referred to a *qāṭl*-form = Arabic *fiqq*.

cc The forms with assimilated middle *Nūn* likewise follow the analogy of Paradigms l-n, e.g. אָף *nose, anger* (אָף, dual אָפִים, also *face*) for *'anp*; חָךְ *palate* for *hink*, חָךְ, plur. עֵז, *goat*, plur. עֵזִים, for *'inz*, probably also אֵב *green herb*, for *'inv*.

dd 2. Paradigm II comprises all formations with original short vowels, whether in the first or second syllable; cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> f-i, and the general laws of formation, § 92 b-g.

<sup>1</sup> חִי only in Dn 12<sup>7</sup> as *constr. st.*, since in the asseverative formulae (cf. § 149) חִי בָרָעָה, חִי בָרָעָה (otherwise only in 2 S 15<sup>21</sup>, after יְהוָה, and Amos 8<sup>14</sup>), חִי is a contracted form of the *absol. st.* (prop. *living is Pharaoh!* &c.). It is evidently only a rabbinical refinement which makes the pronunciation חִי distinctive of an oath by God (or of God by himself), as in the regular formulae חִי אֱלֹהֵי אֲנִי Dt 32<sup>40</sup> and חִי יְהוָה (= חִי אֱלֹהֵי).

Rem. 1. On Paradigms *a* and *b*: ground-form *qāṭāl*. The lengthening of the second *ā* to *ā* is maintained in the *constr. st. sing.* only in *אֶל־*-forms, e.g. צָבָא *army*, צָבָא, *צָבָא*. For the construct forms חֵלֶב *milk*, חֵלֶב, *חֵלֶב*, Gn 49<sup>12</sup>, instead of the ordinary *absolutes* חֵלֶב, חֵלֶב, a secondary form חֵלֶב must be assumed; from עָשָׁן *smoke*, the *constr. st.* עָשָׁן occurs once, Ex 19<sup>18</sup>, beside עָשָׁן, from הָדָר *ornament* the *constr. st.* הָדָר Dn 11<sup>20</sup>, beside the common הָדָר.—The plur. פָּרָשִׁים *horses*, Is 21<sup>7</sup> (instead of פָּרָשִׁים, ground-form *pārāš*) is no doubt due to a confusion with the *qāṭāl*-form פָּרָשׁ *horseman*.

A. Sometimes a sharpening of the third radical takes place, in order to *ee* keep the preceding vowel short, e.g. חֲמָלִים *camels*, חֲמָלִים *small ones*, חֲמָלִים *brooks* (see § 20 *a*).—The attenuation of the *ā* of the first syllable to *ē* does not take place in the *constr. st. plur.* as a rule after an initial guttural, as חֲמָלִים, חֲמָלִים, but חֲמָלִים, and never before a middle guttural, e.g. נְהַרִי; nor (according to König, owing to the influence of the nasal) in the non-guttural forms חֲמָלִים *tails*, חֲמָלִים, and (in the dual) חֲמָלִים *wings*, from חֲמָלִים.—The dual חֲמָלִים from נָהָר *river*, shows an abnormal omission of the lengthening of the *ā* before a tone-bearing termination, but cf. § 88 *c*.

B. From *ע"ע* stems, forms like חֲמָלִים, חֲמָלִים, &c., belong to this class.

C. The few nouns of the ground-form *qāṭāl* follow the same analogy, such as לֵב *heart*, שֹׁכֵר *strong drink*, עֵנָב *grape*, &c. From שֹׁכֵר *hair*, in the *constr. st.* besides שֹׁכֵר the form שֹׁכֵר is also found (perhaps a survival of a secondary form like those in Paradigm I, *d*); so from צֶלַע *rib*, צֶלַע and even צֶלַע 2 S 16<sup>13</sup> (so ed. Mant., Ginsb.; but Baer צֶלַע), both, probably, old secondary forms (also used for the *absol. st.*) of צֶלַע; cf. also צֶלַע and צֶלַע, as well as the *constr. st.* צֶלַע; also from נֶכֶד *strangeness*, the *constr. st.* נֶכֶד is found, Dt 31<sup>16</sup>.

2. On Paradigms *c-e*: ground-form *qāṭāl*, developed to *qāṭāl*; with a final *h* guttural, e.g. שָׂבַע *satisfied*. In the *constr. st.* the original *ī* of the second syllable, probably on the analogy of the forms discussed in § 69 *c*, becomes *ā*, e.g. וְשָׂבַע, חֲסָר, &c., but not before suffixes, כְּתָפִי, &c., nor in forms from *אֶל־* stems, e.g. מָלָא *full*, מָלָא; cf., moreover, עָקַב Gn 25<sup>26</sup> from עָקַב *heel*, and אֶבֶל-אֶבֶל 35<sup>14</sup>, *mourning*. Paradigm *d* represents forms which in the *constr. st.* instead of the ordinary כְּתָפִי, &c., have a segholate form, as אֶבֶר, אֶבֶר, אֶבֶר, אֶבֶר (Ez 44<sup>9</sup>), *constr. st.* of אֶבֶר *long*, אֶבֶר *wall*, אֶבֶר *thigh*, אֶבֶר *robbery*, אֶבֶר *uncircumcised*. In Is 11<sup>14</sup> כְּתָפִי would be altogether without precedent as a *constr. st.* (for כְּתָפִי); most probably the *absol. st.* is intended by the Masora (according to Nöldeke, Gött. Gel. Anzeigen, 1871, No. 23 [p. 896] for אֶבֶר בְּבִי *with one shoulder*, i.e. *shoulder to shoulder*); [cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 190, *Obs.*].

In the *plur. constr.* the *ē* lengthened from *ī* is frequently retained in verbal *ii* adjectives of this formation, e.g. שְׂמָחִי, שְׂמָחִי, אֶבֶלִי, יִשְׁנִי, חֲפָצִי; cf. also יְחַדְתִּי (with *ē* under the protection of the secondary tone) from יָחַד *tent-peg*. On the other hand from יָרָא *fearing*, always יָרָא; cf. also יָרָא ψ 35<sup>20</sup> from יָרָא.—With *ā* retained in the initial syllable cf. אֶלֶּי *altius* (with a virtual sharpening of the ח).—From *ע"ע* stems come forms like מֵת *dead person*, מֵת *resident stranger*, עֵד *witness*, with unchangeable *Sere*; hence מֵתִים, מֵתִי, &c.

Kindred in character are the formations from the ground-form *qāṭāl*. This *kk*

ground-form is regularly lengthened to *qāṭāl*, e.g. עוֹל round, עֶמֶק deep, אָרֶם red; but before formative additions the short *ā* returns, protected by the sharpening of the following consonant (see *ee* above), as עֲנָלִים, &c. (but in stems with a third guttural or ר, נִבְרָה, שְׁחָרִים). The form עוֹלִל, 1 K 10<sup>10</sup>, is abnormal; likewise עֲמֻקָּה Pr 23<sup>27</sup>, Jablonski (ed. Mant. עֲמֻקָּה, Baer and Ginsburg עֲמֻקָּה).

ll 3. On Paradigm *f*: ground-form *qāṭāl* from ל"ה stems. As in verbs ל"ה § 75 *h*, the general rule is that before the terminations of the plur. and dual and before suffixes beginning with a vowel, the third radical is usually elided altogether. But besides שְׂרָה the form שְׂרִי, with the final *Yōdh* retained, is also found in poetry (cf. also the singulars with suffixes, like מִשְׁתִּיָּהֶם, in *ss*); in the same way final *l* is retained in עֲנִיִּים the poor, constr. עֲנִי. The plur. of שְׂרָה is שְׂרוֹת, constr. שְׂרוֹת (also שְׂרִי, unless this is a *sing.*, contracted from שְׂרִי; so Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii, p. 351). The *qāṭāl*-form (see § 84<sup>a</sup> *i*) רָעָה 2 S 15<sup>37</sup>, 16<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 4<sup>5</sup> is remarkable as a *constr. st.* (the reading רָעָה of Opitius and others is opposed to the express statement of the Masora). To the category of these forms also belongs without doubt פָּנִים *face* (only in *plur.*), פָּנִי, פָּנִיךָ, &c.

mm In a few formations of this kind the vowel of the second syllable appears to have been already lost in the *absol. st. sing.*; so according to the ordinary view, in יָד *hand*, constr. יָד, with *suff.* יָדוֹ, but יָדְכָם; plur. יָדוֹת, constr. יָדוֹת, dual יָדַי, with *suff.* יָדֶיךָ, &c., and in דָּם *blood*, constr. דָּם, with *suff.* דָּמִי, but דָּמְכָם (*ā* attenuated to *i*), plur. דָּמִים, דָּמֵי. But perhaps both these nouns are to be regarded as primitive (§ 81), and as original monosyllabic formations.

nn 3. Paradigm III comprises forms with an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable, whilst the vowel of the second syllable has been lengthened from an original short vowel, and is therefore changeable. The special cases are to be distinguished in which the original short vowel is lengthened both *in* and *before* the tone, but in an open syllable becomes *Ṣwā* (Paradigm *a*, but cf. also examples like אֲוָפִים *wheels*, for אֲוָפִים, and אֲלָפִים *porches*), secondly, the cases in which the vowel becomes *Ṣwā* even *before* the tone (Paradigm *b*), and finally, those in which the termination of ל"ה formations is entirely lost (Paradigm *c*).

oo Rem. 1. On the model of עוֹלָל (which, moreover, is obscured from 'ālām), the following forms also are inflected: מִקְטָל (§ 85 *h*), in some cases with virtual sharpening of the third radical (see § 20 *a*), as מִקְטָחוֹ Jer 17<sup>7</sup>, ψ 40<sup>5</sup>, Jb 8<sup>4</sup>, &c.; ל"א nouns of this form maintain the *Qameṣ* in the *constr. st. plur.*, e.g. מִקְרָאִי from מִקְרָא; on the other hand, in the plur. of the *participles Neph.* (§ 85 *n*) of verbs ל"א (which likewise belong to this class), are found not only regular forms like מִקְרָאִים but also מִקְרָאִים Jos 10<sup>17</sup>, מִקְרָאִים Ez 20<sup>30 f.</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> מִקְרָאִים Ez 7<sup>24</sup> for מִקְרָשׁ (from מִקְרָשׁ) is wholly irregular; perhaps, however, the *part. Pi'el* is intended, without *Dages* in the ק (according to § 20 *m*).

and so always נָפְאִים (except Ez 13<sup>a</sup> הַנְּפִאִים) and נִמְצָאִים 1 S 13<sup>15</sup>, 2 K 14<sup>14</sup>, &c. (except Ezr 8<sup>25</sup> הַנְּמִצָּאִים in pause).<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, the other participles in *a* also follow the analogy of עֹלֵם as *pp* regards the final syllable (מִקְטֵל, מִקְטֵל; cf., however, הַמְצִיב Gn 43<sup>12</sup> in close connexion; see the analogous cases in § 65 *d*); also שֹׁלֵחַן table (§ 85 *u*; plur. שֹׁלְחָנוֹת, constr. שְׁלֻחָנוֹת, קָרֵב, constr. קָרְבָּן, hence in plur. constr. with suff. קָרְבָּנֵיהֶם Lv 1<sup>38</sup>; עֲקָרָב (§ 85 *u*), plur. עֲקָרִיִּים (with sharpening of the final consonant for עֲקָרִיִּים, cf. also עִירָם naked, plur. עִירִיִּים Gn 3<sup>7</sup> [but in 2<sup>25</sup> מְעִרְפִּים, according to § 90 an orthographic licence for עֲרִפִּים from עִירָם], nakedness, 2 Ch 28<sup>15</sup>; מְרִדְמוֹ, מְרִדְמוֹ Is 51<sup>10</sup>; מְעַבְדֵּי Is 23<sup>8 f.</sup>; מִשְׁנֵבִי ψ 18<sup>5</sup>; even with attenuation of the *a* to *i*, מְנֻרָּיִם threshing instruments, 2 S 24<sup>22</sup>, 1 Ch 21<sup>23</sup>, from מְנֻרָּה, מְנֻרָּה (§ 85 *g*), מְנֻרָּה (§ 85 *i*), מְנֻרָּה (§ 85 *k*), inasmuch as they retain the *a* of the first syllable, contrary to rule, even when not pretonic, e. g. מְנֻרָּה, מְנֻרָּה (§ 85 *g*); מְנֻרָּה (§ 85 *p*), constr. st. plur. מְנֻרָּה 1 K 17<sup>1</sup>; also isolated forms according to § 84<sup>b</sup> *t*, and § 84<sup>b</sup> *b*, *c*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *o*. Cf. finally, צִנָּאר neck (from *šaw'ār*), constr. st. צִנָּאר Jer 28<sup>10 B</sup>, constr. st. plur. צִנָּאֲרֵי Gn 45<sup>14</sup>, &c.

2. (Paradigm *b*; cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> *s*.) Instead of the original *z* in such forms as *qq* אֵלֶּכֶם (cf. 2 K 22<sup>20</sup>), the second syllable more frequently has *z*, e. g. יֹצֵרֶךָ they creator; with a closing guttural (according to § 91 *d*; but cf. also אֶבֶר Dt 32<sup>28</sup>) forms are found sometimes like שֹׁלֵחֶךָ, sometimes like בְּרִאֲךָ; constr. st. without suff. ψ 94<sup>9</sup> (according to § 65 *d*); with a middle guttural יֹאֲלֶךָ Is 48<sup>17</sup>; cf. 43<sup>14</sup>.—The same analogy also is followed in the flexion of the other participles which have *z* in the final syllable (מִקְטֵל, מִתְקַטֵּל, &c.), see further, in § 84<sup>b</sup> *d*, נָבַן, &c. (but with exceptions, as רֹבְעִים, שֹׁלְשִׁים, and ibid. *l*, *p*; § 85 *i*, *k* (מְנֻבָּח *allar*, constr. st. מְנֻבָּח, plur. מְנֻבָּחוֹת), and ibid. *q*, but here also there are exceptions like מְקַהֲלִים ψ 26<sup>12</sup>).

3. (Paradigm *c*: part. *Qal* of verbs לָחַץ, differing from Paradigm II, *f* in the *rr* unchangeableness of the vowel of the first syllable.) In Ez 17<sup>15</sup> *s* in the *absol. st.* is abnormal, and *S'ghol* in the *constr. st.* in 2 S 24<sup>11</sup> (so Opius, Ginsburg; but Baer (חֹזֶה), Ec 2<sup>15</sup> (according to Baer, but not the Mantua ed.; מִתְקַרֵּה Ec 3<sup>19</sup> is in the *absol. st.*). To this class belong, as regards their formation, the לָחַץ-forms mentioned in § 84<sup>a</sup> *r*, § 85 *g* (with suff., e. g. הַמְעֵלֶךְ Dt 20<sup>1</sup>, which brought thee up), and *h*.

In a few instances, before a suffix beginning with a consonant, the original *ss* of the termination has been contracted to *i*, and thus there arise forms which have apparently plural suffixes; as מִשְׁפָּחָם Is 5<sup>12</sup>, Dn 1<sup>10.16</sup>; מִרְאֵיהֶם their appearance, Dn 1<sup>15</sup>, Gn 41<sup>21</sup>, cf. Na 2<sup>5</sup>; מִשְׁפָּחָם who stretched them forth, Is 42<sup>5</sup>; defectively אֲפָהֶם Ho 7<sup>5</sup> (cf. גִּיהֶם Ez 34<sup>14</sup>); on the other hand, the examples in Is 14<sup>11</sup>, Gn 47<sup>17</sup>, which were formerly classed with the above, are really plurals. But מִתְקַנֵּי thy camp, Dt 23<sup>15</sup> (מִתְקַנֵּה occurs just before),

<sup>1</sup> Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 659, observes that except in 2 Ch 5<sup>11</sup>, 35<sup>17</sup> הַנְּמִצָּאִים is always followed by a preposition governing a word, so that the punctuators perhaps intended to indicate a sort of *constr. st.*



מִקְנֵיךָ *thy cattle*, Is 30<sup>23</sup> (probably also שְׂרִיף 1 K 2<sup>26</sup>, מִרְסָף Ct 2<sup>14</sup>, and מִרְאִי מֵעֵלָיו *the sight of him*, Jb 41<sup>1</sup> (with the *l* here retained orthographically), Ez 40<sup>31</sup>, &c., are still to be explained as singulars.—On a few other examples which may perhaps be thus explained, see § 124 *k*. Before the plural ending the original termination *ay* reappears in מִקְנֵיהֶם Is 25<sup>6</sup> (*part. Pu.* from מָחָה).

*tt* 4. Paradigm IV comprises the forms with a changeable vowel (*a, b*), or a vowel which has already become *S<sup>e</sup>wa* (*c*), in the first syllable, and an unchangeable vowel in the second. With Paradigm *c* (which, however, for the most part consists merely of forms based on analogy, without biblical parallels) are also connected all the forms which have unchangeable vowels in both syllables, and therefore (like פָּתַח) cannot undergo any vowel changes.

*uu* Rem. 1. Analogous to פָּקִיד (ground-form *pāqīd*) are § 84<sup>a</sup> *k*, גָּדֹל, &c. (with *ô*, not changeable *ô* for *û*); in substantives like שָׁלוֹם, this *ô* is demonstrably obscured from *â* (Arab. *sālam*); *ibid.* *l, m*, אָסִיר, אֶסִיר, &c.; § 85 *u*, וָכָרֶן, וְכָרֶן, constr. הָיוּן, constr. בָּלִיּוֹן, constr. פְּלִיּוֹן (cf., however, the forms in the constr. *st.* עֲצֻבוֹן, עֲצֻבוֹן, and with the plural suffix עֲבוֹרָתָךְ Ez 27<sup>12</sup> *π.*); § 85 *w*, חֲלָמִישׁ, constr. חֲלָמִישׁ; § 85 *l*, מָקוֹם, &c.

*vu* 2. עָנִי (ground-form *ʿanīy*, stem עָנָה) represents forms in which a final *Yōdh* has been resolved into *i*; before formative additions the original *Yōdh* under the protection of a *Dages forte* again becomes audible as a firm consonant, whilst the (originally short) vowel of the first syllable becomes *S<sup>e</sup>wa*; cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> *l*, בָּקִי, plur. בְּקִיִּים, and § 87 *a*.

*wv* 3. כָּתַב with unchangeable *a* in the second syllable, whilst the *S<sup>e</sup>wa* is weakened from a short vowel (Arab. *kātib*); constr. *st.* כָּתַב Est 4<sup>8</sup> (readings like כָּתַב 2 Ch 35<sup>4</sup> are incorrect, although יָכַר Est 1<sup>4</sup> and כָּתַב 4<sup>8</sup> are supported by fairly good authority; however, these *q<sup>u</sup>l*-forms in Hebrew are probably all loan-words from the Aramaic). The only plural form found in the O. T. is עֲבִדָּיהֶם *their deeds*, Ec 9<sup>1</sup>. In a narrower sense the forms enumerated in § 84<sup>a</sup> *n-p* belong to this class; in a wider sense all those which have unchangeable vowels throughout, thus § 84<sup>a</sup> *u*, § 84<sup>b</sup> *e* (בָּטַל, cf., however, the anomalous forms mentioned there), *ibid.* *f-i, m* (No. 34 *f.*), *n* (No. 39), *p* (No. 44), also partly § 85 *b-w* (especially *l* and *r*).

*xx* In opposition to the anomalous shortening of the form קָטַל (see above), cases are also found where pretonic vowels are retained even in the antepenultima (with the secondary tone); cf. above, *ii* and *pp*, also of the form קָטַל (properly *qāṭil*) the examples סָרִיסִים, פְּרִיצִים, שְׁלֵי־יָשִׁים, whilst the constr. *st. sing.* according to the rule, changes the *ānto* *S<sup>e</sup>wa* (סָרִיס, פְּרִיץ, שְׁלֵי). (These are not to be confounded with forms like עֲרִיץ *tyrant*, which is for עָרִיץ, and consequently has an unchangeable *Qames*.) Of the form קָטַל (*qāṭil*) in this class are שָׁבַע *weak*, plur. שְׁבָעִים and שְׁבָעוֹת, constr. שְׁבָעוֹת, but with *Metheg* of the secondary tone in the fifth syllable from the end, שְׁבָעוֹתֵיכֶם.—On מָעוֹז, מְעוֹז, &c., cf. § 85 *k*.

## § 94. Formation of Feminine Nouns.

1. The feminine ending  $\text{ת־}$ , when appended to the masculine *a* forms treated in § 93, effects in almost all cases the same changes as are produced in the masculine forms by the addition of a light suffix, since in both cases the tone is moved one place farther forward (see § 92 *b*). The following scheme is based on the same division into four classes, with their subdivisions, as in § 93; a few special forms will be treated in § 95 in connexion with the paradigms of feminine nouns.

Paradigm I: segholate forms, with the feminine ending always *b* added to the ground-form, (*a*) מַלְכָּה *queen*, בְּרָכָּה, and with attenuation of *ā* to *ē* בְּרָכָּה *lamb*, רִצְפָּה *hot stone*, Is 6<sup>6</sup> (elsewhere always רִצְפָּה; see Baer on Ez 40<sup>17</sup>), חֲזָקָה *strength* (unless belonging to Paradigm *b*); (*b*) סִתְרָה *covering* (masc. סִתֵּר); עֲרֵדָה *pleasure* (עָרַד), not to be confounded with the unchangeable forms with a prefixed *מ*, derived from ל"ה stems, as מִצְוָה *command*, plur. מִצְוֹת; (*c*) חֲלִידָה, proper name (חָלַד *mole*), אֹכֶלָה *food* (אָכַל); (*d*) נַעֲרָה *girl* (נָעַר); (*f*) בָּאֵשָׁה *weed*, טְהוּרָה *purity* (טָהַר); (*g*) עוֹלָה *wrong* (also עוֹלָה, Paradigm *z*); (*i*) צִידָה *victuals* (masc. צִיד, cf. Paradigm *h*); from *qīl* and *quīl*-forms, בִּינָה *understanding*, סוּפָה *tempest*; (*k*) אֲחִיָּה *fat tail* (as if from אָחַל), שְׁבִיָּה (*ā* attenuated to *ē*) *captivity* (שָׁבַי), לֵוִיָּה *wreath* (probably an original *qīl*-form); (*l*) חַיָּה *life*, מִדָּה *measure* (attenuated from מָדַד). Adjectives derived from ע"ע stems also belong in flexion to this class, as רַבָּה *multa*, with middle guttural רַעָה *mala*; (*m*) וְפָה *plan*; (*n*) חֻקָּה *statute* (חָק).

Paradigm II: ground-form *qātālāt*, &c., (*a*) נִקְמָה *vengeance* (נָקַם); (*b*) אֲרָמָה *earth*; (*c*) נִבְרָה *corpse*; (*d*) עֵיפָה *languida*; (*f*) יָפָה *beautiful*, קֶצֶה *end* (from יָפָה, קֶצֶה). From stems ע"י arise such forms as עֲרָה (masc. עָר, properly *part.* *Qal* from עִיר) *female witness*. From the ground-form *qātūl*, עֲצֻמָּה *profunda* (masc. עָצַם), עֲבֻדָּה *servitude*, &c.

Paradigm III: unchangeable vowel in the first, changeable in the *d* second syllable, (*a*) לְוִיָּה *a woman with child* (cf. the examples in § 84<sup>a</sup>, and the retention of the *ē* in the *part.* *Pē'el*, Ex 22<sup>17</sup>, 23<sup>26</sup>; in the *Hithpa'el* 1 K 14<sup>54</sup>), but also with the change of the *ē* (originally *ē*) into *šēwā*, יֹשְׁבָה *dwelling*, Na 3<sup>8</sup>. However, in these participial forms the feminine is mostly indicated by ת־ (see below, *h*); (*c*) גּוֹלָה *those of the captivity* (masc. גּוֹלָה), but also with a return of the final *Yōdh*, הִמְלָה *clamorous*, Pr 7<sup>11</sup>, and the examples in § 75 *v*. On the *d* of the participles of verbs ע"י, which also belong to this class, such as וָרָה *nervina*, cf. § 72 *a*.

c Paradigm IV: originally changeable vowel in the first syllable, unchangeable in the second, (a) מַגְדָּלָה *magna*, מְסִירָה *stork*, properly *pria*; בְּתוּלָה *virgin*, properly *seivuncta*; (b) עֲנִיָּה *misera*.

f 2. A simple ת is added as feminine ending in forms like בָּכִית *weeping* (masc. בָּכִי, § 93 a, a), בְּרִית *covenant*; but *feminine participles* of verbs לָצַח, as מִצָּחַת, מִצָּחָה, may be due to contraction from *yôṣe'et*, &c. (hardly to lengthening of the *z* in the ground-form *môṣi*), whilst forms like מִצָּחַת, מִצָּחָה (see § 74 i) are to be explained on the analogy of the forms treated in § 93 t. Apart from the לָח formations, we find the simple ת in the participle מְשַׁרְתָּ 1 K 1<sup>15</sup>, contracted from מְשַׁרְתָּה. But וִלְבָּדָה Gn 16<sup>11</sup>, Ju 13<sup>5,7</sup> is the ground-form of the ptep. וִלְבָּדָה (as in the same connexion in Gn 17<sup>10</sup>, Is 7<sup>14</sup>), cf. § 80 d and the *Qere* שִׁבְתָּ, &c., discussed in § 90 n.

g The forms which arise by appending the ת feminine to masculine nouns with a changeable vowel in a closed final syllable are, as a rule, developed exactly in the same way as masculine segholate forms. Thus there arise in Paradigm I (a) from מְבִירָה (for original *g<sup>e</sup>birt*; § 69 c), the form מְבִירָה *mistress* (but only in *construct st.*; in Is 47<sup>7</sup> also עַד מְבִירָה are to be taken together; the *absolute st.* is מְבִירָה); from מַלְכָּה *queen* (in Paradigm II, a); מַלְכָּה = מַלְכָּה *pit* Lv 13<sup>55</sup>; (c) מְגִירָה *wall*, מְגִירָה (from מְגִירָה = *g<sup>e</sup>dirt*; cf. מְגִירָה as *construct st.* of מְגִירָה); on the other hand, מְגִירָה is *construct st.* of מְגִירָה *five*, with lengthening of the original *z* of מְגִירָה.

h Formations with a changeable *ō* in the second syllable belonging to this class are מְבִירָה *bronze* (from מְבִירָה), מְבִירָה the *construct st.* of מְבִירָה *coat*, perhaps also מְבִירָה *writing* (unless it be obscured from מְבִירָה, § 93, Paradigm IV, c).—Paradigm III, (a) מְבִירָה (from מְבִירָה), masc. מְבִירָה *seul*; (b) מְבִירָה (properly *sucking*) *sprout* (in *pause*, e.g. מְבִירָה Ex 26<sup>4</sup>, &c.), and so most feminines of participles מְבִירָה. On this transition of the ground-form *qôṭilt* to מְבִירָה (regularly before suffixes in מְבִירָה, &c.), cf. § 69 c; *qôṭalt* serves as the ground-form under the influence of a guttural as well as before suffixes, e.g. מְבִירָה, feminine of מְבִירָה *knowing*; in a wider sense, מְבִירָה *skull* may also be included here, see § 95, Paradigm IV, c.

On the endings ית and ית—, see § 86 k, l, § 95 at the end.

### § 95. Paradigms of Feminine Nouns.

a In accordance with the general formative laws, stated in § 92 b-k, the following cases have chiefly to be considered in the flexion of

feminines also: (1) a tone-lengthened vowel on the removal of the tone reverts to its original shortness (thus the  $\bar{a}$  of the termination  $\text{מַלְכָּה}$  becomes again  $\bar{a}$  in the *construct st.*  $\text{מַלְכָּה}$ ). On the other hand, even an originally short vowel is retained as (a long) pretonic vowel before the endings  $\text{מַלְכָּה}$  and  $\text{מַלְכָּה}$  in the *abs. st.*, e.g.  $\text{מַלְכָּה}$ ; (2) without the tone or foretone an originally short vowel almost always becomes  $\check{S}ew\bar{a}$ ; on the other hand, before a vowel which had thus become  $\check{S}ew\bar{a}$  the  $\bar{a}$  in the first syllable which had hitherto also been reduced to  $\check{S}ew\bar{a}$  returns, although usually attenuated to  $\check{z}$ , e.g.  $\text{מַלְכָּה}$  from  $\check{s}\bar{a}d\check{h}\bar{a}q\bar{a}th$ ; (3) in the plural of the feminines of segholate forms before the termination of  $\text{מַלְכָּה}$  or  $\text{מַלְכָּה}$ , and in formations of the latter kind also before the light suffixes, a *pretonic Qames* reappears, while the short vowel of the first syllable becomes  $\check{S}ew\bar{a}$ . This short vowel, however, returns in the *construct st. plur.*, whether ending in  $\text{מַלְכָּה}$  or  $\text{מַלְכָּה}$ ; in formations of the latter kind also before the grave suffixes.

The following Paradigms (with the exception of I, d) deal only with such of the forms treated in § 94 as incur some vowel changes or other. All forms with unchangeable vowels follow the analogy of Paradigm I, d.

| I.                        |               |                                |               |               |                |
|---------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
|                           | a.            | b.                             | c.            | d.            | e.             |
| <i>Sing. absolute</i>     | מַלְכָּה      | [מַלְכָּה]                     | מַלְכָּה      | מַלְכָּה      | [מַלְכָּה]     |
|                           | (queen)       | (kidney) (reproach)            | (waste)       | (statute)     | (mistress)     |
| „ <i>construct</i>        | מַלְכָּה      | מַלְכָּה                       | מַלְכָּה      | מַלְכָּה      | מַלְכָּה       |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | מַלְכָּהי     | מַלְכָּהי                      | מַלְכָּהי     | מַלְכָּהי     | מַלְכָּהי      |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | מַלְכָּהם     | מַלְכָּהם                      | מַלְכָּהם     | מַלְכָּהם     | מַלְכָּהם      |
| <i>Plur. absolute</i>     | מַלְכָּהוֹת   | מַלְכָּהוֹת                    | מַלְכָּהוֹת   | מַלְכָּהוֹת   |                |
| „ <i>construct</i>        | מַלְכָּהוֹת   | מַלְכָּהוֹת                    | מַלְכָּהוֹת   | מַלְכָּהוֹת   |                |
| „ <i>with suff.</i>       | מַלְכָּהוֹתִי | מַלְכָּהוֹתִי                  | מַלְכָּהוֹתִי | מַלְכָּהוֹתִי |                |
| <i>Dual absolute</i>      |               | מַלְכָּהוֹתִים                 |               |               | מַלְכָּהוֹתִים |
|                           |               | (a double piece of embroidery) |               |               | (cymbals)      |

<sup>1</sup> Only in  $\psi$  69<sup>10</sup>, contrary to rule, with a firmly closed syllable, cf. § 93 m.

c

|                           | II.                |              |                      | III.          |                  |
|---------------------------|--------------------|--------------|----------------------|---------------|------------------|
|                           | a.                 | b.           | c.                   | a.            | b.               |
| <i>Sing. absolute</i>     | צִדְקָה            | זַעֲקָה      | שָׁנָה               | יוֹנֶקֶת      | גִּלְגֻּלֶת      |
|                           | (righteousness)    | (outcry)     | (year)               | (sprout)      | (skull)          |
| „ <i>construct</i>        | צִדְקַת            | זַעֲקַת      | שָׁנַת               | יוֹנֶקֶת      | גִּלְגֻּלֶת      |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | צִדְקָתִי          | זַעֲקָתִי    | שָׁנָתִי             | יוֹנֶקֶתִי    | גִּלְגֻּלֶתִי    |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | צִדְקַתְכֶּם       | זַעֲקַתְכֶּם | שָׁנַתְכֶּם          | יוֹנֶקֶתְכֶּם | גִּלְגֻּלֶתְכֶּם |
| <i>Plur. absolute</i>     | צִדְקוֹת           |              | שָׁנוֹת <sup>1</sup> | [יוֹנִקוֹת]   |                  |
| „ <i>construct</i>        | צִדְקוֹת           |              | שָׁנוֹת              | יוֹנִקוֹת     | גִּלְגֻּלוֹת     |
| „ <i>with suff.</i>       | צִדְקוֹתִי         |              | שָׁנוֹתִי            | יוֹנִקוֹתִי   | גִּלְגֻּלוֹתִי   |
| <i>Dual absolute</i>      | [חֲשִׁשְׁתַּיִם]   |              | שְׁפָתַיִם           |               |                  |
|                           | (fetters of brass) |              | (lips)               |               |                  |
| „ <i>construct</i>        |                    |              | שְׁפָתַי             |               |                  |

## REMARKS.

d i. Paradigm I: feminines of segholate forms. (a) The locative of this class has the form **בְּצִדְקָה** towards *Gibeah* (masc. **בְּצֵב**). In some cases, especially with an initial guttural, there is no means of deciding whether the form in question is to be referred to a *qāṭl* or a *qāṭl* base, e.g. **חִזְקָה** strength (cf. **חִרְפָּה** under b). A dual of this form occurs in **שִׁבְעָתַיִם** seven times (cf. **שִׁבְעַת** seven, fem.).

Analogous to masculine forms like **דְּבַשׁ** (§ 93 s) is **הִדְרִשָּׁה** myrtle.—From masculines of the form **פָּרִי** (לִיָּה, cf. § 93 I, k) arise feminines sometimes like **נֶאֱוָה**, **שָׁלָה**, **אֵלִיָּה** (see above, § 94 b), sometimes like **בְּבִית** (§ 94 f); occasionally the final **ת** is retained before the plural ending, as if it belonged to the stem (cf. § 87 k), e.g. **חֲנִיתוֹת** spears. Forms like **גִּדְיָה** (cf. **אֲנִיָּה**, a *qāṭl* form) are derived directly from the masculine forms **גִּדְיָה** kid, **אֲנִי** a fleet.—(b) From a stem **עָן** **חֲמָה** wheat (for **חֲמָה**, plur. **חֲמָמִים**).—(c) From **עָרְלָה** foreskin, the plur. absol. is **עָרְלוֹת** (cf. **פְּעָלִים**, § 93, Paradigm I, f), constr. **עָרְלוֹת**.—(d) Example of a feminine segholate form from a stem **עָנָה** (ground-form *qāṭl*, like **חָיָה** of the form *qāṭl*, and **נָפָה** of the form *qāṭl*), with **ō** for **ā**, **חֲמָה** terror, Is 19<sup>17</sup> (Aramaic orthography for **חֲמָה**).

e (e) To the list of segholate forms with **ת** fem. belong also the infinitives of verbs **פָּחַ** and **פָּחַן**, which have rejected the weak consonant at the beginning, as **שָׁכַח** (from **וַיִּשָּׁח**), **נָעַח** (from **וַיִּנָּח**), **נָשָׁח** (from **וַיִּנָּש**), as well as **פָּחַח** (from **פָּחַח**); cf. § 69 m and § 66 b and g. The infinitives of verbs **פָּחַ** are, however, also found in the form **דָּעָה**, **לָרָה**, **צָאָה**, and of the same origin also are **עָרָה** congregation (from **וַיַּעַר**), **עָצָה** counsel (from **וַיַּעַז**), **שָׁנָה** sleep (from **וַיִּשָּׁן**), constr. **עָרַת**, while in the constr. forms **זָעַת** sweat, Gn 3<sup>19</sup> (from **וַיִּזַּע** to flow), and **צָאָה** excrement, Ez 4<sup>12</sup>, the **Sere** has remained firm.

f From a stem **עָיַ** (cf. **בּוֹשׁ** to be ashamed) is **בִּשְׁתָּה** shame, with suffix **בִּשְׁתִּי**.

From a stem ל"ה (דָּלָה, cf., however, Barth, *ZDMG.* 1887, p. 607, who assumes a stem ידל) the masculine דָּל appears to have been formed after the rejection of the final *Yôdh*, and afterwards the feminine דָּלָה *door*; but in the plural דָּלָחוֹת, constr. דָּלָחוֹת, the ך of the termination is retained (see above, d, (תְּחִילוֹת). In a similar way שְׁתָּלִים *stalls*, Hb 3<sup>17</sup>, has arisen, if it is from the stem וּפָה, and שְׁתָּה *trough* (from שָׁקָה), of which the masc. must have been שֶׁק = שָׁקִי; on the other hand, the plur. constr. שְׁתָּרוֹת Gn 3c<sup>38</sup> (again retaining the feminine ך as an apparent radical) can only be an abnormal formation from the singular שְׁתָּה, not from a kindred form שְׁתָּה or שְׁתָּה.

2. Paradigm II: ground-form *qāṭāḏ*, &c., cf. § 94 c, Paradigm II, a and b. *g*  
Analogous to the masculine forms like קָטָן, plur. קָטָנִים, we find קָטָנָה *parva*, &c.—The constr. forms, like צָרְכָה (*sidh<sup>q</sup>qāth*), are distinguished by the vocal *Ṣewā* (§ 10 d) from the segholate forms, like כְּבִשְׁתָּה (*kebh-sūth*). Consequently the constr. st. בְּרִכְתָּה Gn 28<sup>4</sup>, &c. (from בְּרִכָּה *blessing*), and חֲרִדְתָּה 1 S 14<sup>13</sup>, &c. (from חֲרִדָּה *a trembling*), are abnormal.—Under the influence of a guttural (see Paradigm b) the original *ā* is retained in the first syllable in the constr. st. (cf. also אֲדָמָה *carth*, אֲזִמָּה); in other cases it is modified to *S<sup>g</sup>ghōl*, e.g. עֲגֻלָּה *wagon*, עֲגֻלָּתִי. Frequently from an absol. st. in ה־ the constr. is formed with the termination ך, e.g. עֲטָרָה *crown*, constr. עֲטָרְתָּ (from עֲטָרָה); along with עֲצָרָה *assembly*, עֲצָרְתָּ is found usually, even in the absol. st.; יָבִמָּה (from יָבִם *levir*) before suffixes is pointed as in יָבִמָּי, and thus entirely agrees with גִּבְרָתָה (Paradigm I e). From a stem ל"ן (אָמֵן) is formed אִמְתָּה *truth* (from 'āmānt, and this no doubt for an original 'āmīnt, § 69 c) before suffixes אִמְתָּי, &c.

From the masc. form קָטָל (*qāṭal*) are formed, according to rule, גִּרְרָה *wall*, *h*  
נִבְלָה *corpse*, constr. נִבְלָתָה, בְּהֵמָה *cattle*, constr. בְּהֵמָתָה (for בְּהֵמָתָה), with suffix בְּהֵמָתְךָ Lv 19<sup>10</sup>. More frequently, however, the *ā* of the second syllable is retained before the termination *āth* of the constr. st.; thus from נִבְלָה once נִבְלָתִי Is 26<sup>19</sup>, and always בְּרִכְתָּה *pool*, נִבְלָתָה *prey*, טִמְאָתָה *unclean*, מְלֵאָתָה *full*, Is 1<sup>21</sup> (with *Hireq compaginis*, see § 90 l), מְרִרְתִּי Jb 16<sup>13</sup>; שְׂאֵלָתִי 1 S 1<sup>27</sup>, &c. (with elision of the א, שְׂאֵלְתְךָ 1 S 1<sup>17</sup>), also שְׂאֵלָתִי Jb 6<sup>8</sup>. Cf. the analogous forms of the constr. st. מִגַּפָּתָה *plague*, תְּרִדְמָתָה *deep sleep*, from מִגַּפָּה, תְּרִדְמָה.

As dual we find יָרִכְתֶּיךָ *sides* (cf. יָרְכֶתוּ Gn 49<sup>13</sup>, from the obsolete יָרְכָה, *i*  
feminine of יָרַךְ); the constr. st. יָרִכְתִּי is perhaps to be referred to a segholate form (יָרִכָה, cf. יָרַךְ as constr. st. of יָרַךְ), unless the closed syllable be due to the analogy of בְּרִכְתָּה and חֲרִדְתָּה (see g).

In the forms with simple ך feminine the ground-form *qāṭil* is developed *k*  
(§ 69 c) to *q<sup>2</sup>alt*, and this again regularly to קָטָלְתָה. Thus the feminine of חֵבֶר *companion* is חֵבֶרְתָּה (with suffix חֵבֶרְתְּךָ Mal 2<sup>14</sup>, cf. שְׁכֵנְתְּךָ Ex 3<sup>22</sup>), of חֵבֶר fem. חֵבֶרְתָּה besides חֵבֶרְתָּה.—Of ע"ו stems the segholate forms נָחָה *rest* and שָׁחָה *pit* (from שָׁחָה, cf. שָׁחָה) belong to this class; Böttcher (*Gram.* i. 411) rightly distinguished the latter from שָׁחָה *corruption* (stem שָׁחָה); in the same way also נָחָה *rest* is distinct from נָחָה *a lightning down* (stem נָחָה).



*witness* (from מֹרֵה, עֵד), have likewise an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable. Cf., on the other hand, the forms from *ו* stems mentioned above, under *e*, such as שָׁנָה *sleep*, constr. st. שָׁנָה; moreover, חֶמֶה *anger*, constr. st. חֶמֶת (but חֶמֶת a *leathern bottle*, in *pause* חֶמֶת [so Baer, Ginsb., but Kittel 'ח] Gn 21<sup>15</sup>, constr. st. חֶמֶת מֵיִם Gn 21<sup>14</sup>, perhaps from a stem חֶמֶת).

*m* The feminines of the form *qāfūl*, like עֲמֻקָּה (masc. עֶמְקָה), maintain the original *ū* by sharpening the following consonant (cf. § 93 *kic*); on the other hand, by appending the fem. ת, segholate forms arise like נְחֻשֶׁת, before suff. נְחֻשֶׁתִּים, &c. Dual נְחֻשֶׁתִּים (see Paradigm II, a); but cf. נְחֻשֶׁתִּי La 3<sup>7</sup>.

*n* A few (aramaising) feminines from *ל* stems (Paradigm II, c) are found with the ending *dih*, due to the rejection of the final *Wāw* or *Yōdh* and contraction of the preceding *ā* with the *ā* of the termination *āth*; thus מִנְתָּה *portion* (for *mānāyāth* or *mānāwāth*), קֶצֶת end (also קֶצֶה and קֶצֶה), plur. מִנְתָּוִת (constr. st. Neh 12<sup>47</sup>, 13<sup>16</sup>) and מִנְאֹת (Neh 12<sup>44</sup>); קֶצֶת Ex 38<sup>5</sup>; cf. 37<sup>8</sup> and 39<sup>4</sup> K<sup>th</sup>.; on גְּאֵית *valleys*, see § 93 v.—אות *sign* (stem אוֹה) is obscured from אֹת, and this is contracted from 'āyāth = 'āwāyāth; plur. אֹתוֹת, with the double feminine ending; cf. above, *f*, and § 87 *k*.—The retention of the *ā* in the first syllable in אֹתִי, &c., Gn 24<sup>41</sup>, &c., is abnormal.

*o* 3. Paradigm III, cf. the various forms in § 94 *d* and *f-h*. The *dual* חוֹמֹתַיִם *two walls*, Is 22<sup>11</sup>, &c., taken directly from the plur. חוֹמוֹתַיִם, for חוֹמֹתַיִם, is abnormal (cf. § 87 *s*; and the proper name יְגִדְיָהוּ Jos 15<sup>36</sup>).—Among the forms resembling participles *Qal* of verbs *ו*, such as יָרָה (masc. יָרָה from *zār*, hence with unchangeable *ā*), must be reckoned also בִּמְקָה *high place* (from בָּמָה), which has for its constr. st. plur. the pleonastic form בְּמִוְתָיִם, or written defectively בְּמִוְתָיִם (see § 87 *s*); for this the Masora everywhere requires בְּמִוְתָיִם, which is to be read *bām'thē* (not *būm'thē*), with an anomalous shortening of the *ō* to *ē*; but with suffixes בְּמִוְתָיִם, &c.

*p* In a wider sense the feminines of the form קָפַל (§ 84<sup>b</sup> *e*) belong to this class, in so far as they shorten the *ā* of the second syllable before the termination ת, e.g. דָּלְקַת *inflammation* (from *dallāgt*), with suff. צִדְקָתָה Ez 16<sup>52</sup>; מַפְעֵה *signet*; also fem. of the forms קָפַל and קָפַל (§ 84<sup>b</sup> *c* and *d*), as חֲפָלָה *folly* (for *hivvāllt*), and of all the forms which have a changeable vowel in the second syllable, and are formed with the prefix כ (*g-k*), e.g. מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*, constr. always מַמְלָכֶת; מְמַרְהָ *pruning-hook*, plur. מְמַרְוֹת; מְשַׁבְּרָה *reward*, with suff. מְשַׁבְּרָתִי; cf. also the examples given in § 85 *g* and *p*, like מוֹלָדָה *birth* (but from מוֹלֵא, מוֹלֵאָה *outgoing*), הוֹלָדָה *generation*, הוֹעֲבָה *abomination*, constr. הוֹעֲבֶה, &c.

*q* Sometimes the plural of these forms is to be traced to a secondary form, e.g. אִפְרָה *a letter*, plur. אִפְרוֹת (as if from אִפְרָה); also יוֹנָקוֹת, which is merely formed on the analogy of the other plur. fem. of participles *Qal*, is to be referred to a sing. יוֹנָקָה. Cf., moreover, מְחַרְשֶׁת *ploughshare*, plur. מְחַרְשֹׁת (as if from מְחַרְשָׁה)<sup>1</sup>; on the other hand, מְחַרְשֶׁת *capitals* (of columns), and מְחַרְשֶׁת *reproofs*, are the regular plurals of מְחַרְשֶׁת and מְחַרְשֶׁת.

<sup>1</sup> עֲשִׂתָּה *Astarte* (plur. עֲשִׂתָּוֹת), which was formerly included among these examples, is most probably due to the same process.

In בְּתִנָּת *coat* the original *ā* of the first syllable is maintained by the *ʔ* sharpening of the following consonant (cf. Arab. *qūṭān*), with suff. בְּתִנָּתִי, the *constr. st.*, however, is בְּתִנָּת (as also in the *absol. st.* in Ex 28<sup>80</sup>); plur. בְּתִנָּתוֹת, *constr.* בְּתִנָּתוֹת.—The form בְּתִנָּת given in Paradigm III, *b* is a *Pāṭṭūl*-form of the stem בְּתִנָּת, cf. קָדָר, § 84<sup>b</sup> *p*.

4. To the fourth class, for which no Paradigm is required, belong all the numerous forms which in classical Hebrew have unchangeable vowels throughout, the originally short vowel of the first syllable having become *Šēwā*, owing to the tone being thrown forward. Of the forms mentioned in §§ 84 and 85 those from ע"ו stems especially belong to this class, as מְנִיָּה scroll, תְּהִלָּה praise, תְּפִלָּה prayer (§ 85 *i* and *g*), as well as the feminine of the participle *Hiph'il* of verbs י"ע, e.g. מְאִירָה enlightening (from מְאִיר), and generally the feminines of י"ע stems which are compounded with the *preformative* מ, as מְנוּחָה rest (from מְנוּחַ), see § 85 *l*; from ל"ה stems perhaps also תְּעֻלָּה conduit (*constr. st.* תְּעֻלָּת Is 7<sup>3</sup>, &c.) and תְּלָאָה travail. Thus all these forms coincide externally with those which already, in the masculine form, have unchangeable vowels throughout (see the list of them in § 93 *ws*).

5. The feminine ending ית (apart from ל"ה-forms like בְּרִית, § 94 *f*) arises *t* from the addition of the feminine ת to the ending י; which is employed to form adjectives, &c., see § 86 *a*, *h*, and *k*. The ending יות, mentioned there, is attached, in segholate forms, sometimes to the ground-form, as עֲשֻׁתוֹת Jb 12<sup>5</sup> (v.l. עֲשֻׁתוֹת), sometimes to forms with a loosely-closed syllable, as מְלָכוֹת kingdom; from ל"ה stems we find forms sometimes like עֲבֹדָה captivity (according to others from the stem עָבַד, שָׂבָד, like לְוֵדָה perverseness from לָוָה), sometimes like בְּבוֹת weeping, גְּלוֹת exile, תְּוִיָּה vision; the latter retain the *ā* of the first syllable even in the *constr. st.* and before *suffixes*. From a *qūṭūl*-form is formed בְּבִרְוֹת heaviness; from a *qūṭūl*-form בְּקִרְוֹת, &c.

In the plural of these forms different methods of treatment may be distinguished. In some cases the whole ending יות is retained, as if belonging to the stem (cf. above, *f*), e.g. אֶלְמְנוֹתַי from אֶלְמָנָה, in others this ending is resolved, as in מְלָכֵינוּ Dn 8<sup>22</sup> (no doubt for *mālāḥ-khannucōth*), and עֲדֵינוּ *‘adnēwōth*, from עֲדֵית testimony, but only with *suffixes*, עֲדֵינוֹךְ ψ 119<sup>14</sup>, &c.; עֲדֵינוֹי 1 K 2<sup>8</sup>, &c.

## § 96. *Nouns of Peculiar Formation.*

In the following Paradigms,<sup>1</sup> pp. 282 to 284, a number of frequently used nouns are arranged, whose flexion presents more or less striking peculiarities. These peculiarities, however, are almost always subordinate to the usual phonetic laws, and the usual designation of the nouns as *irregular* is, therefore, not justified, when once the ground-forms are properly recognized on which the present forms are based.

original עֲשֻׁתָּהּ, like מְלָכָה Lv 18<sup>21</sup>, &c. (for מְלָכָה), with the vowels of בִּשְׁמֹת shame, the latter word being substituted in reading for the name of the goddess.

<sup>1</sup> The only omissions from these Paradigms are אָחָר, אָחָה, and חֲמוּת (on which see the remarks on p. 282).

| <i>Sing. absolute</i>          | אָב                       | אָח               | אָחוו        | אָיש        | אָישוו      |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
|                                | (father)                  | (brother)         | (sister)     | (man)       | (woman)     |
| „ <i>construct</i>             | אָבִי                     | אָחִי             | אָחוות       | אָיש        | אָישוו      |
| „ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i> | אָבִי                     | אָחִי             | אָחווֹתִי    | אָישִׁי     | אָישווֹתִי  |
| „ 2 masc.                      | אָבֶיךָ                   | אָחֶיךָ           | אָחוותֶךָ    |             | אָישווֶךָ   |
| „ 2 fem.                       | אָבֶיךָ                   | אָחֶיךָ           | אָחוותֶךָ    | אָישֶׁךָ    |             |
| „ 3 masc.                      | אָבֵיו (אָבֵיהוּ)         | אָחֵיו (אָחֵיהוּ) | אָחווֹתוֹ    | אָישׁוֹ     | אָישווֹתוֹ  |
| „ 3 fem.                       | אָבֵיהָ                   | אָחֵיהָ           | אָחווֹתָהּ   | אָישָׁהּ    |             |
| „ 1 Pl.                        | אָבֵינוּ                  | אָחֵינוּ          | אָחוותֵנוּ   |             |             |
| „ 2 masc.                      | אָבֵיכֶם                  | אָחֵיכֶם          | [אָחוותֵכֶם] |             |             |
| „ 2 fem.                       | אָבֵיכֶן                  |                   |              |             |             |
| „ 3 masc.                      | אָבֵיהֶם                  | אָחֵיהֶם          | אָחווֹתֶם    |             |             |
| „ 3 fem.                       | אָבֵיהֶן                  |                   |              |             |             |
| <i>Plur. absolute</i>          | אָבוֹת                    | אָחִים            |              | אָנָשִׁים   | אָנָשִׁים   |
| „ <i>construct</i>             | אָבוֹת                    | אָחִי             |              | אָנָשִׁי    | אָנָשִׁי    |
| „ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i> | אָבוֹתִי                  | אָחִי, pause      | אָחוותִי     | אָנָשִׁי    | אָנָשִׁי    |
| „ 2 masc.                      | אָבוֹתֶיךָ                | אָחֶיךָ           |              | אָנָשֶׁיךָ  | אָנָשֶׁיךָ  |
| „ 2 fem.                       |                           | אָחֶיךָ           | אָחוותֶיךָ   |             |             |
| „ 3 masc.                      | אָבוֹתָיו                 | אָחָיו            | אָחוותָיו    | אָנָשָׁיו   | אָנָשָׁיו   |
| „ 3 fem.                       |                           | אָחֵיהָ           |              | אָנָשֶׁיהָ  |             |
| „ 1 Pl.                        | אָבוֹתֵינוּ               | אָחֵינוּ          |              | אָנָשֵׁינוּ | אָנָשֵׁינוּ |
| „ 2 masc.                      | אָבוֹתֵיכֶם               | אָחֵיכֶם          | אָחוותֵיכֶם  |             | אָנָשֵׁיכֶם |
| „ 3 masc.                      | אָבוֹתֵיהֶם (אָבוֹתֵיהֶם) | אָחֵיהֶם          | אָחוותֵיהֶם  | אָנָשֵׁיהֶם | אָנָשֵׁיהֶם |
| „ 3 fem.                       |                           |                   |              | אָנָשֵׁיהֶן |             |

## REMARKS.

אָב father; the *constr.* אָבִי, like אָחִי and אָחֵי (which occurs once), belongs to the connective forms discussed in § 90 k, which serve as the model for the *Hireq compaginis*. However, אָב also occurs in compound proper names, e.g. אָבִישָׁלוֹם, beside אָבִישָׁלוֹם, &c.; also Gn 17<sup>f</sup> אָבִירָמוֹן for the purpose of explaining the name אָבִירָמוֹן. On the plur. אָבוֹת see § 87 p.

אָח brother. The plur. *absol.* אָחִים has *Dageš forte implicitum* (§ 22 c); אָחֵי stands for אָחִי according to the phonetic law stated in § 27 q, and so also אָחֵי in *pause* for אָחִי. The sharpening of the ח merely serves to keep the preceding *Pathah* short, as in אָחֵי, &c. (§ 93 ee).

אָיש one (for אָישׁ, likewise with *Dageš forte implicitum*, § 22 c, cf. § 27 q), *constr.* and otherwise in close connexion, אָישׁ, Gn 48<sup>22</sup>, 2 S 17<sup>22</sup>, Is 27<sup>12</sup>,

|                 |             |                |                |          |           |
|-----------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|----------|-----------|
| אָמָה           | בֵּית       | בֵּן           | בַּת           | יוֹם     | כֹּלִי    |
| (handmaid)      | (house)     | (son)          | (daughter)     | (day)    | (vessel)  |
|                 | בֵּית       | בֶּן           | בַּת           | יוֹם     | כֹּלִי    |
| אֶמְתִּי        | בֵּיתִי     | בְּנִי         | בָּתִּי        |          |           |
| אֶמְתְּךָ       | בֵּיתְךָ    | בְּנֶךָ, pause | בָּתְךָ, pause |          | כֹּלְיְךָ |
|                 | בֵּיתְךָ    | בְּנֶךָ        |                |          |           |
| אֶמְתּוֹ        | בֵּיתוֹ     | בְּנוֹ         | בָּתּוֹ        | יוֹמוֹ   |           |
| אֶמְתָּהּ       | בֵּיתָהּ    | בְּנָהּ        | בָּתָהּ        |          |           |
|                 |             | בְּנָנוּ       |                |          |           |
|                 | בֵּיתְכֶם   |                | בָּתְכֶם       |          |           |
|                 | בֵּיתָם     |                |                | יוֹמָם   |           |
| אֶמְהוֹת        | בָּתִּים    | בָּנִים        | בָּנוֹת        | יָמִים   | כֹּלִים   |
| אֶמְהוֹת        | בָּתֵּי     | בְּנֵי         | בָּנוֹת        | יָמֵי    | כֹּלֵי    |
| אֶמְהַמִּי      |             | בְּנִי         | בָּנָתִי       | יָמִי    | כֹּלֵי    |
|                 | בָּתְּךָ    | בְּנֶיךָ       | בָּנֹתֶיךָ     | יָמֶיךָ  | כֹּלְיְךָ |
|                 | בָּתְּנֶיךָ | בְּנֵיךָ       | בָּנֹתֶיךָ     | יָמֶיךָ  |           |
| אֶמְהַמְּיוֹ    |             | בְּנָיו        | בָּנָתָיו      | יָמָיו   | כֹּלָיו   |
| אֶמְהַמְּתֶיהָ  |             | בְּנֵיהָ       | בָּנֹתֶיהָ     | יָמֶיהָ  | כֹּלֶיהָ  |
|                 | בָּתֵּינוּ  | בְּנֵינוּ      | בָּנֹתֵינוּ    | יָמֵינוּ | כֹּלֵינוּ |
| אֶמְהַמְּכֶם    | בָּתֵּיכֶם  | בְּנֵיכֶם      | בָּנֹתֵיכֶם    | יָמֵיכֶם | כֹּלֵיכֶם |
|                 | בָּתֵּיהֶם  | בְּנֵיהֶם      | בָּנֹתֵיהֶם    | יָמֵיהֶם | כֹּלֵיהֶם |
| אֶמְהַמְּתֶיהוּ | בָּתֵּיהֶן  | בְּנֵיהֶן      |                |          |           |

Zc 11<sup>7</sup>; and especially before כֵּן (כָּן) Gn 3<sup>28</sup>, Ex 3c<sup>14</sup>, Nu 16<sup>15</sup>, Ju 17<sup>5</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>3</sup>, Ez 18<sup>10</sup>; fem. אֶמְתִּי *una* (for אֶמְתִּית, according to § 19 d), in pause אֶמְתִּית. Once הָרַד mase. (by aphaeresis, § 19 h), Ez 35<sup>30</sup>, as in Aramaic; plur. אֶמְתֵּיהֶם *some*, but also *idem*.

אֶמְתִּית *sister*, from 'ahāwūt or 'ahāyūt, with elision of the ה or י, and with the ā, which has arisen from āä, obscured to ä.<sup>1</sup> In Nu 6<sup>7</sup> אֶמְתִּית stands for אֶמְתִּית (with virtual sharpening of the ת). The plur. *absol.* (אֶמְתֵּיהֶן) does not happen

<sup>1</sup> This explanation of אֶמְתִּית (and אֶמְתִּית q. v.) still seems to us more probable than the assumption that the fem. ending āth is lengthened to compensate for the loss of the 3rd radical (so Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, vi. 258), or that the form is derived from 'ahā, the old-semitic *constr. st.* of the accusative, with ת feminine (so Barth, *ZDMG.* 1899, p. 598).

| <i>Sing. absolute</i>          | [מי]<br>(water) | עיר<br>(city) | פה<br>(mouth)  | ראש<br>(head) | שם<br>(name)   | [שמי]<br>(heaven) |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|
| „ <i>construct</i>             |                 | עיר           | פי             | ראש           | שם-            | שמי               |
| „ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i> |                 | עירי          | פי             | ראשי          |                | שמי               |
| „ <i>2 masc.</i>               |                 | עירך          | פִּיךָ         | ראשך          | שְׁמֶךָ, pause | שְׁמִיךָ          |
| „ <i>2 fem.</i>                |                 |               |                | ראשֶׁךָ       |                | שְׁמִיךָ          |
| „ <i>3 masc.</i>               |                 | עירו          | פִּיתוֹ, פִּיו | ראשו          |                | שְׁמוֹ            |
| „ <i>3 fem.</i>                |                 | עירה          | פִּיהָ         | ראשה          |                | שְׁמָהּ           |
| „ <i>1 Pl.</i>                 |                 |               | פִּינוּ        | ראשֵׁנוּ      |                | שְׁמֵנוּ          |
| „ <i>2 masc.</i>               |                 |               | פִּיכֶם        | ראשֵׁכֶם      |                | שְׁמֵכֶם          |
| „ <i>3 masc.</i>               |                 | עירם          | פִּיהֶם        | ראשֵׁם        |                | שְׁמָם            |
| „ <i>3 fem.</i>                |                 |               | פִּיהֶן        | ראשֵׁן        |                |                   |
| <i>Plur. absolute</i>          | מִים            | ערים          | פִּיות         | ראשים         | שְׁמוֹת        | שְׁמִים           |
| „ <i>construct</i>             | מִי, מי         | ערי           |                | ראשי          | שְׁמוֹת        | שְׁמִי            |
| „ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i> | מִימי           | ערי           |                |               |                |                   |
| „ <i>2 masc.</i>               | מִימֶיךָ        | עֲרֶיךָ       |                |               |                | שְׁמִיךָ          |
| „ <i>2 fem.</i>                |                 | עֲרֶיךָ       |                |               |                |                   |
| „ <i>3 masc.</i>               | מִימיו          | עָרָיו        |                | ראשָׁיו       |                | שְׁמָיו           |
| „ <i>3 fem.</i>                | מִימֶיהָ        | עָרֶיהָ       |                | ראשֶׁיהָ      |                |                   |
| „ <i>1 Pl.</i>                 | מִימֵינוּ       | עָרֵינוּ      |                | ראשֵׁינוּ     |                |                   |
| „ <i>2 masc.</i>               |                 | עָרֵיכֶם      |                | ראשֵׁיכֶם     |                | שְׁמֵיכֶם         |
| „ <i>3 masc.</i>               | מִימֵיהֶם       | עָרֵיהֶם      |                | ראשֵׁיהֶם     | שְׁמוֹתָם      |                   |
| „ <i>3 fem.</i>                |                 |               |                | ראשֵׁיהֶן     | שְׁמוֹתָן      |                   |

to occur. In Ez 16<sup>52</sup> אֶחָדֶיךָ occurs (for אֶחָדֶיךָ). In the forms אֶחָדֶי Jos 2<sup>13</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup>, אֶחָדֶיךָ Ez 16<sup>51,55,61</sup> (to be read also in verse 45 for אֶחָדֶיךָ, which has been erroneously assimilated to the singular occurring in vv. 48, 49, 56), and אֶחָדֶיךָ Ho 2<sup>8</sup> (for which, however, read אֶחָדֶיךָ), the third radical has been entirely lost.

אֶשׁ *man*, according to the common opinion either incorrectly lengthened for אֶשׁ (from 'אֶשׁ, with assimilation of the *Nûn* of the ground-form 'anš, which again has been attenuated from 'anš from the stem אֶנֶשׁ), or softened directly from 'anš. It is, however, probable that a separate stem אֶשׁ (to be strong?) is to be assumed for the singular<sup>1</sup>; consequently the stem אֶנֶשׁ to be sociable,

<sup>1</sup> So already Gesenius in his *Thes. linguae Hebr.*, i. 83 f., and recently again Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegg.*, p. 160 ff., Praetorius in Kuhn's *Orient. L.-B.*, 1884, p. 196; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 38; while Nöldeke (*ZDMG.* 1886, p. 739 f.), against Delitzsch, would connect both אֶשׁ and אֶנֶשׁ with the stem אֶנֶשׁ.

would be connected only with the plur. אִשִּׁים (אִשָּׁה is found only in Is 53<sup>2</sup>, ψ 141<sup>4</sup>, Pr 8<sup>4</sup>).

אִמָּה *slave, handmaid*; with the plur. אִמָּהוֹת, with consonantal ה, cf. in Aram. אֲבָהֵן *fathers*, and similarly in Phoen. רִלְהָה from רִלָּה, also Arab. 'abahât (*fathers*), 'ummahât (*mothers*), with an artificial expansion into a trilliteral stem.

אִשָּׁה *woman*, probably for אִשָּׁה; from אִשָּׁה i.e. not (as Aram. אֲמָתָא shows) אִשָּׁה to be sociable (see above, on אִשָּׁה) but אִשָּׁה to be weak (Arab. 'amīlī). So De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 68; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 159 f. The form אִשָּׁה (for 'īš, with ה fem., from 'āš, after rejection of the doubling and lengthening of the *i* to *e*) occurs in Dt 21<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 28<sup>7</sup>, ψ 56<sup>9</sup>, even in *absol. st.* [cf., however, below, § 130. 4, 5].—In ψ 128<sup>3</sup> אִשָּׁהּ is found for אִשָּׁה. Instead of the plur. אִשָּׁה, we find in Ez 23<sup>44</sup> אִשָּׁה.<sup>1</sup>

בַּיִת *house*, locative בֵּיתָה, הַבַּיִתָּה, in pause הַבַּיִתָּה, *constr.* בֵּיתָה, plur. בֵּיתִים (but in Dt 6<sup>11</sup>, 1 Ch 28<sup>11</sup> בֵּיתִים without Metheg), pronounced bāttim. The explanation of the Dageš in the ה is still a matter of dispute. The Syriac bāttin, however, shows that the Dageš is original, and belongs to the character of the form.<sup>2</sup> According to Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 88, בֵּיתִים is simply contracted from bai-tim (as אֶן from אֵן, עֵינִים from עֵינָם, &c.), and the Dageš, therefore, is *lene*; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 56, proposes the name *Dageš forte orthoconsonanticum*; on the other hand Rahlfs, *ThLZ.* 1896, col. 587, suggests that the *v* is assimilated to the ה, while Philippi, *ZDMG.* xlix, p. 206, assumes for the plural a stem distinct from that of the singular. A definite solution is at present impossible. The incorrectness of the formerly common pronunciation bōttim is sufficiently shown by the Babylonian punctuation (see § 8 g, note 3), which leaves no doubt as to the *ā*.

בֶּן *son* (Gn 30<sup>19</sup> בְּנֵי שָׁשׁ) *constr.* usually בְּנֵי (also with a conjunctive accent as an equivalent for Maqqeph, Gn 17<sup>17</sup>, Is 8<sup>2</sup>, &c., 1 Ch 9<sup>21</sup>; even with smaller disjunctives, especially in the combination מִבְּנֵי, Ex 30<sup>14</sup>, Lv 27<sup>7</sup>, &c. [מִבְּנֵי only after אִם and before הָיָה, also in Is 51<sup>12</sup>; see Strack on Ex 30<sup>14</sup>]), rarely בְּנֵי (Dt 25<sup>2</sup>, Jon 4<sup>10</sup> twice, Pr 30<sup>1</sup>, and so always in the combination בְּנֵי-רָנָה, and in the proper names בְּנֵי-יִמְיָה [but בְּנֵי-יִמְיָה *Benjaminite* in Gn 30<sup>1</sup>], once בְּנֵי (cf. § 90) Gn 49<sup>11</sup>, and בְּנֵי (§ 90) Nu 23<sup>18</sup>, 24<sup>3,16</sup>.—In Gn 49<sup>22</sup> בְּנֵי, for which בְּנֵי ought to be read, is intended by the Masora for the *absol. st.*, not the *constr.*

<sup>1</sup> Friedr. Delitzsch (in his Babylonian glosses to Baer's text of Ezekiel, p. xi) on Ez 23<sup>44</sup> remarks that in Assyro-Babylonian the plur. of *aššātu* (*woman*) is *aššātī*, corresponding, therefore, to אִשָּׁה, not to the ordinary plur. אִשָּׁה. The *a* of אִשָּׁה (instead of *i* as in Arab. or *e* as in Syr.) is to be explained with Barth (*Orient. Studien zu Ehren Th. Nöldekes*, Giessen, 1906, p. 792) from the natural connexion of the ideas 'men' and 'women', אִשָּׁה and אִשָּׁה.

<sup>2</sup> This disposes of the traditional view that the Dageš (after a firm Metheg, see § 16 f) only serves to distinguish it from בֵּיתִים *passing the night*, ptep. Qal of בֵּיתָה, a stem which never occurs in the O. T. According to P. Haupt the stem is בָּא to go in, ה therefore being the feminine termination, as in *bint* *daughter*, and the original form *ba'tu*, *bātu* (*entrance*) is preserved in the plural *bāttim* where the *tt* is to be explained as due to the analogy of trisyllabic stems. In the singular *bāt* passed into *bēt* (?), and this was resolved into *bai*, as *Y<sup>e</sup>rūšālem* into *Y<sup>e</sup>rūšalayim*.



**בת** *daughter* (from *banl*, and this again, according to the law stated in § 69 c, for *binl*, fem. of **בן**), with suff. **בתי** for **בנותי**. Plur. **בנות**, from the sing. **בנה**, comp. **בנים** *sons*.

**חם** *husband's father*, only with suff. **חמיו**, **חמיה**; and **חמות** *husband's mother*, only with suff. **חמותה**, **חמותך**. Cf. **אב**, **אח**, and especially **אחות**.

**יום** *day* (Arab. *yawm*),<sup>1</sup> dual **יומים**; the plur. **ימים** is probably from a different sing. (**יָמ** *yām*), constr. **ימי** and (poetically) **ימות**, Dt 32<sup>7</sup>, ψ 90<sup>15</sup>.

**כלי** *vessel*, in pause **כָּלִי** (with suff. **כליך** Dt 23<sup>25</sup>) from **כלה** *to contain*, plur. **כלים** (as if from **כל**, **כלה**; according to König, ii. 63, shortened from *kilyim*).

**מים** *water*; on the plur. cf. § 88 d.

**עיר** *city*. The plur. **ערים** is scarcely syncopated from **עירים**, as it is pointed in Ju 10<sup>4</sup> (no doubt erroneously, in imitation of the preceding **עירים** *ass colls*), but from a kindred sing. **ער**, which still occurs in proper names.

**פה** *mouth*, constr. st. **פי** (for original **פִּי** = **פה**?). Its origin is still disputed. According to Gesenius and König (ii. 103), **פה** stands for **פֶּאֶה** (ground-form *pi'ay*) from **פָּאָה** *to breathe, to blow*; according to Olshausen, for **פִּי**, from a stem **פִּיר** or **פִּוּר**. But parallel with the Hebrew **פה** are Assy. *pū*, Arab. *fū*, *fam*, *famm*, *fumm*, bibl. Aram. **פִּם**, **פִּפּוּם**, Syr. *pām*, *pāmā*, so that Barth, ZDMG. xli, p. 634, assumes two forms of development from the same stem (**פמו**), viz. *fm* and *fw*. **פי** *my mouth*, from *pi-y*; for **פיהם** we find in ψ 17<sup>10</sup>, 58<sup>7</sup>, 59<sup>13</sup> **פִּימוֹ**. The supposed plur. **פִּים** I S 13<sup>21</sup> is generally explained as a contraction from **פִּיַּים**, but the text is altogether corrupt. The plur. **פיות**, for the *edges* of a sword, occurs in Pr 5<sup>4</sup>; reduplicated **פִּיפִּיות** Is 41<sup>15</sup>, ψ 149<sup>6</sup>.

**ראש** *head* (obscured from **רָאשׁ** = *rāš*); plur. **ראשים** (for **רָאשִׁים**, § 23 c); **ראשי** only in Is 15<sup>2</sup>.

**שה** *a head of small cattle (sheep or goat)*, constr. st. **שֵׁה**, with suff. **שֵׁהָ** I S 14<sup>34</sup> and **שֵׁיו** Dt 22<sup>1</sup>, according to König, ii. 131, from a ground-form *si'ay*, but according to De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, 81 f., from a stem **ושי** (**שֵׁה** = *say* = *wisay*).

**שם** *name*, constr. generally **שֵׁם** (only six times **שֵׁם**); cf. **בן**.

**שמים** *heaven* (§ 88 d).

## § 97. Numerals. (a) Cardinal Numbers.

Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 116 ff.; *Grundriss*, i. 484 ff.

- a 1. The formation of the cardinal numbers from 3 to 10 (on 1 and 2 see below) has this peculiarity, that numerals connected with a mascu-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Beiträge*, p. 58, *yawm*, probably an extension of a biliteral word which has survived in **ימים**, **ימי**. Barth, however, *Orient. Studien*, p. 791 (see above on **אֲשָׁה**), sees in **ימים**, **ימי**, **ימות** new formations in Hebrew, caused by the naturally close connexion and association of these plurals with **שָׁנִים**, **שָׁנִי**, **שָׁנוֹת**, **שָׁנִי**, **שָׁנוֹת**, to which they became assimilated in form. The view that **יום** is merely an incorrect obscuring of **יָם**, and therefore distinct from the Arab. *yawm*, is contradicted by the invariable spelling **יום**, &c., notwithstanding the spelling **וּבַיִם** (= **וּבָיִם**?) in the Siloam inscription, line 3 (cf. § 7 f), and **מִיָּמִים** Ho 6<sup>3</sup>. Cf. also the note on § 100 g.

line substantive take the feminine form, and those with a feminine substantive take the masculine form. The common explanation of this strange phenomenon used to be that the primary form of the numeral was an abstract noun in the feminine (cf. § 122 p). This was originally attached in the *constr. st.* to the word qualified, then came to be also used in apposition to it, and finally was placed after it like an adjective. The consequence of the appositional, and finally adjectival, construction was, that for numerals connected with feminine nouns a special shorter form came to be used, whilst the original forms, with the abstract feminine ending, were used in connexion with masculine nouns, after as well as before them.

On this view the historical process would have been that originally the abstract numerals (like Latin *trias*, *decas*, Greek *τριάς*, *δεκάς*, &c.) were placed in the *constr. st.* before masculines and feminines alike, e. g. *שְׁלֹשָׁת בָּנִים trias filiorum*, *עֶשְׂרֵת נָשִׁים decas mulierum*. A trace of this earlier usage was seen in the examples mentioned under c, like *שְׁלֹשָׁת נָשִׁים*.—Further, it was possible to say *שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים trias*, sc. *filii*, as well as *בָּנִים שְׁלֹשָׁה filii trias*. From this second appositional construction it was only a step to the treatment of the abstract numeral as an adjective, *filii tres*. Similarly the subsequently shortened forms of the abstract numeral, which were used in connexion with feminines, might stand either in the *constr. st.* before, or in apposition before or after the word numbered, thus *שְׁלֹשׁ בָּנוֹת trias filiarum*, or *שְׁלֹשׁ בָּנוֹת trias*, sc. *filias*, or *בָּנוֹת שְׁלֹשׁ filiae trias*, or adjectivally *filiae tres*.

A different and much more intelligible explanation of the striking disagreement between the gender of the numeral and that of the word numbered has recently been given by Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, pt. ii, Leiden, 1898, p. 265 ff. He also considers that the earliest forms were abstract numerals which were placed in the *constr. st.* before the noun numbered, the latter depending on them in the genitive. The original form, however, of the abstract numerals from 3 to 9 is not the feminine, but the masculine, used for both genders, as it still is in the tens, 20, 30, &c. The feminine abstract numeral was first distinguished by a special form in the numbers from 13 to 19 (see further, below) when connected with masculines, and this distinction was afterwards extended to the numbers from 3 to 10. This explanation does not affect the view stated above that the appositional and adjectival use of the abstract numerals was only adopted later in addition to their use in the genitive construction.

The differentiation of the numerals (originally of common gender) into masculine and feminine forms in the second decade, was occasioned, according to Reckendorf, by the use of the abstract feminine *אֶחָדָה* in

So long as it was felt that *שְׁלֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה* simply meant *the three of the decade*, the gender of the noun numbered made no difference. When, however, the consciousness of this meaning became weakened and the combination of units and tens came to be felt as a copulative rather than a genitive relation, it seemed suitable to connect only feminine nouns with the feminine form *עֶשְׂרֵה*. New forms were therefore invented, both of the units and the tens, for use with masculine nouns. The former, however, no longer had the form of the *constr.* but of the absolute state, clearly showing that the consciousness of the original syntactical relation in *שְׁלֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה*, &c., was lost. On the other hand, after the extension of these new formations to the first decade, the new feminine forms readily came to be used also in the genitive construction (and therefore in the *constr. st.*) on the analogy of the earlier masculine forms.

Of the first two numerals, *אֶחָד* *one*, with its fem. *אַחַת* (see § 96), may be recognized, from its form and use, as an adjective, although even so it admits of such combinations as *אֶחָד הַהָרִים* *unus e montibus*. The numeral two, as would be expected, appears as an abstract in the *dual*, but, like the other numerals, can also stand in apposition to the noun numbered. In form it always agrees with the gender of its noun. Accordingly, the numerals from 1 to 10 are as follows :

| b   | With the Masculine.    |            | With the Feminine.   |                          |
|-----|------------------------|------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
|     | Absol.                 | Constr.    | Absol.               | Constr.                  |
| 1.  | אֶחָד                  | אֶחָד      | אַחַת                | אַחַת                    |
| 2.  | שְׁנַיִם               | שְׁנֵי     | שְׁתֵּי <sup>1</sup> | שְׁתֵּי                  |
| 3.  | שְׁלֹשָׁה              | שְׁלֹשָׁת  | שְׁלֹשׁ              | שְׁלֹשׁ                  |
| 4.  | אַרְבָּעָה             | אַרְבַּעַת | אַרְבַּע             | אַרְבַּע                 |
| 5.  | חֲמִישָׁה <sup>2</sup> | חֲמִישָׁת  | חֲמִשׁ               | חֲמִשׁ                   |
| 6.  | שֵׁשָׁה                | שֵׁשָׁת    | שֵׁשׁ                | שֵׁשׁ                    |
| 7.  | שִׁבְעָה               | שִׁבְעַת   | שִׁבַּע              | [שִׁבַּע] <sup>3</sup>   |
| 8.  | שְׁמוֹנָה              | שְׁמוֹנַת  | שְׁמוֹנָה            | שְׁמוֹנָה                |
| 9.  | תִּשְׁעָה              | תִּשְׁעַת  | תִּשְׁעָה            | [תִּשְׁעָה] <sup>3</sup> |
| 10. | עֶשְׂרֵה               | עֶשְׂרֵה   | עֶשְׂרֵה             | עֶשְׂרֵה                 |

<sup>1</sup> Shortened from *שְׁנַתַּיִם*, which would be the regular feminine form of *שְׁנַיִם*. Nevertheless, the *Dageš* in *שְׁתֵּי*, &c. (even after *מִן*; *מִן שְׁתֵּי* Jon 4<sup>11</sup>; cf., however, *מִן שְׁתֵּי* Ju 16<sup>28</sup>), can by no means be regarded as a *Dageš forte* arising from assimilation of the *Nūn*, for in that case the word could only be *שְׁתֵּי* (cf. Arab. *šintān*). This form does occur in the Codex Babylonicus of A.D. 916, but it is only a later correction for *שְׁתֵּי*, while in the Berlin MS. or. qu. 680 described by Kahle (Lpz. 1902) there is no trace of the *Dageš*. It is rather to be read *šāyim*, *šē* (with *Dageš lene*), cf. *אֶשְׁתֵּי*, representing the later Palestinian pronunciation (Philippi, *ZDMG.* xlix, p. 206), and Arab. *ʿitnānī* (with a kind of prosthetic *š*; cf. § 19 m), as a further feminine form of

On the connective forms *שָׁבַע*, *הִשָּׁע*, cf. the analogous forms in § 93 *h*.

The other Semitic languages also exhibit the same peculiarity in the *C* external differentiation of the numerals from 3 to 10 as regards gender. The fem. form of the numeral abstracts is only rarely found in connexion with feminine nouns,<sup>4</sup> e. g. *שָׁלֹשֶׁת נְשִׁים* Gn 7<sup>13</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>5</sup>, Jb 1<sup>4</sup>, Ez 7<sup>2</sup> *Keth.*; probably also Jos 17<sup>11</sup>, where we should read with Dillmann *הַנְּפֹת* *ש'*. In apposition, Zc 3<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>, cf. Jer 36<sup>23</sup>. From what was said above, under *a*, it follows that these cases are not a return to original usage, but only an intrusion of the form used before masculines into the sphere of the feminine. Conversely in Gn 38<sup>24</sup> *שָׁלֹשׁ הַדְּשִׁים* (but in the Samaritan *שָׁלֹשֶׁת הַדְּשִׁים*).—For *שִׁבְעָה* *seven*, there occurs in Jb 42<sup>13</sup> the strange form *שִׁבְעָה*, according to Ewald [*Ausführl. Lehrb.*, § 269 *b*] an old feminine substantive (German *ein Siebend*, a set of seven), but more probably a scribal error.

2. The numerals from 11 to 19 are formed by placing the units, *d* without the *copula*, before the number ten (in the form *עָשָׂר* masc., *עֶשְׂרֵה* fem.), but without the two words being joined into one. As was said above, under *a*, and as is proved by the use of *אַחַד*, *אֶחָד* in the numeral 11, the feminine numerals from 13 to 19 are to be regarded as *construct* forms in a genitive connexion. The connective forms of the masculine abstracts, like *שָׁלֹשֶׁת*, &c., are not admitted in combination with *עָשָׂר*, since they are merely in apposition, and not in a genitive relation (see the rare exceptions at the end of *e*). On the other hand *שְׁנֵי* and *שְׁתֵּי* in the numeral 12 are undoubtedly true *constructs*, like *אֶחָד* and the fem. numerals 13–19. But instead of *שְׁנֵי* (Ex 28<sup>21</sup>, Jos 3<sup>12</sup> and four other places) and *שְׁתֵּי* (Jos 4<sup>5</sup> and three times in Ezek.), we generally find *שְׁנַיִם* and *שְׁתַּיִם*. Two explanations have been given of these forms: (1) that the *Kethibh* really intends *שְׁנַיִם*, *שְׁתַּיִם*, in the *absol. st.*, which was first introduced in the case of *שְׁנַיִם*, on the analogy of *עָשָׂר*, &c., and then extended to *שְׁתַּיִם*; the Masora, however, required *שְׁנֵי*, *שְׁתֵּי* (but see below), and therefore pointed *שְׁנַיִם*, *שְׁתַּיִם* as a *Qere perpetuum* (see § 17).—(2) that the *absolute* forms *שְׁנַיִם*, *שְׁתַּיִם* (introduced on the analogy of *שָׁלֹשֶׁת*, &c.) were contracted to *שְׁנֵי*, *שְׁתֵּי* to facilitate the pronunciation of the duals when closely

*šnāni, duo*. According to Barth (*Orient. Studien . . . Th. Nöldeke*, ii. 792 f.) the irregularity of *שְׁתַּיִם* (he takes the Dages as *Dages forte*) is due to the complete assimilation of its vowels to those of the masc. *שְׁנַיִם* where the *šwā mobile* is normal.

<sup>2</sup> With Dages probably on the analogy of *שָׁשֶׁת*, as *שִׁשֶׁת* on the analogy of *חֲמִשָּׁה*. Cf. also J. K. Blake on *חֲמִשָּׁה*, *חֲמִשִּׁים* in *JAOS*. 1905, p. 117 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *שָׁבַע* and *הִשָּׁע* appear only as connective forms before *עֶשְׂרֵה* and *כֹּחַת*.

<sup>4</sup> In the vulgar dialects of Arabic, and in Ethiopic, the feminine form of the numeral is by far the more common. This form appears also in Hebrew, when the number is regarded in the abstract, as in the multiplicatives (see § 97 *h*).

connected with עֶשֶׂר and עֶשְׂרֵה, and that the contraction is founded on an early and correct tradition. The second explanation is supported by the large number of examples of שְׁנִים (66) and שְׁתִּים (34). It would be strange if the Masora required the alteration of the far commoner forms on account of isolated instances of שְׁנִי and שְׁתִּי. As a matter of fact even in regard to the latter forms the tradition often varies between שְׁנִי and שְׁנִים, &c., cf. e.g. Ginsburg on Jos 3<sup>12</sup>. We cannot therefore assume a *Qrê perpetuum*.

e Accordingly the numbers from 11 upwards are—

| Masculine.                                 | Feminine.                             |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 11. { אֶחָד עֶשֶׂר<br>עֶשְׂתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה   | אַחַת עֶשְׂרֵה<br>עֶשְׂתִּי עֶשְׂרֵה  |
| 12. { שְׁנַיִם עֶשֶׂר<br>שְׁנֵי עֶשְׂרֵה   | שְׁתֵּים עֶשְׂרֵה<br>שְׁתִּי עֶשְׂרֵה |
| 13. { שְׁלֹשָׁה עֶשֶׂר<br>שְׁלֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה | שְׁלֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה                      |

&c., on the analogy of the last. These numerals regularly have only the above form. In regard to their syntax, cf. § 134 f.

Very rarely the units appear in the *masc.* in the *constr. st.*, as חֲמִשָּׁת עֶשֶׂר fifteen, Ju 8<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>18</sup>; שְׁמֹנֶת עֶשְׂרֵה eighteen, Ju 20<sup>25</sup>.—Connected by וְ we find וְחֲמִשָּׁה וְעֶשְׂרֵה in Ex 45<sup>12</sup>.

f 3. The tens from 30 to 90 are expressed by the plural forms of the units (so that the plural here always stands for *ten times* the unit), thus, שְׁלֹשִׁים 30, אַרְבָּעִים 40, חֲמִשִּׁים 50, שִׁשִּׁים 60, שִׁבְעִים 70, שְׁמֹנִים 80, תְּשַׁעִּים 90. But *twenty* is expressed by עֶשְׂרִים, plur. of עֶשֶׂר *ten*.<sup>2</sup> These numerals are all of common gender, and do not admit of the *construct state*.—In compound numerals, like 22, 23, 44, &c., the units

<sup>1</sup> עֶשְׂתִּי, which remained for a long time unexplained, was recognized (first by J. Oppert) in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions in the form *istin* or *istén*; cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, p. 203, and P. Haupt, in the *American Journal of Philology*, viii. 279. Accordingly, עֶשְׂתִּי עֶשְׂרֵה is a compound, like the Sansk. *ekādaśan*, *ēḍeka*, *undecim* (analogous to the combination of units and tens in the numerals from 12 to 19), and is used at the same time in the composition of the feminine numeral eleven. On the gradual substitution of עֶשְׂתִּי עֶשְׂרֵה for אֶחָד עֶשְׂרֵה and אַחַת עֶשְׂרֵה see Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 226; עֶשְׂתִּי עֶשְׂרֵה occurs only in Jer., Ez., in the prologue to Deuteronomy (1<sup>st</sup>), in the Priestly Code, and in passages undoubtedly post-exilic, so that it may very well be a loan-word from the Babylonian.

<sup>2</sup> For עֶשְׂרִים, שִׁבְעִים, תְּשַׁעִּים (from the *segholates* עֶשְׂרֵה, שִׁבְעֵה, תְּשַׁעֵה), we should expect *asārim*, *ṣbā'im*, *tesā'im*. Is this very unusual deviation from the common formation (see above, § 93 i, o, r) connected with the special meaning of these plurals, or are these survivals of an older form of the plural of *segholates*?

may precede (*two and twenty*, as in Arabic and English), e.g. Nu 3<sup>30</sup>, 26<sup>14</sup>. Very frequently, however, the reverse order is found (*twenty and two*, as in Syriac, cf. French and English *twenty-two*), e.g. 1 Ch 12<sup>26</sup>, 18<sup>5</sup>.<sup>1</sup> In all cases the units and tens are connected by the *copula*, ordinarily ׀, but ׀ before numerals with the tone on the penultima, ׀ before ׀, ׀ before שׁוּבָה; see § 104 d, e, g.

The remaining numerals are the substantives—

g

100 מֵאוֹת fem., constr. מֵאוֹת.

200 מֵאוֹתָם dual (contracted from מֵאוֹתִים; cf. § 23 c).

300 שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת plur. (but in 2 K 11<sup>4,9,10,15</sup>, Keth. הַמֵּאוֹת).

1000 אֶלֶף masc.

2000 אֶלְפִים dual.

3000 שְׁלֹשָׁת אֶלְפִים plur., and so on (except עֶשְׂרֵה אֶלְפִים in 2 S 18<sup>3</sup>, 2 K 24<sup>14</sup> Keth.; elsewhere always עֶשְׂרֵת אֶלְפִים).

10000 רִבּוּא, רִבְכָּה, in the later books the aramaizing<sup>2</sup> forms רְבוּא, רְבוּת (properly *multitude*, cf. *μυριάς*).

20000 רִבְעִים dual (see below, h); but שְׁנֵי רְבוּת Neh 7<sup>70</sup> (also שְׁנֵי רְבוּא Neh 7<sup>71</sup>).

40000 אַרְבַּע רְבוּא Neh 7<sup>66</sup>.

60000 שֵׁשׁ-רְבָאוֹת Ezr 2<sup>60</sup> (Baer and Ginsburg רְבָאוֹת, as in Dn 11<sup>12</sup>).

רִבְכָּה אֶלְפִי thousands of myriads, Gn 24<sup>60</sup>.

Rem. 1. The dual form which occurs in some of the units has the meaning *h* of our ending -fold, e.g. אַרְבַּעַתִּים 2 S 12<sup>6</sup>; שִׁבְעִיתִים Gn 4<sup>15,24</sup>, Is 30<sup>26</sup>, ψ 12<sup>7</sup>, 79<sup>12</sup> (cf. § 134 r). The dual רִבְעִים ψ 68<sup>18</sup> (explained by שְׁנֵי אֶלְפִי thousands of duplication) is not meant to be taken in the sense of *two myriads* or *twice the number of myriads*, but in a multiplicative sense.<sup>3</sup>—Besides the plural which denotes the tens, there are also the plurals אֶחָדִים *some*, also *idem*, and עֶשְׂרֵת *decades* (not *decem*) Ex 18<sup>21,25</sup>.

2. The suffixes to numerals are, as with other nouns, properly genitives,<sup>2</sup> although they are translated in English as nominatives, e.g. שְׁלֹשָׁתְּךָ *your triad*, i.e. *you three*, Nu 12<sup>4</sup>; חֲמִשִּׁי *his fifty* (i.e. the 50 belonging to him) 2 K 1<sup>9-13</sup>, and חֲמִשִּׁיךָ 2 K 1<sup>10,12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> According to the conclusions of König (*De Criticis Sacrae Argumento*, p. 61, and *Lehrgeb.*, ii. p. 215 ff.), the smaller number more commonly precedes in Ezek. and the Priestly Code, but the larger always elsewhere. S. Herzer (*Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.*, Lund, 1893, p. 71 ff.) arrives at the same conclusion by a full examination of the statistics; cf. also his remarks on König in *ZAW.* 1896, p. 123, and König's reply, *ibid.*, p. 328 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im A. T.* (Halle, 1902), p. 79 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. D. H. Müller, 'Die numeralia multiplicativa in den Amarnatafeln u. im Hebr.', *Semitica*, i, Wien, 1906, p. 13 ff.



## § 98. Numerals. (b) Ordinal Numbers.

*a* The ordinal numbers from 2 to 10 are formed from the corresponding cardinals by adding the termination '— (§ 86 *h*), before which another '— also is generally inserted between the second and third radicals. They are as follows: שְׁנִי *second*, שְׁלִישִׁי, רְבִיעִי (like רִבְעִי, רִבְעִי, רְבָעִים, without the prosthetic א, which appears in אַרְבַּע, &c.), חֲמִישִׁי or חֲמִישִׁי (which, according to Strack, is always to be read for חֲמִישִׁי), שֵׁשִׁי, שְׁבִיעִי, שְׁמִינִי, חֲשִׁמִּיעִי, עֲשָׁרִי. The ordinal *first* is expressed by ראשון (cf. § 27 *w*), from ראש *head, beginning*, with the termination ון (§ 86 *f*). On the use of אֶחָד as an ordinal in numbering the days of the month, cf. § 134 *p*; in such cases as Gn 1<sup>5</sup>, 2<sup>11</sup>, the meaning of *first* is derived solely from the context.

*b* The feminine forms have the termination ית—, more rarely (and only in the case of 3 and 10) ית—. They are employed also to express fractions, e.g. חֲמִישִׁית *fifth* or *fifth part*, עֲשָׁרִית and עֲשָׁרִיָּה *tenth part*. Side by side with these, in the same sense, there are also forms like רִבְעִי and רִבְעִיָּה *a quarter*, חֲמִישִׁי and חֲמִישִׁיָּה *a fifth part*, and with the affirmative ון, עֲשָׁרוֹן (plur. עֲשָׁרוֹנִים) *a tenth part*; these are to be regarded as abstracts, and are denominatives from the cardinal numbers. Cf. finally שבוע *ἑβδομάς, a week*; עשור *a decade* (of days), and also the *tenth day*.

On the expression of the other relations of number, for which the Hebrew has no special forms, see the Syntax, § 134 *q* and *r*.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE PARTICLES

#### § 99. General View.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 492 f.

1. The particles, which in general express the secondary modifications of thought in speech, the closer relation of words to one another, and the mutual connexion of sentences, are for the most part either borrowed or derived from noun-forms, sometimes also from pronouns and verbs (§ 30 s). *Primitive* particles (apart from a few demonstrative forms, see § 100 i) can only be so called in the sense defined in § 81 f.

2. So far as the origin of the particles can be discovered with *b* certainty, they are either (1) *borrowed* from other parts of speech; i. e. certain forms of the noun, pronoun, or verb, with more or less loss of their original meaning, have come to be employed as particles; cf. in the Indo-Germanic languages, e. g. the Latin *certo, falso, partim, verum, causa*, the German *statt, anstatt, wegen, weg*, and the English *instead, away*; or (2) *derived* from other parts of speech, either (a) by the *addition* of formative syllables, as *בְּיָמַי* *by day*, from *יָמַי* (cf., however, § 100 g); or most commonly (b) by *abbreviations* effected in various ways, the extent of their mutilation being in proportion to the frequency of their use, so that in some cases (see below) the original stem has become wholly unrecognizable.

Cf. in German *gen*, from *gegen, Gegend*; *seit*, from *Seite*; *weil* (originally a particle of time, like our *while*), from *Welle*.

Still more violent abbreviations occur in Greek, Latin, and the Romance languages, e. g. *ἀπό, ab, a*; *ἐξ, ex, e*; *ad*, Fr. *à*; *aut*, Fr. *ou*, Ital. *o*; *super*, Ital. *su*.<sup>1</sup>

The greatest shortening occurs in those particles which have *c* entirely lost the character of an independent word, by being reduced to a single consonant with its vowel (generally short) or *Šewā*. According to the laws of syllable formation in Hebrew (§ 26 m),

<sup>1</sup> Even short phrases are contracted into one word: Lat. *forsitan*, from *fors sit an*, *δηλονότι, δηλαδή*, Fr. *peut-être*, Eng. *prithce* from *I pray thee*.—In Chinese most of the particles are verbs or nouns; e. g. *in* (to give), also the sign of the dative; *to* (to make use of), *for*; *nei* (the interior), *in*.

such particles cannot stand by themselves, but are united, as prefixes, with the following word (§ 102), very much like the preformatives of the imperfect (§ 47 a-d).

- d The view that this shortening of whole words to single letters has actually taken place in the gradual course of linguistic development is rendered highly probable by the fact that similar abbreviations in later Hebrew and in Aramaic, i.e. as the development of the original Semitic speech progresses, become more and more striking and frequent. Thus the Biblical Aramaic *חַי* becomes at a later period *ח*; in modern Arabic, e.g. *hallaq* (now) is from *halwaqt*; *lā* (why?) from *li-ayyi-sa'im*, &c. Cf. also the analogous cases mentioned above from the Western languages. Nevertheless, the use of the simplest particles is found already in the earliest periods of the Hebrew language, or, at any rate, in the earliest documents which have come down to us.

- e 3. Less frequently particles are formed by *composition*; as *מִדָּע* *wherefore?* for *מִהַיִּדָּע* *quid edoctus?* (*τί μαθών*;) or *quid cognitum?*; *בְּלָעַי* (from *בָּל* and *עַי*) *besides*; *מִלְמַעְלָה* (from *מִן*, *ל*, *מַעְלָה*) *from above, above*.

More frequent is the combination of two words into one without contraction, e.g. *אֲחֵרֶיךָ*, *אֲחֵרָי*, *אֲחֵרָם*, *בֵּינֵינוּ*, *בֵּינֵיהֶם*; cf. also the compounds of *אֵי* with demonstrative pronouns, as *אֵי-מָה* *from what?*; *אֵי לָמָּה* *wherefore?* [R.V. *how*]. See the lexicon under *אֵי*.

### § 100. Adverbs.

On demonstrative adverbs cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 323; on interrogative adverbs, *ibid.*, i. 328; on adverbs in general, i. 492 ff.

- a 1. The negative *לֹא* *not*, and a few particles of place and time, as *שָׁם* *there*, are of obscure origin.
- b 2. Forms of other parts of speech, which are used adverbially without further change, are—
- (a) Substantives with prepositions, e.g. *בְּמֶאֱדָר* (with might) *very*; *לְבָד* *alone* (prop. *in separation*, Fr. *à part*), with suffix *לְבָדִי* *I alone*; *מִבְּתֵיחַ* *from within, within*; cf. also *בְּאַחַד* (as one) *together*, and *לְעֵצָה* and *מִלְעֵצָה* (originally *in connexion with*) *near to, corresponding to, like*, &c., cf. § 161 b.
- c (b) Substantives in the accusative (the adverbial case of the Semites, § 118 m), cf. *מֶאֱדָר* *apxḡn*, *δωρεάν*, e.g. *מֶאֱדָר* (might) *very*, *אֵפֶס* (cessation) *no more*, *הַיּוֹם* (the day) *to-day* (cf. § 126 b), *מָחָר*<sup>1</sup> *to-morrow*, *יַחַד* (union) *together*. Several of these continued to be used, though rarely, as substantives, e.g. *סְבִיבִים*, plur. *סְבִיבוֹת* and *סְבִיבוֹת*, *circuit*, as adverb

<sup>1</sup> Generally derived from the *ptcp.* *מֶאֱדָר* *m<sup>e</sup>ʾēḥār* (= *m<sup>e</sup>ʾohār*) and hence to be read *mōḥār* (cf. *מֶחָרָה* *morning*); but according to P. Haupt (notes to Esther, p. 159) from *יּוֹם אֶחָד*.

*circum, around*; others have quite ceased to be so used, e.g. כָּכָר (length) *long ago* [Aram.: only in Ec.]; עוֹד (repetition, duration) *again or further*.

(c) Adjectives, especially in the feminine (corresponding to the *d* Indo-Germanic neuter), e.g. רִאשׁוֹנָה *primum, formerly* (more frequently בְּרִאשׁוֹנָה, also לְרִאשׁוֹנָה and רַבָּה and רַבַּת [both rare] *multum, much, enough*; נִפְלְאוֹת *wonderfully* (properly *mirabilibus, sc. modis*), יְהוּדִית *Jewish*, i. e. in the Jewish language.

(d) Verbs in the infinitive absolute, especially in *Hiph'il*, which *e* are likewise to be regarded as accusatives (§ 113 *h*), e.g. כָּרְבָה (prop. *a multiplying*) *much* [frequent], לְהִרְבֶּה [rare and late] *in multitude*; הִשָּׁבֵם (*mane faciendo*) *early*; הִעָרַב (*vespere faciendo*) *in the evening*.

(e) Pronouns and numerals, e.g. זֶה (prop. *there=at this place*) *here, f* הֵנָּה *here, hither* (also of time, עַד-הֵנָּה *till now*, cf. the late and rare עָדָן and עֲדָנָה = עָדָהוּ = עָדָה); אַחַת, שְׁתַּיִם, שֶׁבַע, מֵאָה, *once, twice, seven times, a hundred times*; שֵׁנִית *for the second time*.

3. Some adverbs are formed by the addition of formative syllables *g* (most frequently ם־) to substantives or adjectives, e.g. אֱמִנָם and אֱמִנָם *truly* (from אֱמֵן *truth*); חִנָּם (by favour) *gratis* (from חֵן *gratia*); רִיקָם *in vain, frustra*, but also *empty* (from רִיק *empty, emptiness, vanum*), Ru 1<sup>21</sup>, parallel with the fem. מְלֵאָה *full*; יוֹמָם *by day* (from יוֹם); with *o* in the last syllable, בְּתָעָם, for בְּתָעִים, *in a twinkling, suddenly* (from בָּתַע *a twinkling*, the *o* being probably obscured from an original *ā*).<sup>2</sup>—Moreover, cf. אֶחָדָה *backward*, and קִרְבִּינִית *darkly attired*, Mal 3<sup>14</sup>. In both these cases, the formative syllable *an* has been first attached to the stem, and then the feminine ending *ūh*, which is elsewhere used to form adverbs, has been added to it.

The termination ם־ occurs also in the formation of substantives, e.g. הֶאֱמַן *porch*, and hence the above adverbs may equally well be regarded as nouns used adverbially, so that ם־, ם־, would correspond to ך־, ך־ (§ 85, Nos. 53, 54), cf. הִפְתָּאָם (with prep.) *suddenly*, 2 Ch 29<sup>36</sup>. According to others, this *am* is an obsolete accusative ending, to be compared with the indeterminate accusative sing. in *an* in Arabic.

<sup>1</sup> Is this ם־ an instance of the locative or temporal termination (cf. especially צִוְהָם) mentioned in § 88 c? Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. xl. p. 721, considers יוֹמָם a secondary substantival form (used adverbially like לַיְלָה *noctū*), corresponding to the Phoenician and Aramaic יוֹמָם, Syr. *imāmā*; cf. on the other hand, König, ii. 255, who follows Olshausen in maintaining that the *am* is an adverbial termination.

<sup>2</sup> דוֹמָם *silent* (an adjective in Is 47<sup>5</sup>, La 3<sup>26</sup>; a substantive in Hb 2<sup>10</sup>), which was formerly included under this head, is better taken, with Barth (*Nominalbildung*, p. 352, Rem. 2), as a participle formed like שׁוֹכֵב, עוֹלֵל, so that דוֹמָם (perhaps assimilated to דוֹמָה) stands for original דוֹמָם.

such particles cannot stand by themselves, but are united, as prefixes, with the following word (§ 102), very much like the preformatives of the imperfect (§ 47 a-d).

- d The view that this shortening of whole words to single letters has actually taken place in the gradual course of linguistic development is rendered highly probable by the fact that similar abbreviations in later Hebrew and in Aramaic, i.e. as the development of the original Semitic speech progresses, become more and more striking and frequent. Thus the Biblical Aramaic *רִי* becomes at a later period *רִי*; in modern Arabic, e.g. *hallaq* (now) is from *halwaqt*; *לֵךְ* (why?) from *li-ayyi-sa'ina*, &c. Cf. also the analogous cases mentioned above from the Western languages. Nevertheless, the use of the simplest particles is found already in the earliest periods of the Hebrew language, or, at any rate, in the earliest documents which have come down to us.

- e 3. Less frequently particles are formed by *composition*; as *מִדַּע* *wherefore?* for *מִהַיָּדַע* *quid edoctus?* (*τί μαθών*;) or *quid cognitum?*; *בְּלַעַי* (from *בָּל* and *עָדַי*) *besides*; *מִלְּמַעְלָה* (from *מִן*, *לְ*, *מַעְלָה*) *from above, above*.

More frequent is the combination of two words into one without contraction, e.g. *אֶתְרֵיכֶן*, *אֶתְרֵי*, *אֶתְרֵי*; cf. also the compounds of *אֵי* with demonstrative pronouns, as *אֵי־מֵנָה* *from what?*; *אֵי לָזֶאת* *wherefore?* [R.V. *how*]. See the lexicon under *אֵי*.

### § 100. Adverbs.

On demonstrative adverbs cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 323; on interrogative adverbs, *ibid.*, i. 328; on adverbs in general, i. 492 ff.

- a 1. The negative *לֹא* *not*, and a few particles of place and time, as *שָׁם* *there*, are of obscure origin.
- b 2. Forms of other parts of speech, which are used adverbially without further change, are—
- (a) Substantives with prepositions, e.g. *בְּמֵאֵד* (with might) *very*; *לְבַד* *alone* (prop. *in separation*, Fr. *à part*), with suffix *לְבַדִּי* *I alone*; *מִבְּתֵיחַ* *from within, within*; cf. also *בְּאַחַד* (as one) *together*, and *לְעֵמֶת* (originally *in connexion with*) *near to, corresponding to, like*, &c., cf. § 161 b.
- c (b) Substantives in the accusative (the adverbial case of the Semites, § 118 m), cf. *מֵהָרָה* *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρεῖος*, e.g. *מֵהָרָה* (might) *very*, *אֵין* (cessation) *no more*, *הַיּוֹם* (the day) *to-day* (cf. § 126 b), *מָחָר*<sup>1</sup> *to-morrow*, *יַחַד* (union) *together*. Several of these continued to be used, though rarely, as substantives, e.g. *סְבִיבִים*, plur. *סְבִיבִיּוֹת* and *סְבִיבִיּוֹת*, *circuit*, as adverb

<sup>1</sup> Generally derived from the *ptcp.* *מֵהָרָה* *mehār* (= *m'ohār*) and hence to be read *mōhār* (cf. *מֵהָרָה* *morning*); but according to P. Haupt (notes to Esther, p. 159) from *יָוֶם*.

*circum, around*; others have quite ceased to be so used, e.g. כֶּכֶר (length) *long ago* [Aram.: only in Ec.]; עוֹד (repetition, duration) *again or further*.

(c) Adjectives, especially in the feminine (corresponding to the *d* Indo-Germanic neuter), e.g. ראשונה *primum, formerly* (more frequently בְּרִאשֹׁנָה, also לְרִאשֹׁנָה); רַבָּה and רַבַּת [both rare] *multum, much, enough*; נִפְלְאוֹת *wonderfully* (properly *mirabilibus*, sc. *modis*), יְהוּדִית *Jewish*, i. e. in the Jewish language.

(d) Verbs in the infinitive absolute, especially in *Hiph'il*, which *e* are likewise to be regarded as accusatives (§ 113 *h*), e.g. כֹּרְבָה (prop. *a multiplying*) *much* [frequent], לְהִרְבֶּה [rare and late] *in multitude*; הַשֶּׁבֶם (mane faciendo) *early*; הָעֶרֶב (vespere faciendo) *in the evening*.

(e) Pronouns and numerals, e.g. זֶה (prop. *there=at this place*) *here*, הֵנָּה *here, hither* (also of time, עַד-הֵנָּה *till now*, cf. the late and rare עַד-כֵּן and עַד-כֵּן=עַד-הֵנָּה); אַחַת, שְׁתַּיִם, שֶׁבַע, מֵאָה *once, twice, seven times, a hundred times*; שֵׁנִית *for the second time*.

3. Some adverbs are formed by the addition of formative syllables *g* (most frequently ם־) to substantives or adjectives, e.g. אֱמָנִים and אֱמָנִים *truly* (from אֱמֶן *truth*); חֵנָם (by favour) *gratis* (from חֵן *gratia*); רֵיקִים *in vain, frustra*, but also *empty* (from רֵיק *empty, emptiness, vanum*), Ru<sup>12</sup>, parallel with the fem. מְלֵאָה *full*; יוֹמִים *by day* (from יוֹם); with *o* in the last syllable, בְּתָעִים, for בְּתָעִים, *in a twinkling, suddenly* (from פִּתְעָה *a twinkling*, the *o* being probably obscured from an original *ā*).<sup>2</sup>—Moreover, cf. אֶחָדָרָה *backward*, and קִרְבִּינִית *darkly attired*, Mal 3<sup>14</sup>. In both these cases, the formative syllable *an* has been first attached to the stem, and then the feminine ending *ith*, which is elsewhere used to form adverbs, has been added to it.

The termination ם־ occurs also in the formation of substantives, e.g. הַאֵלִים *porch*, and hence the above adverbs may equally well be regarded as nouns used adverbially, so that ם־, ם־, would correspond to ך־, ך־ (§ 85, Nos. 53, 54), cf. בְּתָעִים (with prep.) *suddenly*, 2 Ch 29<sup>36</sup>. According to others, this *am* is an obsolete accusative ending, to be compared with the indeterminate accusative sing. in *an* in Arabic.

<sup>1</sup> Is this ם־ an instance of the locative or temporal termination (cf. especially צִוְרוֹם) mentioned in § 88 c? Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. xl. p. 721, considers יוֹמִים a secondary substantival form (used adverbially like לַיְלָה *nocht*), corresponding to the Phoenician and Aramaic יוֹמָם, Syr. *imāmā*; cf. on the other hand, König, ii. 255, who follows Olshausen in maintaining that the *am* is an adverbial termination.

<sup>2</sup> דִּוְקָם *silent* (an adjective in Is 47<sup>5</sup>, La 3<sup>26</sup>; a substantive in Hb 2<sup>19</sup>), which was formerly included under this head, is better taken, with Barth (*Nominalbildung*, p. 352, Rem. 2), as a participle formed like שׁוֹכֵחַ, עוֹלֵל, so that דִּוְקָם (perhaps assimilated to דִּוְקָה) stands for original דִּוְקָם.

i 4. A number of forms standing in very close relation to the demonstrative pronoun may be regarded as primitive adverbs, since they arise directly from a combination of demonstrative sounds. Some of these have subsequently suffered great mutilation, the extent of which, however, can now very rarely be ascertained with certainty. Such are e.g. *אָן* then, *הֵן* here (according to Barth, *Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, p. 16, formed from the two demonstrative elements *hin* and *na*), *כֵּן*, *אֵכָּה* thus (cf. *אֵכָּה*, *אֵכָּה* how?), *אָן* only, *אֵכָּה* truly (on all these adverbs, see the Lexicon), and especially the interrogative *הֵן* (*Hē interrogativum*), e.g. *הֵלֹא* (Dt 3<sup>11</sup> *הֵלֹא*) *nonne?*, *הֲגַם* *num etiam?* This *Hē interrogativum* is perhaps shortened from *הָלָה*, which is still used in Arabic, and, according to the view of a certain school of Masoretes, occurs also in Hebrew in Dt 32<sup>6</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

lc The *הֵן* interrogative takes—(1) *Ḥaṭeph-Pataḥ* generally before non-gutturals (even before *ר*), with a firm vowel, e.g. *הֲשֵׁמֶתָ* *hast thou set?* see the interrogative clause, § 150 c (*הֲיִיטֵב* Lv 10<sup>19</sup> is an exception).

l (2) Before a consonant with *Ṣewā*, usually *Pathaḥ* without a following *Dageš forte*, e.g. *הֲבִרְכָה* Gn 27<sup>28</sup>, cf. 18<sup>17</sup>, 29<sup>6</sup>, 30<sup>16</sup>, 34<sup>31</sup>; less frequently (in about ten passages), *Pathaḥ* with a following *Dageš forte*, e.g. *הֲבִרְכָה* *num in via*, Ez 20<sup>80</sup>, *הֲלָכָה* Gn 17<sup>17</sup>, 18<sup>21</sup>, 37<sup>22</sup>, Nu 13<sup>18</sup>, Jb 23<sup>6</sup>; even in *ר*, 1 S 10<sup>24</sup>, 17<sup>25</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>82</sup>.

m (3) Before gutturals, not pointed with either *Qameṣ* or *Ḥaṭeph-Qameṣ*, it takes *Pathaḥ*, e.g. *הֲאֵלָּהּ* *shall I go?*, *הֲאֵלָּהּ* *num tu?*, *הֲאֵלָּהּ* *num si?*, *הֲאֵלָּהּ* *Mal 1<sup>10</sup>*; also in Ju 6<sup>31</sup> read *הֲאֵלָּהּ* (not *הֵאֵלָּהּ*), likewise *הֵן* in Ju 12<sup>6</sup>, Jer 8<sup>19</sup>, Neh 6<sup>11</sup>.—In *הֵאֵלָּהּ* Nu 16<sup>22</sup>, the Masora intends the article; read *הֵאֵלָּהּ*, and cf. Dt 20<sup>18</sup>; in Ec 3<sup>21</sup> read *הֵעֵלָּהּ* and *הֵיִרְרָה*; the article is a correction due to doctrinal considerations.

n (4) The *הֵן* takes *Ṣeḡhol* before gutturals pointed with *Qameṣ* or (as in Ju 9<sup>9n</sup>) *Ḥaṭeph-Qameṣ*, e.g. *הֲאֵלָּהּ* Mi 2<sup>7</sup>, *הֲאֵלָּהּ* Jb 21<sup>4</sup>; *הֵהִיתָה* Jo 1<sup>2</sup>, *הֵהִישָׁב* Gn 24<sup>6</sup> (cf. the analogous instances in § 22 c, § 35 k, § 63 k). The place of this interrogative particle is always at the beginning of the clause [but see Jb 34<sup>31</sup>, Neh 13<sup>27</sup>, Jer 22<sup>16</sup>, where one or more words are prefixed for emphasis].

o 5. Some adverbs occur also in connexion with suffixes, thus *יִשְׁךָ* *thou art there*, 3rd sing. masc. *יִשְׁנִי*<sup>2</sup> (but see note below), 2nd plur. masc. *יִשְׁכֶּם*, *יִשְׁנִי* *I am not*, 2nd sing. *אֵינִי*, fem. *אֵינֶה*, 3rd sing. *אֵינֶה*, fem. *אֵינֶה*, 2nd plur. *אֵינֶכֶם*, 3rd plur. masc. *אֵינֶם*.—Also *עוֹדֵנִי* *I am yet* (*עוֹדִי* only in *בְּעוֹדִי* and *בְּעוֹדִי*, *עוֹדֶה*, *עוֹדֶה*, *עוֹדֶה* (La 4<sup>17</sup> *Qere*; *עוֹדֶה* *עוֹדֶה*).

<sup>1</sup> The separation of the *הֵן* at the beginning of Dt 32<sup>6</sup>, expressly noticed by Qimḥi (ed. Rittenb., p. 40 b) as an unique instance, is perhaps a protest against admitting a particle *הָלָה*.

<sup>2</sup> This form, which occurs in Dt 29<sup>14</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>30</sup>, 23<sup>28</sup>, Est 3<sup>8</sup>, is textually very doubtful, and cannot be supported by the equally doubtful *קָבְנוּ* (for *קָבְנוּ*) Nu 23<sup>18</sup>. Most probably, with Stade, *Gramm.*, § 370 b, and P. Haupt, *SBOT. Numbers*, p. 57, line 37, we should read *יִשְׁנִי*.



*Keth.*; the oriental school [see above, p. 38, note 2] recognize only the reading עוֹרִינִי, עוֹרָם. — אַיִיךָ where art thou?, אַיִי where is he?, אַיִם where are they? The same applies to הֵן (הֵן) and הִנֵּה behold! (prop. here, here is; see § 105 b), only in Gn 19<sup>2</sup> הִנֵּה-נָא; with suffixes, הִנֵּי, once הִנֵּי (Gn 22<sup>7</sup> with *Munah*), in pause הִנֵּי behold me (here am I), הִנֵּה (pause הִנֵּה ψ 139<sup>8</sup>), הִנֵּה, הִנֵּה, and הִנֵּה [both very rare], הִנֵּה (behold us), and הִנֵּה (in pause הִנֵּה), הִנֵּה, הִנֵּה; [see more fully in the Lexicon, p. 243].

The usual explanation of these suffixes (especially of the forms with *Nun p* *energicum*) as verbal suffixes, which ascribes some power of verbal government even to forms originally substantival (e.g. יֵשֶׁנּוּ there is, he is), is at least inadmissible for forms (like אַיִי, אַיִיךָ) which are evidently connected with noun-suffixes; even for the other forms it is questionable. Brockelmann suggests that the ך in connexion with these particles is a survival from הנה corresponding to the Arab. *anna* which introduces dependent clauses.

### 101. Prepositions.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 494 ff.

1. All words, which by usage serve as prepositions, were originally *a* substantives, viz.:

(a) Substantives in the accusative and in the construct state, so that the noun governed by them is to be considered as in the genitive, and in Arabic actually has the genitive ending, cf. in German *statt dessen*, *kraft dessen*, in Greek τοῦτον χάριν, in Latin *huius rei causa*, or *gratia*, *montis instar*.<sup>1</sup> Cf. אַחֲרֵי (hinder part\*) behind, after (*Mil'el* in אַחֲרֵי Lv 14<sup>36</sup>, Dt 21<sup>13</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>5</sup>; אַחֲרֵי 2 Ch 32<sup>9</sup>); אֶצֶל (side) close by; בֵּין (intermediate space\*) between; בֵּעֵר, בֵּעֵר (distance\*) behind, around; וּבֵלֶח, or with *Hireq compaginis* וּבֵלֶח (removal, want) except; בְּעַן (purpose) on account of; בְּפֶנֶי (only in Dt 1<sup>1</sup>) before, over against; בֵּין (separation; cf. § 119 v) from, out of; בָּנִי (coming in front, that which is over against) before, over against; עַד (progress, duration\*) during, until; עַל (height, upper part\*) upon, over; עִם (connexion?) with; it is doubtful whether this is to be derived from the same stem as עִמָּת, עִמָּת near, beside, like; תַּחַת (under part\*) under, instead of.

(b) Substantives in the construct state, but to be regarded as in the *b* genitive, since they depend on prepositions (especially the inseparable), e.g. לְפָנַי (in the face of\*) before; כִּפִּי, לִפִּי (according to the mouth,

<sup>1</sup> In the examples which follow, the meaning of the noun is added in parentheses, and, when it is actually in use [though it is mostly in such cases very rare], is marked with an asterisk.—On a similar use in other languages, see W. von Humboldt, *Über die Kavisprache*, iii, p. 621.

<sup>2</sup> So also J. Hoch de Long, *Die hebr. Präpos.* *הוֹדֵר* *הוֹדֵר* *הוֹדֵר*

i. e. the command of\*) *according to*; בְּלִל (in the concern of) *on account of*; לְפָנַי (for the purpose of) *on account of*.

- c 2. Substantives used adverbially very frequently become prepositions in this way, e.g. בְּלִי, בְּבִלִי, מְבִלִי, בְּלִי, בְּלִי, בְּלִי (with cessation) *without*, בְּעוֹר (in the duration of) *during*; בְּדִי, בְּדִי (according to the requirement of) *for, according to*.

### § 102. Prefixed Prepositions.

- a 1. Of the words mentioned in § 101, מִן *from, out of*, frequently occurs as a prefix (§ 99 c), with its *Nûn* assimilated to the following consonant (by means of *Dageš forte*), e.g. מִן־עֵר *out of a forest*.

- b Rem. The separate מִן (always with a following *Maqqeph*) is usual (but not necessary, cf. Ju 20<sup>14</sup> with verse 15, Ez 43<sup>8</sup>, &c.) only before the article, e.g. מִן־הָאֶרֶץ, and sometimes occurs before the softer consonants, e.g. מִן־אֵן Jer 44<sup>18</sup>, מִן־בְּנֵי Jo 1<sup>12</sup>, 1 Ch 5<sup>18</sup>; cf. Ex 18<sup>14</sup>, Lv 1<sup>14</sup>, 14<sup>30</sup>, Ju 7<sup>23</sup>, 10<sup>11</sup>, 19<sup>16</sup>, ψ 104<sup>7</sup> (2 K 23<sup>36</sup> before ר; also before פ in ψ 15<sup>49</sup>), and elsewhere in the later books (as in Aramaic)<sup>1</sup>; there is besides a poetic by-form מִנִּי (cf. § 90 m) and מִנִּי Is 30<sup>14</sup>. Its form is most commonly מִן *with a following Dageš*, which may, however, be omitted in letters which have *Šewā* (cf. § 20 m). With a following י the מ is, as a rule, contracted to מִי, e.g. מִי־יָדִי = מִי־יָדִי or מִי־יָדִי (but cf. מִי־יָדִי Dn 12<sup>2</sup>; מִי־יָדִי 2 Ch 20<sup>11</sup>); before gutturals it becomes מִן (according to § 22 c), e.g. מִן־אֶרֶם, מִן־עֵם; before ה the מ occurs with the guttural virtually sharpened in מִהֵר *on the outside*, and in מִהֵר Gn 14<sup>23</sup>; before ה in מִהֵר (cf. § 28 b and § 63 γ. The closed syllable here is inconsistent with the required virtual sharpening of the ה; probably מִהֵר is merely due to the analogy of מִהֵר); similarly Is 14<sup>8</sup> before ר; but in 1 S 23<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>16</sup> מִדֶּרֶךְ is to be read, according to § 22 s.

- c 2. There are also three other particles, the most commonly used prepositions and the particle of comparison, which have been reduced by abbreviation (§ 99 c) to a single prefixed consonant with *Šewā* (but see below, and § 103 e), viz.:

בְּ [poet. בְּבוּ] *in, at, with*.

לְ [poet. לְבוּ] *towards, (belonging) to, for, Lat. ad*.

כְּ [poet. כְּבוּ] *like, as, according to* (no doubt the remnant of a substantive with the meaning of *matter, kind, instar*).

- d With regard to the pointing it is to be observed that—

(a) The *Šewā mobile*, with which the above prefixes are usually pronounced, has resulted from the weakening of a short vowel (an original *ā*, according to f)<sup>2</sup>; the short vowel is regularly retained before *Šewā*: before *Šewā simplex*

<sup>1</sup> König, *Einführung ins A. T.*, p. 393 (cf. also the almost exhaustive statistics in his *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 292 ff.); enumerates eight instances of מִן before a word without the article in 2 Samuel and Kings, and forty-five in Chronicles.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome (see Siegfried, *ZAW.* iv. 79) almost always represents בְּ by *ba*.

in the form of an *i*, attenuated from *ā*: before a *Ḥateph* the prefix takes the vowel of the *Ḥateph*, e. g. לְפֵרִי for *fruit*, בְּאַרִי as a *lion*, בְּעִנִי *bē'oni*, in *affliction* (sometimes with the syllable subsequently closed, cf. § 28 b, and the infinitives with ל § 63 i): before weak consonants it follows the rule given in § 24 c, e. g. לְיְהוָה for *to*. When the prefixes בּ, כּ, ל, precede אֱלֹהִים *God*, the *Sēghôl* and *Ḥateph Sēghôl* regularly coalesce in *Sērē*, e. g. בְּאַלֹהִים, &c., for בְּאַלִי; so with suffixes וְאֵלָיו, &c. (once also in the sing. וְאֵלָיו Hb 1<sup>11</sup>); also regularly לְאָמֹר *to say*, for לְאָמֹר, see § 23 d.

(b) When the prefixes precede the article, the ה is almost always dropped, *e* and they take its vowel. See further in § 35 n.

(c) Immediately before the tone-syllable, i. e. before monosyllables and dissyllables with the tone on the penultima (in the fore-tone), they take *Qames* (undoubtedly a lengthening of an original *ā*, cf. § 26 e, § 28 a), but only in the following cases:

(aa) ל before infinitives of the above-mentioned forms, as לָתֵת *to give*, לָרִיץ *to judge*, לָבוז *to plunder*, לָנוז *to shear*, לָחֹג *to keep a festival*, לָלָקֵחַ *to bring forth*, לָלָקֵחַ *to go*, לָלָקֵחַ *to take*, except when the infinitive (as a *nomen regens*) is closely connected with another word (especially its subject, § 115 e), and consequently, as being in a sort of *constr. state*, loses the principal tone, e. g. לְקַחַת Ex 19<sup>1</sup>, לְשַׁבֵּת Gn 16<sup>3</sup>, and so always לְבִיא חֲמֹק Nu 13<sup>21</sup>, &c. (in such cases as לְקַחַת חֲרִיב Ex 5<sup>21</sup> the *ā* is protected by the secondary tone; before infinitives of verbs *v*<sup>2</sup>, the ל is retained even in close connexion; cf. Ez 21<sup>20,25</sup>, 22<sup>8</sup>);

(bb) before many pronominal forms, e. g. בְּךָ (so also in 1 S 21<sup>10</sup>; not בְּנָה *g*, לָנָה, בְּנָה, לָנָה (in close connexion, however, לָנָה Gn 22<sup>3</sup>; בְּנָה Gn 45<sup>20</sup>); בְּאַלִי as *these*; and especially בְּכֶם, לְכֶם, בְּכֶם (בְּכֶם) and בְּהֶם, לְהֶם, בְּהֶם (בְּהֶם), see § 103 e;

(cc) ל before monosyllables or fore-toned nouns in such combinations as לְפֶה *mouth to mouth*, 2 K 10<sup>21</sup>, בֵּין מַיִם לְמַיִם *between waters and waters*, Gn 1<sup>6</sup>; לְמִרָה *for a trouble*, Is 1<sup>14</sup>, but always before the principal pause. The instructive example in Dt 17<sup>8</sup> also shows that the punctuation ל is only possible with at least the lesser pause after it; in Is 28<sup>10,13</sup> the ל is twice repeated, even before the small and smallest disjunctives;

(dd) in certain standing expressions, which have become stereotyped almost *as adverbs*, e. g. לְעֹד *to eternity*, לְרַב *in multitude*, לְבִטָּחָה *in security*, לְנֶצַח *to eternity*, but לְנֶצַח נְצָחִים *to all eternity*, Is 34<sup>10</sup>. Cf. also לְנֶפֶשׁ *for the dead*, Lv 19<sup>28</sup>, Nu 5<sup>2</sup>, 9<sup>10</sup>.

(d) With the interrogative מָה they are pointed as in בְּמָה; in *pause* and *h* before א as in בְּמָה *by what?* (before a following relative clause, as in Ec 3<sup>22</sup>, בְּמָה; cf. Delitzsch, *Jesaja*, 4th ed., on Is 2<sup>22</sup>); בְּמָה *how much?* but also בְּמָה 1 K 22<sup>16</sup>, in close connexion, and at a greater distance from the *pause*. The *Sēghôl* in these forms arises from a modification of the original *ā*, while the *h* is sharpened in order to maintain the original *ā* of the prefixes.

When ל (prop. *la*) is united to מָה, it takes, according to § 49 f, g, the form לְמָה (Jb 7<sup>20</sup> לְמָה, 1 S 1<sup>8</sup> לְמָה, all *Mu'al*, and hence the *ā* in the tone is lengthened to *ā*) *for what? why?* Before the gutturals א, ה, ו, לְמָה is used for euphonic reasons (exceptions 1 S 28<sup>15</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>31</sup>, Jer 17<sup>18</sup> before ה, ו, א, &c.).



Less common are the *plene* forms אֹתִי, אֹתְךָ (Nu 22<sup>38</sup> אֹתְכָה before ה), אֹתָהּ (Ex 29<sup>85</sup> אֹתָהּ), אֹתוֹ, אֹתָהּ, אֹתָם. Moreover, for אֹתְכֶם we find אֹתְכֶם Jos 23<sup>15</sup>; for אֹתָם, five times אֹתְהֶם (Gn 32<sup>1</sup>, Ex 18<sup>20</sup>, &c.), and in Ez 23<sup>45</sup> אֹתְהֶם; for אֹתָהּ (Gn 19<sup>8</sup>, &c. [13 times]), אֹתָן (only found in Ez 16<sup>64</sup>; 35<sup>26</sup> אֹתָנָה; 34<sup>21</sup> אֹתְנָה), and אֹתְהֶן Ez 23<sup>47</sup>.—No instance of the 2nd fem. plur. אֹתְכֶן occurs in the O. T.; in Cant. 2<sup>7</sup>, &c., אֹתְכֶם is used instead.

2. The preposition עִם *with* (with suffixes on the model of stems עָמַי, עָמִי, עָמְךָ [1 S 12<sup>26</sup> עָמְכָה], in *pause* עָמֶךָ; 2nd fem. עָמֶךָ, עָמֶה, עָמֶיךָ) is united with the suffixes נִי, כֶּם, and הֶם by a (pretonic) *Qames*, which causes the sharpening of the *Mēm* to be distinctly audible: עָמִינִי, עָמְכֶם, עָמְהֶם (so in Nu 22<sup>12</sup>, Dt 29<sup>16</sup>, both in principal pause, and often in very late passages, otherwise עָמִי is generally used). In the first person, besides עָמִי, we also find עָמְדִי (probably from original עָמְדִי; cf. Arab. *inda*, beside, with).

3. It is but seldom that prepositions occur with verbal suffixes, as תִּתְּנִי *d* 2 S 22<sup>37,40,43</sup> (for which ψ 18<sup>27,40,48</sup> תִּתְּנִי Gn 22<sup>21</sup> and ψ 139<sup>11</sup> בְּעֵדִי (here probably for the sake of the rhyme with יִשְׁעִי).<sup>1</sup>

2. When pronominal suffixes are added to the prefixes (§ 102), there *e* appears occasionally, especially in the case of the shorter suffixes, an endeavour to lengthen the preposition, so as to give it more strength and body. Hence to אֵל is appended the syllable נוֹ (see below, *k*), and אֵל and אֵל take at least a full vowel, אֵל and אֵל (§ 102 *d, f*).—The following deviations from the analogy of the noun with suffixes are to be noticed (*a*) in the pausal forms אֵלָּךְ, אֵלָּהּ, אֵלָּהֶם, אֵלָּהֶן (not *bekhā*, &c.); (*b*) in the similar forms with the suffix of the 2nd sing. fem. (not *bekh*, &c.) and in אֵלָּנִי, אֵלָּנֶי, &c. (not *bēnā*, &c.).

(a) אֵלָּ with Pronominal Suffixes.

Sing.

Plur.

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 1. | אֵלָּי to me.  | אֵלָּנוּ to us.                                 |
| 2. | { m. אֵלָּךְ (אֵלְךָ), in <i>pause</i> אֵלְךָ } to thee. | { אֵלְכֶם } to you.                             |
|    | { f. אֵלְךָ . . . . . }                                  | { אֵלְכֶנָּה [2] } to you.                      |
| 3. | { m. אֵלָּו to him.                                      | { אֵלְהֶם, אֵלְהֶמָּה, poet. אֵלְמוֹ } to them. |
|    | { f. אֵלְהָא to her.                                     | { [53 times] <sup>3</sup> } to them.            |
|    |  | אֵלְהֶן, אֵלְהֶנָּה [4]                         |

<sup>1</sup> *Finī* and *binī* (in me), in vulgar Arabic for *finya* and *bī*, are compared by Socin. Brockelmann, Z.A. xiv. 347, note 1, suggests that תִּתְּנִי, תִּתְּנֶנָּה, בעֵדִי are later formations on the model of אֵלָּנִי when its origin from the reduplication of the preposition had become obscured, but see below, *m*.

<sup>2</sup> אֵלָּנִי does not occur in the O. T., by a mere accident, no doubt; Ez 13<sup>18</sup> אֵלָּנִי.

*g* ק takes suffixes in the same manner: קי, קך (Ex 7<sup>29</sup>, 2 S 22<sup>30</sup>, ψ 141<sup>8</sup> קך, as in Gn 27<sup>37</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>22</sup>, Is 3<sup>6</sup> לכה [for 2nd fem. לך the *Kethibh* לבי occurs in 2 K 4<sup>2</sup>, Ct 2<sup>13</sup>, cf. § 91 e]), בו, &c.; except that for the 3rd plur., besides קהם (especially in the later books) and קהוה (only in Ex 30<sup>4</sup>, 36<sup>1</sup>, Hb 1<sup>16</sup>; קהוה only in Jer 14<sup>16</sup>), the form קם is also used; and for the feminine, besides קהוה (three times), קהו is found fifteen times, and קה only in 1 S 31<sup>7</sup>, Is 38<sup>16</sup>, Ez 42<sup>14</sup>.—According to the Masora, לו is found fifteen times for לו (as conversely in 1 S 2<sup>16</sup>, 20<sup>2</sup> לו for לו), e.g. Ex 21<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>3</sup>, Is 9<sup>2</sup>, ψ 100<sup>3</sup> (and, as has been conjectured, also Jb 41<sup>4</sup>); cf. Delitzsch on ψ 100<sup>3</sup>.—In Nu 32<sup>42</sup>, Ze 5<sup>11</sup>, Ru 2<sup>14</sup>, the Masora requires לה instead of לו (in all three places before a following tone-syllable; cf. § 23 h, and the analogous cases of the loss of *Mappiq* in § 58 g, § 91 e).

*h*

(b) ק with Pronominal Suffixes.

|    | Sing.  | Plur.   |
|----|--|---|
| 1. | קמוני <sup>5</sup> as I.                         | קמונו as we.  |
| 2. | { m. קמורי <sup>5</sup><br>f. . . . . } as thou. | { קמם, קך, rarely קמוכם<br>..... } as ye.           |
| 3. | { m. קמורי as he.<br>f. קמורי as she.            | { קהם, [קהם, קהוה, קהוהם]<br>[קהו], קהוה } as they. |

<sup>5</sup> The question whether קמו can also stand for the sing. לו, which Rüdiger and recently W. Diehl (*Das Pronomen pers. suff. . . des Hebr.*, p. 20 f.) and P. Haupt (*SBOT.* on Pr 23<sup>20</sup>, a contraction of *la-humit*) have altogether denied, must be answered in the affirmative unless we conclude with Diehl and Haupt that all the instances concerned are due to corruptions of the text. It is true that in such places as Gn 9<sup>28.27</sup>, Dt 33<sup>2</sup>, Is 30<sup>5</sup>, ψ 73<sup>10</sup> (all in or immediately before the principal pause; in Dt 33<sup>2</sup> with *Zaqeph qat'on* at least) קמו can be better explained as plural (in reference to collective nouns); and in Is 53<sup>8</sup> for קמו נגע למות we should read with the LXX נגע למות. On the other hand, in Is 44<sup>16</sup> its explanation as plural would be extremely forced. Even then there would remain—presuming the traditional text to be correct—קמו ψ 11<sup>7</sup> and קמו Jb 27<sup>28</sup>, as well as קמו, three times, Jb 20<sup>28</sup>, 27<sup>28</sup> (beside קמו), and especially Jb 22<sup>2</sup>. In all these places the most extreme exegetical artifices can only be avoided by simply admitting a singular suffix (= קמו, קמו, קמו).—On the question of the antiquity of the suffixes in קמו see § 91 L.

<sup>6</sup> The form קמו in Ru 1<sup>18</sup> is Aramaic (= therefore).

<sup>7</sup> The use of קי here for קי (cf. above, a) might be due to euphonic reasons.—קמו (defectively) only in the Pentateuch, קמו Ex 15<sup>11</sup>.

(c) *בִּין* with Pronominal Suffixes.

i

| Sing.  | Plur.  |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>בִּינֵנוּ</i> , poet. <i>בִּינֵי</i> [4 times], in pause also <i>בִּינֵי</i> [6 times] <i>from us</i> .  |  |
| 2. { <i>m.</i> <i>בִּינֶךָ</i> , in pause <i>בִּינֶהוּ</i> } <i>from thee</i> .  | { <i>בִּינֶם</i> } <i>from you</i> .                                     |
| 3. { <i>m.</i> <i>בִּינָיו</i> , Jb 4 <sup>12</sup> in pause <i>בִּינָהוּ</i> , [ <i>בִּינָהוּ</i> or <i>בִּינָהוּ</i> : see below ] <i>from him</i> . | { <i>בִּינָם</i> [twice], <i>בִּינָהם</i> [7 times] } <i>from them</i> . |
| { <i>f.</i> <i>בִּינָהּ</i> <i>from her</i> .  |  |

The syllable *בִּין* (in Arabic *mā* *בִּין* = Heb. *בִּין* *what*) in *בִּינֵנוּ* (probably from *בִּין* *בִּינָהוּ*, prop. *according to what I, for as I*) is, in poetry, appended to the three simple prefixes *בִּי*, *בִּי*, *בִּי*, even without suffixes, so that *בִּינֵנוּ*, *בִּינֵךָ*, *בִּינֵהוּ* appear as independent words, equivalent in meaning to *בִּי*, *בִּי*, *בִּי*. Poetry is here distinguished from prose by the use of longer forms; in the case of *בִּין*, on the other hand, it prefers the shorter, which resemble the Syriac and Arabic.

The form *בִּינָם*, enclosed in brackets above, occurs only in 2 K 17<sup>15</sup> (in *pause*); *בִּינָהוּ* only in Jer 36<sup>32</sup> (in *pause*); *בִּינָהוּ* (Baer following Qimhi *בִּינָהוּ*) only in Ez 18<sup>14</sup>. Cf. Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 234 ff.—For *בִּינָם* as *ye*, Qimhi requires *בִּינָם* (invariably or only in Jb 16<sup>4</sup> ?); in Jos 1<sup>5</sup>, Ju 8<sup>2</sup>, Ezr 4<sup>2</sup> Baer gives *בִּינָם*.

With regard to *בִּין* with suffixes, *בִּינֵנוּ* *from me* is usually explained as arising, *from* by a reduplication of *בִּין*, from an original *בִּינֵנוּ*, just as *בִּינֵךָ* *from him*, from *בִּינֵךָ*, identical in form with *בִּינֵנוּ* *from us*, from *בִּינֵנוּ*, while *בִּינָהוּ* *from her*, goes back to *בִּינָהוּ*. Far simpler, however, is Mayer Lambert's explanation (*REJ.* xxiii. 302 ff.), that *בִּינֵנוּ*, &c., have arisen from *בִּינֵנוּ*, &c., and that the forms of the suffixes are to be explained on the analogy of *בִּינֵנוּ*, *בִּינֵךָ*, *בִּינָהוּ*, § 100 o.—The bracketed form *בִּינָהוּ*, for which Baer, following Qimhi and others, writes *בִּינָהוּ*, occurs only in *ψ* 68<sup>24</sup>, and is there regarded by Delitzsch, Hupfeld, and others (following Simonis) as a substantive (*בִּין* = *portion*). The expression *בִּין-הֵינָא* (for *בִּינֵנוּ* ?) Is 18<sup>2.7</sup> is very strange.—*בִּינָהוּ* occurs only in Jer 10<sup>2</sup>, Ec 12<sup>12</sup> (Jb 11<sup>20</sup> *בִּינָהוּ*); *בִּינָהוּ* (so Baer and Ginsburg, following the best authorities, instead of the ordinary reading *בִּינָהוּ*) only in Ez 16<sup>47.52</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Babylonian Masora writes *בִּינֵנוּ* (to distinguish it from the 3rd sing.), which is justly blamed by Ibn Ezra.



n 3. Several prepositions, especially those which express relations of space and time, are (like the German *wegen*) properly plural nouns (for the reason, see § 124 a), and are, therefore, joined with the pronominal suffixes in the form of the plural *construct state*, just like other plural nouns (§ 91 g). On the other hand, the apparent connexion of אֶל, עַד, אֶל־ with plural suffixes is explained from the ground-forms of those prepositions (from stems לָ"ה אֶל־ (אֶל־), עָד־ (אֶל־), (contracted to אֶל־, אֶל־, &c.).<sup>1</sup>

o Without suffixes these prepositions are—

אַחֲרֵי, more frequently אַחֲרֵי (prop. *hinder parts*) *behind, after*.

אֶל־,<sup>2</sup> poet. [4 times in Job] also אֶל־ (region, direction), *towards, to, according to*.

בֵּין (*interval*) *between*; the suffixes indicating the singular are added to the singular בֵּין, thus בֵּינִי, בֵּינֶךָ, &c. (Gn 16<sup>5</sup> בֵּינִיךָ, the second *Yôdh* is, however, marked with a point as critically doubtful; בֵּינִי, which occurs three times, is only the Masoretic *Q<sup>re</sup>* בֵּינוֹ, which is found e.g. in Gn 30<sup>36</sup>). On the other hand, the suffixes indicating a plural are attached to the plural forms בֵּינֵי or בֵּינוֹת.

כָּבִיב (*circuit*) *around*, as a preposition, always has the plural form, sometimes masc. כָּבִיבֵיךָ, &c. [10 times], but much more frequently in the fem. כָּבִיבוֹת (*surroundings*). In Ez 43<sup>17</sup> אֶחָדָה כָּבִיב is a corruption of כָּבִיבוֹתָהּ; [in 1 K 6<sup>8</sup> אֶת כָּבִיב also is so contrary to usage, that it must be due to some textual error].

עַד (*continuation, duration*, from עָדָה) *as far as, unto*, poet. עָדִי [12 times]. In Jb 32<sup>12</sup> עָדִיכֶם, with the *ā* retained in the secondary tone, is abnormal. Also in 2 K 9<sup>18</sup> for עָדֵיהֶם read עָדֵיהֶם.

עַל *upon, over* (cf. the rare subst. עַל *height* [see Lexicon], from עָלָה *to ascend*), poet. עָלִי [40 times, and 2 *Q<sup>re</sup>*].

תַּחַת *under* (prop. *what is beneath*). On תַּחְתָּי, &c.; cf. above, d.

<sup>1</sup> The reference of these forms to original plurals has been again expressly supported by De Lagarde, *Symmetria*, ii. 101 ff.; *Nachrichten der G. g. A.*, 1881, p. 376, cf. *Mittheilungen*, 1884, p. 63; also *GGA.* 1884, p. 280 f. According to Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii. p. 348 ff., and *Nominalbildung*, p. 375 ff., תַּחְתָּי, &c., was only formed on the analogy of עָלִיךָ, &c., and אֶחָדָה, &c., only on the analogy of לָפָנֵי, &c., since the real plural forms ought to be תַּחְתָּיךָ, אֶחָדָה, &c.; cf., however, König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 305 f.

<sup>2</sup> On the use of this particle see § 119 g.

*With Suffixes.*

|          | אֲחֵרִי                     | בֵּינִי      | סְבִיבוֹתַי                   | תַּחְתַּי         | אֵלַי                   | עָדַי      | עָלַי                    |
|----------|-----------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Sing.  | (after me)                  | (between me) | (around me)                   | (beneath me)      | (to me)                 | (unto me)  | (on me)                  |
| 2 S. m.  | אֲחֵרֶיךָ                   | בֵּינֶיךָ    | סְבִיבוֹתֶיךָ<br>& סְבִיבֶיךָ | תַּחְתֶּיךָ       | אֵלֶיךָ                 | עָדֶיךָ    | עָלֶיךָ                  |
| 2 S. f.  | אֲחֵרֶיךָ                   |              | סְבִיבוֹתֶיךָ<br>& סְבִיבֶיךָ |                   | אֵלֶיךָ                 |            | עָלֶיךָ                  |
| 3 S. m.  | אֲחֵרָיו                    | בֵּינוֹ      | סְבִיבוֹתָיו<br>& סְבִיבָיו   | תַּחְתָּיו        | אֵלָיו                  | עָדָיו     | עָלָיו                   |
| 3 S. f.  | אֲחֵרֶיהָ                   |              | סְבִיבוֹתֶיהָ<br>& סְבִיבֶיהָ | תַּחְתֶּיהָ       | אֵלֶיהָ                 | עָדֶיהָ    | עָלֶיהָ                  |
| 1 Plur.  | אֲחֵרֵינוּ                  | בֵּינֵינוּ   | סְבִיבוֹתֵינוּ                | תַּחְתֵּינוּ      | אֵלֵינוּ                |            | עָלֵינוּ                 |
|          | & בֵּינֹתֵינוּ <sup>1</sup> |              |                               |                   |                         |            |                          |
| 2 Pl. m. | אֲחֵרֵיכֶם                  | בֵּינֵיכֶם   | סְבִיבוֹתֵיכֶם                | תַּחְתֵּיכֶם      | אֵלֵיכֶם                | עָדֵיכֶם   | עָלֵיכֶם                 |
| 3 Pl. m. | אֲחֵרֵיהֶם                  | בֵּינֵיהֶם   | סְבִיבוֹתֵיהֶם                | תַּחְתֵּיהֶם      | אֵלֵיהֶם                | [עָדֵיהֶם] | עָלֵיהֶם                 |
|          |                             | & בֵּינֹתָם  |                               | usually תַּחְתָּם | & אֵלֵיהֶם <sup>2</sup> |            | [עָלֵיהֶם <sup>2</sup> ] |
| 3 Pl. f. | אֲחֵרֵיהֶן                  |              |                               | תַּחְתֵּיהֶן      | אֵלֵיהֶן                |            | עָלֵיהֶן                 |
|          |                             |              |                               |                   | & אֵלֵיהֶן              |            |                          |

§ 104. *Conjunctions.*

1. The conjunctions serve to connect sentences, and to express their *a* relations one to another. They may be either—

(a) Original pronouns, e. g. the demonstrative כִּי *that, because, for*.

(b) Original substantives, which afterwards were reduced to the rank of pronouns, adverbs, or conjunctions; so perhaps אֲשֶׁר (see § 36), which is sometimes used to express the general idea of relation, sometimes as a relative pronoun (properly a demonstrative), but in many cases stands simply for כִּי; also אֵל- (nothing), *that not*; כִּי- (that not (the Greek μή of prohibition), &c. To these may be added the adverbial combination of substantives with prepositions, e. g. בְּתוֹכָם

<sup>1</sup> As Mayer Lambert observes, usage (cf. esp. Gn 26<sup>28</sup>) distinguishes between the two forms: בֵּינֹתֵינוּ means *between us and you*, whereas בֵּינֵינוּ (Jos 22<sup>25, 27, 28</sup> before וּבֵינֵינוּ) means *between us on the one side*.

<sup>2</sup> The poetical form אֵלֵינוּ only in ψ 2<sup>5</sup>; עָלֵינוּ, on which see note 3 on f, 12 times [viz. Dt 32<sup>23</sup>, ψ 5<sup>12</sup>, 55<sup>16</sup>, 61<sup>9</sup>, Th 16, 22<sup>23</sup>, 27<sup>17</sup>, 28<sup>2</sup>, 29<sup>2</sup>, 30<sup>2</sup>, 31<sup>2</sup>, 32<sup>2</sup>, 33<sup>2</sup>, 34<sup>2</sup>, 35<sup>2</sup>, 36<sup>2</sup>, 37<sup>2</sup>, 38<sup>2</sup>, 39<sup>2</sup>, 40<sup>2</sup>, 41<sup>2</sup>, 42<sup>2</sup>, 43<sup>2</sup>, 44<sup>2</sup>, 45<sup>2</sup>, 46<sup>2</sup>, 47<sup>2</sup>, 48<sup>2</sup>, 49<sup>2</sup>, 50<sup>2</sup>, 51<sup>2</sup>, 52<sup>2</sup>, 53<sup>2</sup>, 54<sup>2</sup>, 55<sup>2</sup>, 56<sup>2</sup>, 57<sup>2</sup>, 58<sup>2</sup>, 59<sup>2</sup>, 60<sup>2</sup>, 61<sup>2</sup>, 62<sup>2</sup>, 63<sup>2</sup>, 64<sup>2</sup>, 65<sup>2</sup>, 66<sup>2</sup>, 67<sup>2</sup>, 68<sup>2</sup>, 69<sup>2</sup>, 70<sup>2</sup>, 71<sup>2</sup>, 72<sup>2</sup>, 73<sup>2</sup>, 74<sup>2</sup>, 75<sup>2</sup>, 76<sup>2</sup>, 77<sup>2</sup>, 78<sup>2</sup>, 79<sup>2</sup>, 80<sup>2</sup>, 81<sup>2</sup>, 82<sup>2</sup>, 83<sup>2</sup>, 84<sup>2</sup>, 85<sup>2</sup>, 86<sup>2</sup>, 87<sup>2</sup>, 88<sup>2</sup>, 89<sup>2</sup>, 90<sup>2</sup>, 91<sup>2</sup>, 92<sup>2</sup>, 93<sup>2</sup>, 94<sup>2</sup>, 95<sup>2</sup>, 96<sup>2</sup>, 97<sup>2</sup>, 98<sup>2</sup>, 99<sup>2</sup>, 100<sup>2</sup>].

(in the not yet) earlier, before, for which מִפְּנֵי is also used. On the combination of two particles to express complex ideas (e.g. אֲחֵרֵי added to this, that=*much more*), see the Syntax, § 163 f.

- b (c) Prepositions, which with the addition of the conjunction אֲשֶׁר or וְ together form one single conjunction, e.g. אֲשֶׁר יָעַן *because*, prop. *on account of the fact that*; אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי, and more frequently אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי, *after that*; כַּאֲשֶׁר *according as* (with כִּי); וְעַקֵּב בִּי and אֲשֶׁר וְעַקֵּב *in consequence of the fact that, for the reason that, because*. Sometimes, however, the conjunction in such cases is omitted, and the preposition itself used as a conjunction, e.g. עַל־אֲשֶׁר (for אֲשֶׁר-עַל) *although*, Jb 16<sup>17</sup>.

So, at any rate, according to our linguistic principles. It would, however, be more correct to say, that instead of the intermediary אֲשֶׁר the whole of the succeeding sentence is regarded as one substantival idea, under the immediate government of the preposition. In the same way, all prepositions governing the gerund in English may be paraphrased by conjunctions with the finite verb, see §§ 114 and 115, *passim*.

- c 2. Besides those already mentioned, there are certain other small words now used as conjunctions, of which the derivation or original meaning is altogether obscure, thus אוֹ or, אִם *if* (also *or* before the second member of a double question), אֲדָה *also*, וְ *and*, and others.

- d Rem. The pointing of the וְ (originally וּ, as still before *Haṭeph Pathah*, and—with a following *Dageš forte*—in *wāw* consecutive of the imperfect; cf. § 49 f) is in many respects analogous to that of the prefixes בִּי, לִי, לְ (§ 102 d-i), but as being a weak consonant, the *wāw* copulative has some further peculiarities:

(a) Usually it takes simple *Šewā* (וְ).

(b) Before words which begin with a guttural having a compound *Šewā*, it takes the vowel with which the *Šewā* is compounded (according to § 28 b), e.g. וְחָכָם *and be thou wise*, וְעֲבָדִים *and servants*, וְעֹז *and strength*, וְאֵכֶל *and eat thou*, וְחֲלִי *and sickness*. On וְאֵלֶיךָ, וְאֵלֶיךָ, &c., see § 102 d; on וְאֵדֶיךָ, &c., see § 102 m; on such cases as וְעֲצָר Jb 4<sup>2</sup>, cf. § 28 b.

- c (c) Before words with simple *Šewā* under the first consonant (except in the cases under f), the *Wāw* becomes the vowel *ā* (cf. § 26 a), e.g. וְכָל *and to all*, so also (except in the case under g) before the cognate labials ב, כ, פ, hence וְכָל. On the cases in which simple *Šewā* has become a *Haṭeph* after וְ copulative (e.g. וְהָבָה Gn 2<sup>12</sup>), cf. § 10 g.

- f (d) With a following וְ the וְ coalesces to form וְ according to § 24 b, as וְהִי *and let him be*. On the peculiar punctuation of the *wāw* copulative before forms with initial *Šewā* from וְהִי *to be* and וְהִי *to live* (e.g. וְהִי Jos 8<sup>4</sup>, וְהִי Gn 20<sup>7</sup>), cf. § 63 g.

- g (e) Immediately before the tone-syllable it frequently takes *Qameš*, like בִּי, לִי, לְ (see § 102 f), but in most cases only at the end of a sentence or clause (but cf. also וְכָל 2 K 22<sup>30</sup>), e.g. וְכָל Ex 21<sup>12</sup> (on the other hand, in verse 20

וְאֵתְּנֶהּ is in closer logical connexion with what follows); 2 K 7<sup>4</sup> וְאֵתְּנֶהּ שָׁם; Ru 3<sup>2</sup> וְאֵתְּנֶהּ; ψ 10<sup>15</sup> וְיָרַע; 1 S 9<sup>4</sup> וְאֵי; 2 S 13<sup>26</sup> וְלֹא; Ez 47<sup>9</sup> וְחִי; cf. also (with *Tiphtha*) Gn 33<sup>13</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>12</sup>. The very frequent connexion of nouns expressing kindred ideas, by means of וְ, is due simply to considerations of rhythm, for even in such cases the *Waw* must immediately precede the tone-syllable, which must be marked by a disjunctive accent, e. g. הָהוּ וְכֵהָ Gn 1<sup>2</sup>, יוֹם וְלַיְלָה Gn 8<sup>22</sup> (see also the previous examples); Gn 13<sup>14</sup> (thrice); Ex 25<sup>3</sup> וְהָב וְכִסֶּה; ψ 96<sup>7</sup> וְעוֹ כְּבוֹד; ψ 76<sup>7</sup> וְרָכַב וְסוּס; Gn 7<sup>13</sup> וְנָח וְשֶׁם־וְהֵם וְאֶפֶת; 1 K 21<sup>10</sup> וְאֵשׁ־וְאֵשׁ at the end of the verse, but in ψ 87<sup>5</sup> וְאֵשׁ וְאֵשׁ in spite of the *Deth* with the second וְאֵשׁ, because it is closely connected with the following predicate. Also with three words Gn 24<sup>17</sup>. On the other hand, the rapid pronunciation וְ occurs before a conjunctive accent (and, when farther removed from the principal pause, even with the smaller disjunctives, in spite of a following tone-syllable), e. g. צֶלֶן וְעֶבֶד Gn 32<sup>6</sup>; cf. Gn 31<sup>40</sup>, Lv 7<sup>23</sup>, Dt 2<sup>21</sup>, and among the examples given above, Gn 7<sup>13</sup> and ψ 76<sup>7</sup>. (Exceptions: וְקִרְמָה Gn 13<sup>14</sup>, where evidently the וְ is intended to ensure the slow and solemn recitation of the promise, but also וְיִיָּה Jos 15<sup>55</sup>, וְעֶתֶר, 19<sup>7</sup>, וְבִטָּן 19<sup>23</sup>, all immediately before the pause.) For the same rhythmical reason וְ (not וְ) is used regularly with certain monosyllables which, by their nature, lean more closely upon the following word, thus וְהָהוּ, וְהָהוּ, וְהָהוּ (to be distinguished from וְהָהוּ *if not*, with *Zaqef h gadol*, 2 K 5<sup>17</sup>), and others.

### § 105. Interjections.

1. Among the interjections some (as in all languages) are simply *a* natural sounds, or, as it were, vocal gestures, called forth involuntarily by certain impressions or sensations, e. g. אָהָה (Ez 30<sup>2</sup> אָהָה, *ah* / אָהָה *aha* / (cf. this אָהָה also in אָהָה and אָהָה *utinam* /), אָהָה Ex 32<sup>31</sup>, &c. (Gn 50<sup>17</sup> אָהָה *ah* / (from אָהָה and אָהָה), otherwise written אָהָה 2 K 20<sup>3</sup>, Jn 1<sup>14</sup>, ψ 116<sup>4</sup>; also הָם (in pause הָם, even in the plural הָם *hold your peace*! Neh 8<sup>11</sup>) *hush*! הָהוּ (Am 5<sup>16</sup> הָהוּ) *ha*! *woe*! אָהָה (ψ 120<sup>5</sup>), אָהָה (in אָהָה Ec 4<sup>10</sup>; אָהָה 10<sup>16</sup>) *woe*!

2. Others, however, originally expressed independent ideas, and *b* become interjections only by rapid pronunciation and by usage, e. g. הֵן (הָהָה) or הֵהָה *behold*! (prop. *here*); רָאָה *behold*! (prop. imperative); הָהָה, plur. הָהָה (prop. *give*, imperative of הָהָה; as to the tone, cf. § 69*d*), *come*, the Latin *age*, *agite*! לָהָה (also לָהָה, לָהָה (prop. *go*, imperative of הָהָה) with the same meaning<sup>1</sup>; הָהָה *far be it*! (prop. *ad profanum*!)

<sup>1</sup> רָאָה (Dt 1<sup>8</sup>), הָהָה and לָהָה are also used in connexion with the feminine and the plural, which proves that they have become quite stereotyped -- interjections.

נָּ (see the Lexicon) *I beseech, hear me!* נָּ *pray!*<sup>1</sup> used to emphasize a demand, warning, or entreaty, and always placed after the expression to which it belongs.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> נָּ serves to express the most various shades of expression, which are discussed in the various parts of the syntax. It is used especially (a) after the imperative, either in commands or entreaty, see § 110 d; (b) with the imperfect, either in the cohortative (§ 108 b) or jussive (§ 109 b); (c) once with perfect, Gn 40<sup>14</sup>; (d) after various particles: נָּ הִנֵּה *behold now*; particularly after the conjunctions לְ and אֵל: נָּ אֶל-נָּ *ne quasso* and נָּ אִם-נָּ *if now, εἴπερ, εἴπote, if*, in a deprecatory sense, expressive of politeness or modesty. In Nu 12<sup>13</sup> נָּ stands after a noun; but we ought certainly to read נָּ אֶל-נָּ.—In polite language this particle is used constantly in all these ways, Gn 18<sup>3,4</sup>, 19<sup>7,8,19</sup>, and 50<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Against the usual view which regards נָּ as a hortatory particle (= *up!* *come!* analogous to the original imperatives הִבֵּה and לִבֵּה and the Ethiopic *nā'ā*, properly *hither*, also *come!*), P. Haupt, in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, xiii, no. 114, p. 109, justly observes that we should then expect the particle to be prefixed to the imperative, &c. He proposes to describe נָּ as an emphatic particle. Haupt's suggested identification of this נָּ with the Assyrian, Arabic, and Ethiopic particle *mā* (which is also an enclitic of emphasis), and ultimately with the interrogative *mā*, we shall not discuss here.

# THIRD PART

## SYNTAX<sup>1</sup>

### CHAPTER I

#### THE PARTS OF SPEECH

##### I. Syntax of the Verb.

##### A. USE OF THE TENSES AND MOODS.<sup>2</sup>

##### § 106. Use of the Perfect.

The perfect serves to express actions, events, or states, which the *a* speaker wishes to represent from the point of view of completion, whether they belong to a determinate past time, or extend into the present, or, while still future, are pictured as in their completed state.

The definition formerly given here ('the perfect serves to express *completed* actions') applies, strictly speaking, only to some of the varieties of the perfect discussed under *b-p*: hence the above modification based on the arguments of Knudtzon (for the title see note 2, and cf. further § 107 *a*).

More particularly the uses of the perfect may be distinguished as follows:—

1. To represent actions, events, or states, which, after a shorter *b*

---

<sup>1</sup> Recent works on Hebrew syntax are: A. B. Davidson, *Introductory Heb. Gram.*, vol. ii, *Heb. Syntax*, Edinburgh, 1894; Ed. König, *Hist.-compar. Syntax der hebr. Sprache*, Lpz. 1897 (see above, § 3 *f*). Important contributions to Hebrew syntax are also contained in H. Reckendorf's work *Die syntakt. Verhältnisse des Arab.*, 2 pts., Leiden, 1895, 1898, of which we have already made use in § 97 *a*. Cf. also the same author's very instructive discussions *Ueber syntakt. Forschung*, Munich, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the sketch of the tenses and moods used in Hebrew in § 40; and on the general characteristics of the perfect and imperfect see the note on § 47 *a*; also Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* (Oxford, 1874; 3rd ed. 1892); Bennett, 'Notes on the Use of the Hebrew Tenses' (*Hebraica*, 1886, vols. ii, iii). A partial modification of the accepted definition of the Semitic perfect and imperfect was proposed by J. A. Knudtzon, *Om det saakaldte Perfektum og Imperfektum i Hebraisk*, Kristiania, 1890; of which a summary entitled 'Vom sogenannten Perf. und Imperf. im Hebr.' appeared in the *Transactions of the Oriental Congress at Stockholm*, section sémitique *b*, p. 73 ff. (Leiden, 1893). Cf. also Knudtzon's articles, 'Zur assyrischen und allgemein semitischen Grammatik' in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, especially vi. 422 ff. and vii. 33 ff.

or longer duration, were terminated in the past, and hence are finally concluded, viz.:

(a) Corresponding to the perfect proper in Latin and the English perfect definite, in assertions, negations, confirmations, interrogations, &c., e.g. Gn 18<sup>15</sup> *then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not* (לֹא צָחַקְתִּי) . . . . .; and he said, *Nay, but thou didst laugh* (צָחַקְתָּ); Gn 3<sup>11</sup> לָךְ הֵיךְ לֵךְ *who told thee . . . ?* Cf. 3<sup>13, 14, 17, 22</sup>. Also pointing to some undefined time in the past, e.g. Is 66<sup>8</sup> כִּי־שָׁמַעַתְּ בְּזֹאת *who hath (ever yet) heard such a thing ?*

c Rem. In opposition to this express use of the perfect to emphasize the completion of an event, the imperfect is not infrequently used to emphasize that which is still future, e.g. Jos 1<sup>6</sup> *as I was* (הָיִיתִי) *with Moses, so will I be* (אֶהְיֶה) *with thee*; Jos 1<sup>17</sup>, Ex 10<sup>14</sup>, Dt 32<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>38</sup>, Is 46<sup>4, 11</sup>, Jo 2<sup>2</sup>, Ec 1<sup>9</sup>.

d (b) As a simple *tempus historicum* (corresponding to the Greek *aorist*) in narrating past events, e.g. Gn 4<sup>4</sup> *and Abel, he also brought* (וַיָּבִיֵא), &c.; Gn 7<sup>19</sup> *the waters did prevail* (וַיִּבְרֹךְ), &c.; Jb 1<sup>1</sup> *there was a man* (אִישׁ הָיָה) *in the land of Uz*, &c.; even in relating repeated actions, 1 S 18<sup>30</sup>.

e Rem. As the above examples indicate, the perfect of narration occurs especially at the head of an entire narrative (Jb 1<sup>1</sup>; cf. Dn 2<sup>1</sup>) or an independent sentence (e.g. Gn 7<sup>11, 13</sup>), but in co-ordinate sentences, as a rule, only when the verb is separated from the copulative ו by one or more words (cf. above Gn 4<sup>4</sup> and 7<sup>19</sup>). In other cases, the narrative is continued in the imperfect consecutive, according to § 111 a. The direct connexion of the narrative perfect with ו copulative (not to be confounded with the perfect consecutive proper, § 112) agrees rather with Aramaic syntax (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aram.*, § 71, 1 b). On the examples (which are in many respects doubtful) in the earlier texts, see § 112 pp-uu.

f (c) To represent actions, &c., which were already completed in the past, at the time when other actions or conditions took place (pluperfect),<sup>1</sup> e.g. 1 S 28<sup>8</sup> *now Samuel was (long since) dead*<sup>2</sup> . . . and Saul had put away (הִסִּיר) *those that had familiar spirits . . . out of the land*. Both these statements, being as it were in parentheses, merely assign a reason for the narrative beginning at verse 6. Cf. 1 S 9<sup>15</sup>, 25<sup>21</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>18</sup>.—Gn 20<sup>18</sup> (*for the Lord had just closed up*, &c.); 27<sup>30</sup>, 31<sup>19, 34</sup>, Dt 2<sup>10</sup>; and in a negative statement, Gn 2<sup>5</sup> *for the Lord God had not (up to that time) caused it to rain*, &c. This is especially frequent, from the nature of the case, in relative, causal, and temporal clauses, when the main clause contains a tense referring to the past, e.g. Gn 2<sup>2</sup> *and he rested . . . from all his work which he had made* (עָשָׂה); Gn 7<sup>9</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Haupt in the *Notes on Esther*, 9<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Incorrectly, e.g. in the Vulgate, *Samuel autem mortuus est . . . et Saul abstulit magos*, &c.



19<sup>27</sup>, &c.; 29<sup>10</sup> *now when Jacob had seen Rachel* (בָּאֵשֶׁר רָאָה) . . . , *Jacob went near*, &c.; so also in clauses which express the completion or incompleteness of one action, &c., on the occurrence of another, as in Gn 24<sup>15</sup>, 27<sup>30</sup>, &c.; cf. § 164 b, with the note, and c.

2. To represent actions, events, or states, which, although completed *g* in the past, nevertheless extend their influence into the present (in English generally rendered by the present):

(a) Expressing facts which were accomplished long before, or conditions and attributes which were acquired long before, but of which the effects still remain in the present (present perfect), e.g.  $\psi$  10<sup>11</sup> הִסְתִּיר פָּנָיו *he hath hidden his face (and still keeps it hidden)*;  $\psi$  143<sup>6</sup> פָּרַשְׁתִּי *I have spread forth my hands (and still keep them spread forth)*. This applies particularly to a large number of perfects (almost exclusively of intransitive<sup>1</sup> verbs, denoting affections or states of the mind) which in English can be rendered only by the present, or, in the case mentioned above under *f*, by the imperfect.<sup>2</sup> Thus, יָדַעְתִּי *I know* (prop. *I have perceived, have experienced*) Jb 9<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>13</sup>, Nu 22<sup>34</sup>; *I know not* Gn 4<sup>9</sup>, &c.; on the other hand, e.g. in Gn 28<sup>16</sup>, Nu 22<sup>34</sup>, the context requires *I knew not*; וְזָכַרְנִי *we remember* Nu 11<sup>7</sup>; מִיָּאֵנָה *she refuseth* Jb 6<sup>7</sup>; עָלְךָ *it exulteth*; שִׂמְחֵתִי *I rejoice* 1 S 2<sup>1</sup>; בָּקֵשׁ *he requirerth* Is 1<sup>12</sup>; קָוִיתִי *I wait* Gn 49<sup>18</sup>,  $\psi$  130<sup>5</sup> (parallel with הוֹלֵלְתִּי); חִפְצָתִי *I delight*  $\psi$  40<sup>9</sup> (mostly negative, Is 1<sup>11</sup>, &c.); אֶהְבֵּתִי *I love* Gn 27<sup>4</sup>; שִׂנְאֵתִי *I hate*  $\psi$  31<sup>7</sup>; מִאֲסַתִּי *I despise* Am 5<sup>21</sup>; הִעָבְרִי *they abhor me* Jb 30<sup>10</sup>; בָּטַחְתִּי *I trust*  $\psi$  25<sup>2</sup>; הִסִּיתִי *I put my trust*  $\psi$  31<sup>2</sup>; צַדִּיקְתִּי *I am righteous* Jb 34<sup>5</sup>; פָּצַחְתִּי *I have decided to requite* 1 S 15<sup>2</sup>.—We may further include a number of verbs which express bodily characteristics or states, such as גָּדַלְתָּ *thou art great*  $\psi$  104<sup>1</sup>; קָטַנְתִּי *I am litile* Gn 32<sup>11</sup>; גָּבְהוּ *they are high* Is 55<sup>9</sup>; רָחֲקוּ *they stand aloof* Jb 30<sup>10</sup>; טָבוּ *they are goodly* Nu 24<sup>5</sup>; נָאוּ *they are beautiful* Is 52<sup>7</sup>; זָקַנְתִּי *I am old* Gn 18<sup>13</sup>; יָגַעְתִּי *I am weary*  $\psi$  6<sup>7</sup>; שָׂבַעְתִּי *I am full* Is 1<sup>11</sup>, &c.

Rem. To the same category probably belong also the perfects after עֲדַמְתִּי *h* Ex 10<sup>8</sup> *how long hast thou already been refusing* (and refusetst still . . . ? which really amounts to *how long wilt thou refuse?*),  $\psi$  80<sup>5</sup>, Pr 1<sup>22</sup> (co-ordinate with the imperf.), and after עֲדָאֵנָה Ex 16<sup>28</sup>, Hb 1<sup>2</sup>.

(b) In direct narration to express actions which, although really *i* only in process of accomplishment, are nevertheless meant to be repre-

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the great but very natural preponderance of intransitive verbs (expressing an existing state), cf. the lists in Knudtzon (see above, p. 309, note 2), pp. 117 and 122 in the Danish text.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *novi, odi, memini*; *οἶδα, μέμνημαι, οἶκα, δέδορκα, κέκραγα*; in the New Testament, *ἤλπικα, ἠγάπηκα*.

sented as already accomplished in the conception of the speaker, e.g. *וְרָמַתִּי* *I lift up* (my hand in ratifying an oath) Gn 14<sup>22</sup>; *וְשָׁבַעְתִּי* *I swear* Jer 22<sup>5</sup>; *וְהִעֲדֵיתִי* *I testify* Dt 8<sup>19</sup>; *וְעָצָתִי* *I counsel* 2 S 17<sup>11</sup> (but in a different context in ver. 15, *I have counselled*); *וְאָמַרְתִּי* (prop. *I say*) *I decide* (*I consider as hereby settled*) 2 S 19<sup>30</sup>; *I declare* Jb 9<sup>22</sup>, 32<sup>10</sup>.

k (c) To express facts which have formerly taken place, and are still of constant recurrence, and hence are matters of common experience (the Greek *gnomic aorist*), e.g. *ψ 9<sup>11</sup> for thou, Lord, hast not forsaken* (*לֹא עָזַבְתָּ*) *them that seek thee*. Cf. ver. 13, also *ψ 10<sup>3</sup>, 119<sup>40</sup> and Gn 49<sup>11</sup> (פָּצַם)*.

l Rem. In almost all the cases discussed in No. 2 (included under the English present) the imperfect can be used instead of the perfect, wherever the action or state in question is regarded, not as already completed, but as still continuing or just taking place (see § 107 a). Thus, *לֹא יָכֹלְתִּי* *I am not able* *ψ 40<sup>13</sup>* and *לֹא אֵיכָל* Gn 31<sup>35</sup> have practically the same meaning. Hence also it very frequently happens that the imperfect corresponds to such perfects in poetic or prophetic parallelism, e.g. Is 5<sup>12</sup>, *ψ 2<sup>11</sup>*, Pr 1<sup>22</sup>, Jb 3<sup>17</sup>.

m 3. To express *future* actions, when the speaker intends by an express assurance to represent them as finished, or as equivalent to accomplished facts:

(a) In contracts or other express stipulations (again corresponding to the English present, and therefore closely related to the instances noted under i), e.g. Gn 23<sup>11</sup> *the field I give* (*יִתְּנִי*) *thee*; cf. ver. 13 and 48<sup>22</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>21</sup>, 24<sup>23</sup>, Jer 40<sup>1</sup>; in a threat, 1 S 2<sup>16</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>6</sup> (unless, with Wellhausen, *יִסְיָרָךְ* is to be read).—Especially in promises made by God, Gn 1<sup>29</sup>, 15<sup>18</sup>, 17<sup>20</sup>, Ju 1<sup>2</sup>.

n (b) To express facts which are undoubtedly imminent, and, therefore, in the imagination of the speaker, already accomplished (*perfectum confidentiae*), e.g. Nu 17<sup>27</sup> *וְנָעַנּוּ אֲבִירֵינוּ כָּלֵנוּ אֲבִירֵנוּ בְּלֹאֵנוּ* *behold, we perish, we are undone, we are all undone*. Gn 30<sup>13</sup>, Is 6<sup>5</sup> (*נִבְרַמְתִּי* *I am undone*<sup>1</sup>), Pr 4<sup>2</sup>. Even in interrogative sentences, Gn 18<sup>12</sup>, Nu 17<sup>28</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup>, Ju 9<sup>9,11</sup>, Zc 4<sup>10</sup> (?), Pr 22<sup>20</sup>.<sup>2</sup> This use of the perfect occurs most frequently in prophetic language (*perfectum propheticum*). The prophet so trans-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the similar use of *ὄλωλα* (*διέφθορας*, II. 15. 128) and *perii*! On the kindred use of the perfect in conditional sentences, cf. below, p.

<sup>2</sup> In Gn 40<sup>14</sup> a *perf. confidentiae* (after *אֲנִי בָּי*; but cf. § 163 d) appears to be used in the expression of an earnest desire that something may happen (*but have me in thy remembrance, &c.*). Neither this passage, however, nor the use of the perfect in Arabic to express a wish or imprecation, justifies us in assuming the existence of a *precative* perfect in Hebrew. In Jb 21<sup>16</sup>, 22<sup>18</sup>, also, translate the *counsel of the wicked is far from me*. Cf. Driver, *Tenses*<sup>2</sup>, p. 25 f. In Is 43<sup>9</sup> either *נִקְבְּצוּ* is *imperative* (see § 51 o) or we must read *יִקְבְּצוּ*, corresponding to *יִקְסֹפוּ* which follows.

ports himself in imagination into the future that he describes the future event as if it had been already seen or heard by him, e.g. Is 5<sup>13</sup> *therefore my people are gone into captivity* (וָיָלְדָה); 9<sup>1st</sup>, 10<sup>28</sup>, 11<sup>9</sup> (after בִּי, as frequently elsewhere); 19<sup>7</sup>, Jb 5<sup>20</sup>, 2 Ch 20<sup>37</sup>. Not infrequently the imperfect interchanges with such perfects either in the parallel member or further on in the narrative.

(c) To express actions or facts, which are meant to be indicated as existing in the future in a completed state (*futurum exactum*), e.g. Is 4<sup>4</sup> וָיָחַץ אֵם when he has washed away=when he shall have washed away (an imperfect follows in the co-ordinate sentence; cf. the conditional sentences in § 107 a); Is 6<sup>11</sup> (after אֵם אֲשֶׁר עָרַד, as in Gn 28<sup>15</sup>, Nu 32<sup>17</sup>; also 2 S 17<sup>13</sup> after אֲשֶׁר עָרַד, Gn 24<sup>19</sup> after אֵם עָרַד and elsewhere frequently after temporal conjunctions); Mi 5<sup>2</sup> (וְיָלְדָה); Gn 43<sup>14</sup> וְאֵנִי בְּאֶשֶׁר שָׂבַלְתִּי שָׂבַלְתִּי and I—if I am bereaved (*orbis fuero*), I am bereaved, an expression of despairing resignation. Cf. Pr 23<sup>15</sup>, Est 4<sup>16</sup>.

4. To express actions and facts, whose accomplishment in the past *p* is to be represented, not as actual, but only as possible (generally corresponding to the Latin imperfect or pluperfect subjective), e.g. Gn 3<sup>42</sup> *except the God of my father . . . had been with me, surely now hadst thou sent me away empty* (שָׁלַחְתָּנִי); Gn 43<sup>10</sup>, Ex 9<sup>15</sup> שָׁלַחְתִּי I had almost put forth, &c.); Nu 22<sup>33</sup>, Ju 13<sup>23</sup>, 14<sup>18</sup>, 1 S 13<sup>13</sup> (הִכִּי); 2 K 13<sup>19</sup>; so frequently after בְּקֶעֶט *easily, almost*, Gn 26<sup>10</sup>, Is 1<sup>9</sup> (where בְּקֶעֶט is probably to be connected with the word after it), ψ 73<sup>2</sup>, 94<sup>17</sup>, 119<sup>87</sup>, Pr 5<sup>14</sup>. Cf. also Jb 3<sup>18</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup> (בְּחַיִּי), Ru 1<sup>12</sup> (if I should think, &c.; cf. 2 K 7<sup>4</sup>); in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, 1 S 25<sup>34</sup>.—So also to express an unfulfilled desire, Nu 14<sup>2</sup> לִי מָוֶתְנִי *would that we had died . . . !* (לִי with the imperfect would mean *would that we might die!* 1 S 14<sup>30</sup>). Finally, also in a question indicating astonishment, Gn 21<sup>7</sup> מִלֵּל כִּי *who would have said . . . ? quis dixerit?* ψ 73<sup>11</sup>.

### § 107. Use of the Imperfect.<sup>1</sup>

The imperfect, as opposed to the perfect, represents actions, events, *a* or states which are regarded by the speaker at any moment as still continuing, or in process of accomplishment, or even as just taking place. In the last case, its occurrence may be represented as certainly imminent, or merely as conceived in the mind of the speaker, or simply as desired, and therefore only contingent (the modal use of the imperfect).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the literature cited above, p. 300, note 2.

Knudtson (see above, Rem. on § 106 a), comparing the Ass.-Bab. usage, would prefer the term *present* rather than *imperfect*, on the ground that the tense expresses what is either actually or mentally present. In any case, the essential difference between the perfect and imperfect consists, he argues, in this, that the perfect simply indicates what is actually complete, while the imperfect places the action, &c., in a more direct relation to the judgement or feeling of the speaker.

More precisely the imperfect serves—

1. In the sphere of *past time*:

- b (a) To express actions, &c., which *continued* throughout a longer or shorter period,<sup>1</sup> e.g. Gn 2<sup>6</sup> *a mist went up* continually (וַיִּעֹלָה), 2<sup>25</sup>, 37<sup>7</sup>, 48<sup>10</sup>, Ex 1<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>20</sup>, 13<sup>22</sup>, 15<sup>6,12,14,15</sup>, Nu 9<sup>15 f. 20 f.</sup>, 23<sup>7</sup>, Ju 2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>2</sup>, 13<sup>17 f.</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>28</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>4</sup>, 7<sup>8</sup>, 21<sup>6</sup>, Is 1<sup>21</sup>, 6<sup>4</sup> (וַיִּפְּלוּ), 17<sup>10 f.</sup>, 51<sup>2 a</sup>, Jer 13<sup>7</sup>, 3<sup>18</sup>, ψ 18<sup>7,14,17 ff. 38 ff.</sup>, 24<sup>2</sup>, 32<sup>4,5</sup> (וַיִּדְרִיעַ), 47<sup>5</sup>, 68<sup>10,12</sup>, 104<sup>6 ff.</sup>, 106<sup>19</sup>, 107<sup>18,29</sup>, 139<sup>13</sup>, Jb 3<sup>11</sup>, 4<sup>12,15 f.</sup>, 10<sup>10 f.</sup>, 15<sup>7 f.</sup>—very frequently alternating with a perfect (especially with a frequentative perfect; cf. Nu 9<sup>15-23</sup> and § 112 e), or when the narration is continued by means of an imperfect consecutive.<sup>2</sup>

- c Rem. 1. The imperfect is frequently used in this way after the particles אֵין *then*, בְּתָרִם *not yet*, בְּתָרִם *before*, עַד *until*, e.g. Ex 15<sup>1</sup> אֵין יִשְׂרָאֵל-מִשָּׁחָה *then sang* Moses, &c.; Nu 21<sup>17</sup>, Dt 4<sup>41</sup>, Jos 10<sup>12</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>18</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, ψ 126<sup>2</sup>, Jb 38<sup>21</sup>. (The perfect is used after אֵין when stress is to be laid on the fact that the action has really taken place, and not upon its gradual accomplishment or duration in the past, e.g. Gn 4<sup>28</sup> אֵין הָיָה *then began*, &c.; Gn 49<sup>4</sup>, Ex 15<sup>15</sup>, Jos 22<sup>31</sup>, Ju 5<sup>11</sup>, ψ 85<sup>20</sup>.)<sup>3</sup> After בְּתָרִם e.g. Gn 19<sup>4</sup> יִשְׁכְּבוּ בְּתָרִם *before they lay down*; Gn 2<sup>5</sup>, 24<sup>45</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>7</sup>, always in the sense of our *pluperfect*. (In Gn 24<sup>15</sup> instead of the perf. בָּלָה, the imperf. should be read, as in verse 45; so also in 1 S 3<sup>7</sup> [וַיִּגְלַה] an imperf. is co-ordinated with יָדַע). After בְּתָרִם (sometimes also simply תָּרִם Ex 12<sup>24</sup>, Jos 3<sup>1</sup>), e.g. Jer 1<sup>6</sup> הֵצֵא בְּתָרִם *before thou camest forth*; Gn 27<sup>33</sup>, 37<sup>18</sup>, 41<sup>50</sup>, Ru 3<sup>14</sup> (perhaps also in ψ 90<sup>2</sup> an imperf. was intended instead of יִלְרִי; cf. Wellhausen on 2 S 3<sup>2</sup>; but note also Pr 8<sup>25</sup>, in a similar context, *before the mountains were settled*, הִטְבְּעוּ, the predicate being separated from בְּתָרִם by הָרִים, as in ψ 90<sup>2</sup>). After עַד Jos 10<sup>13</sup>, ψ 73<sup>17</sup> (*until I went*), 2 Ch 29<sup>34</sup>; on the other

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Meša' inscription, l. 5, יֵאֲנָק כְּמֹשׁ בְּאַרְצָה *for Chemosh was angry with his land*. As Driver, *Tenses*, 3rd ed., § 27, 1 a, remarks, this vivid realization of the accomplishment of the action is especially frequent in poetic and prophetic style.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Masora such imperfects occur in Is 10<sup>13</sup> *bis* (where, however, וַיִּסְרֹם might also mean *I am wont to remove*, &c.), Is 48<sup>9</sup>, 57<sup>17</sup>, ψ 183<sup>3 b</sup>, also (according to § 49 c) in 2 S 1<sup>10</sup> and Ez 16<sup>30</sup>. In some other cases י is no doubt a dogmatic emendation for י (imperf. consec.) in order to represent historical statements as promises; cf. Is 42<sup>6</sup>, 43<sup>28</sup> [contrasted with 42<sup>25</sup>], 51<sup>2</sup> *bis*, 63<sup>3</sup> *π*, and the note on § 53 *π*.

<sup>3</sup> After אֵין *then* (to announce future events) the imperf. is naturally used in the sense of a future, Gn 24<sup>41</sup>, Ex 12<sup>48</sup>, Mi 3<sup>4</sup>, Zp 3<sup>9</sup>, ψ 51<sup>21</sup>.

hand, with the perf., e.g. Jos 2<sup>22</sup>. As after  $\text{אָן}$ , so also after  $\text{בָּרַךְ}$ ,  $\text{בָּרְכֶם}$ , and  $\text{עָרַךְ}$  the imperf. may be used, according to the context, in the sense of our future, e.g. 2 K 2<sup>9</sup>, Is 65<sup>24</sup>, Jb 10<sup>21</sup>; after  $\text{עָרַךְ}$  e.g. Is 22<sup>14</sup>. The imperf. is used in the sense of our present after  $\text{בָּרַךְ}$  in Ex 9<sup>30</sup>, 10<sup>7</sup>.

2. Driver (*Tenses*<sup>3</sup>, p. 35 f.) rightly lays stress upon the inherent distinction *d* between the *participle* as expressing mere duration, and the *imperfect* as expressing progressive duration (in the present, past, or future). Thus the words  $\text{וַיֵּצֵא וְנָהָר}$  Gn 2<sup>10</sup> represent the river of Paradise as going out of Eden in a continuous, uninterrupted stream, but  $\text{וַיִּפְרֹךְ}$ , which immediately follows, describes how the parting of its waters is always taking place afresh. In the same way  $\text{וַיַּעֲלֶה}$  Gn 2<sup>6</sup> represents new mists as constantly arising, and  $\text{וַיִּפְּלוּ}$  Is 6<sup>4</sup> new clouds of smoke. Also those actions, &c., which might be regarded in themselves as single or even momentary, are, as it were, broken up by the imperfect into their component parts, and so pictured as gradually completing themselves. Hence  $\text{וַיִּכְרַסְוּ}$  Ex 15<sup>12</sup> (after a perf. as in verse 14) represents the Egyptians, in a vivid, poetic description, as being swallowed up one after another, and  $\text{וַיִּבְרָךְ}$  Nu 23<sup>7</sup> the leading on by stages, &c.

(b) To express actions, &c., which were repeated in the past, either *c* at fixed intervals or occasionally (the *modus rei repetitae*), e.g. Jb 1<sup>5</sup> *thus did* ( $\text{וַיַּעַשׂ}$ ) Job continually (after each occasion of his sons' festivities); 4<sup>3f.</sup>, 22<sup>6f.</sup>, 23<sup>11</sup>, 29<sup>7,9,12f.</sup>, Gn 6<sup>4</sup>, 29<sup>3</sup>, 30<sup>7</sup>, 42<sup>31,39</sup> (*I used to bear the loss of it*), Ex 1<sup>12</sup>, 19<sup>19</sup>, 33<sup>7ff.</sup> ( $\text{וַיֵּשֶׁב}$  used to take every time), 40<sup>36ff.</sup>, Nu 9<sup>17f. 20ff.</sup>, 11<sup>5,9</sup>, Ju 6<sup>1</sup>, 14<sup>10</sup>, 21<sup>25</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>7</sup>, 2<sup>22</sup>, 9<sup>9</sup>, 13<sup>19</sup>, 18<sup>3</sup>, 27<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>22</sup>, 12<sup>3</sup>, 13<sup>18</sup>, 1 K 5<sup>25</sup> (of tribute repeated year by year), 10<sup>5</sup>, 13<sup>33</sup>, 14<sup>28</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>29</sup>, 13<sup>20</sup>, 25<sup>14</sup>, Jer 36<sup>23</sup>,  $\psi$  42<sup>5</sup>, 44<sup>3</sup>, 78<sup>15,40</sup>, 103<sup>7</sup>, Est 2<sup>14</sup>; even in a negative dependent clause, 1 K 18<sup>10</sup>.

2. In the sphere of present time, again

(a) To express actions, events, or states, which are continued for a shorter or longer time,<sup>1</sup> e.g. Gn 37<sup>15</sup>  $\text{מַה־תִּבְקֹשׁ}$  what seekest thou? 19<sup>10</sup>  $\text{לֹא־אֵבִיל}$  I cannot; 24<sup>50</sup>, 31<sup>25</sup>, Is 1<sup>12</sup>. Other examples are Gn 2<sup>10</sup>, 24<sup>31</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>8</sup>, 11<sup>5</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>7</sup>,  $\psi$  2<sup>2</sup>, and in the prophetic formula  $\text{יְהוָה אָמַר}$  saith the Lord, Is 1<sup>11,18</sup>, &c., cf. 40<sup>1</sup>. So especially to express facts known by experience, which occur at all times, and consequently hold good at any moment, e.g. Pr 15<sup>20</sup> a wise son maketh a glad father; hence especially frequent in Job and Proverbs. In an interrogative sentence, e.g. Jb 4<sup>17</sup> is mortal man just before God? In a negative sentence, Jb 4<sup>18</sup>, &c.

(b) To express actions, &c., which may be repeated at any time, *g* including therefore the present, or are customarily repeated on a given occasion (cf. above, e), e.g. Dt 1<sup>44</sup> as bees do (are accustomed to

<sup>1</sup> It is not always possible to carry out with certainty the distinction between continued and repeated actions. Some of the examples given under *f* might equally be referred to *g*.

do); Gn 6<sup>21</sup>, 32<sup>33</sup>, 43<sup>32</sup>, Ju 11<sup>40</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>8</sup>, 5<sup>5</sup>, 20<sup>2</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>32</sup>, Is 1<sup>23</sup>, 3<sup>16</sup>, ψ 1<sup>3</sup>. So again (see *f*) especially to express facts known by experience which may at any time come into effect again, e.g. Ex 23<sup>8</sup> *a gift blindeth* (יַעֲרֵר), &c.; Gn 2<sup>24</sup>, 22<sup>14</sup>, Is 32<sup>6</sup>, Am 3<sup>7</sup>, Mal 1<sup>6</sup>, Jb 2<sup>4</sup>, &c. Of the same kind also is the imperfect in such relative clauses (see § 155), as Gn 49<sup>27</sup> *Benjamin is* יִבְרָרְךָ *a wolf that ravineth* (properly, is accustomed to ravin). Finally, compare also the formulae יֵאָמֵר *it is* (wont to be) *said* (to introduce proverbial expressions) Gn 10<sup>9</sup>, 22<sup>14</sup>, &c.; לֹא-יַעֲשֶׂה בָּן *it is not* (wont to be) *so done* (and hence may not, shall not be, see *u*), Gn 29<sup>26</sup>, 20<sup>9</sup>, 34<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>12</sup>.

*h* (c) To express actions, &c., which although, strictly speaking, they are already finished, are regarded as still lasting on into the present time, or continuing to operate in it, e.g. Gn 32<sup>30</sup> *wherefore is it that thou dost ask* (תִּשְׁאַל) *after my name?* 24<sup>31</sup>, 44<sup>7</sup>, Ex 5<sup>15</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>9</sup>. In such cases, naturally, the perfect is also admissible, and is sometimes found in the same formula as the imperfect, e.g. Jb 1<sup>7</sup> (2<sup>2</sup>) מֵאַיִן תָּבֹא *whence comest thou* (just now)? but Gn 16<sup>8</sup> (cf. 42<sup>7</sup>) מֵאַיִן תָּבֹא *whence camest thou?* The imperfect represents the coming as still in its last stage, whereas the perfect represents it as an accomplished fact.

*i* 3. In the sphere of *future time*. To express actions, &c., which are to be represented as about to take place, and as continuing a shorter or longer time in the future, or as being repeated; thus:

(a) From the standpoint of the speaker's present time, e.g. Ex 4<sup>1</sup> *they will not believe* (יֹאמְרוּ) *me, nor hearken* (יִשְׁמְעוּ) *unto my voice: for they will say* (יֹאמְרוּ), &c., 6<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>5</sup>, &c.

*k* (b) In dependent clauses to represent actions, &c., which from some point of time in the past are to be represented as future, e.g. Gn 43<sup>7</sup> *could we in any wise know that he would say* (יֹאמֵר)? 2<sup>19</sup>, 43<sup>25</sup>, Ex 2<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>27</sup> אֲשֶׁר-יִמְלֹךְ *qui regnaturus erat*; 13<sup>14</sup>, Jon 4<sup>5</sup>, Jb 3<sup>3</sup>, Ec 2<sup>3</sup>, ψ 78<sup>6</sup> *that the generation to come might know*, יִלְדוּ בָנִים *the children which should be born* (*qui nascituri essent*; the imperfect here with the collateral idea of the occurrence being repeated in the future).

*l* (c) To represent a *futurum exactum*; cf. Is 4<sup>4</sup>, 6<sup>11</sup> (co-ordinated with a perfect used in the same sense, see § 106 o); so also sometimes after the temporal particles עַד, ψ 132<sup>5</sup>, and עַד אֲשֶׁר *until*, Gn 29<sup>8</sup>, Nu 20<sup>17</sup>, &c.

*m* 4. Finally to the sphere of future time belong also those cases in which the (modal) imperfect serves to express actions, events, or states, the occurrence of which is to be represented as willed (or not

willed), or as in some way conditional, and consequently only contingent. More particularly such imperfects serve—

(a) As an expression of will, whether it be a definite intention and *n* arrangement, or a simple desire, viz.:

(1) Sometimes in positive sentences in place of the cohortative (cf. e.g.  $\psi$  59<sup>17</sup> with verse 18; 2 S 22<sup>50</sup> with  $\psi$  18<sup>60</sup>; Ju 19<sup>11</sup>, &c.), of the imperative (Is 18<sup>3</sup>), or of the jussive (which, however, in most cases, does not differ from the ordinary form of the imperfect), e.g.  $\text{תֵּרָאֵה}$  *let it appear* Gn 1<sup>9</sup>, 41<sup>34</sup>, Lv 19<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 10<sup>12</sup> (and so frequently in verbs  $\text{ל"ה}$ ; cf. § 109 a, note 2); Zc 9<sup>5</sup> ( $\text{תִּהְיֶה}$ );  $\psi$  61<sup>7</sup> ( $\text{תִּוְּסִיָּה}$ ); Pr 22<sup>17</sup> ( $\text{תִּשְׁיַח}$ ); 23<sup>1</sup>, Jb 6<sup>23</sup> (co-ordinated with the imperative), 10<sup>20</sup> *Keith*; so probably also  $\text{יִדְּי}$  *let him judge!*  $\psi$  72<sup>2</sup>.—So also in the 1st pers., to express a wish which is asserted subsequently with reference to a fixed point of time in the past, e.g. Jb 10<sup>18</sup>  $\text{אֶנְיָנִי}$  *I ought to* [not *should* as A.V., R.V.] *have*, (then, immediately after being born) *given up the ghost*; cf. verse 19  $\text{אֶהְיֶה}$  and  $\text{אֶנְבֵּל}$  Lv 10<sup>18</sup>, Nu 35<sup>28</sup>. Even to express an obligation or necessity according to the judgement of another person, e.g. Jb 9<sup>20</sup>  $\text{אֶרְשָׁע}$  *I am to be guilty*, 12<sup>4</sup>. Cp. Jb 9<sup>15</sup>, 19<sup>16</sup>; in a question,  $\psi$  42<sup>10</sup>, 43<sup>2</sup>.

(2) To express the definite expectation that something will not *o* happen. The imperfect with  $\text{לֹא}$  represents a more emphatic form of prohibition than the jussive<sup>1</sup> with  $\text{אַל}$  (cf. § 109 c), and corresponds to our *thou shalt not do it!* with the strongest expectation of obedience, while  $\text{אַל}$  with the jussive is rather a simple warning, *do not that!* Thus  $\text{לֹא}$  with the imperfect is especially used in enforcing the divine commands, e.g.  $\text{לֹא תִגְנוֹב}$  *thou shalt not steal* Ex 20<sup>15</sup>; cf. verses 3, 4, 5, 7, 10 ff. So  $\text{לֹא}$  with the 3rd pers. perhaps in Pr 16<sup>10</sup>.

Rem. The *jussive*, which is to be expected after  $\text{אַל}$ , does not, as a rule *p* (according to *n*, and § 109 a, note 2), differ in form from the simple imperfect. That many supposed jussives are intended as simple imperfects is possible from the occurrence after  $\text{אַל}$  of what are undoubtedly imperfect forms, not only from verbs  $\text{ל"ה}$  (cf. § 109 a, note 2), but also from verbs  $\text{י"ע}$ , to express a prohibition or negative wish,  $\text{אַל-תִּבְיֹט}$  Gn 19<sup>17</sup>,  $\text{אַל-תִּסְמַד}$  Jos 1<sup>7</sup>,  $\text{אַל-יָשִׁים}$  1 S 25<sup>25</sup>. Even with the 1st pers. plur. (after an imperative)  $\text{וְאַל-נָמוּת}$  *that we die not*, 1 S 12<sup>19</sup>. Also to express the conviction that something cannot happen,  $\text{אַל-יִנָּמ}$  *he will not slumber*,<sup>2</sup>  $\psi$  121<sup>3</sup>; cf. Jer 46<sup>6</sup>, 2 Ch 14<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> As stated in § 46 a, a prohibition cannot be expressed by  $\text{אַל}$  and the imperative.

<sup>2</sup> To regard this as an optative (so Hupfeld) is from the context impossible. It is more probably a strong pregnant construction, or fusion of two sentences (such as, *do not think he will slumber!*). Verse 4 contains the objective confirmation, by means of  $\text{לֹא}$  with the imperf., of that which was previously only a subjective conviction.



- q (3) In dependent clauses after final conjunctions (§ 165 b), as אֲשֶׁר Gn 11<sup>7</sup> לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ אֲשֶׁר that they may not understand; Gn 21<sup>30</sup>, 27<sup>4,19</sup>, Ex 9<sup>14</sup>, &c.; אֲשֶׁר לִמְעַן Nu 17<sup>5</sup>; לִמְעַן Dt 4<sup>1</sup>, ψ 51<sup>6</sup>, 78<sup>6</sup>, and יַעַן אֲשֶׁר<sup>1</sup> Ez 12<sup>12</sup>, in order that<sup>2</sup>; לְבִלְתִּי that . . . not, Ex 20<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>14</sup>; also after אֲפֹר that not, lest, Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, 11<sup>4</sup>, 19<sup>18</sup>, &c.<sup>3</sup>; cf. also the instances introduced by לֹא in § 109 g.—In Lv 9<sup>6</sup> such an imperfect (or jussive? see the examples in § 109 f) is added to the expression of the command by an asyndeton, and in La 1<sup>19</sup> to the principal clause simply by י: while they sought them food וַיִּשְׁיבוּ אֶת־נַפְשָׁם to refresh their souls (cf. also La 3<sup>26</sup>, it is good and let him hope, i. e. that he should hope); so after an interrogative clause, Ex 2<sup>7</sup>. Finally also in a relative clause, ψ 32<sup>8</sup> הַדֶּגֶר הַזֶּה בַּדֶּגֶר הַזֶּה in the way which thou shouldst go.
- r (b) To express actions, &c., which are to be represented as possibly taking place or not taking place (sometimes corresponding to the potential of the classical languages, as also to our periphrases with can, may, should<sup>4</sup>). More particularly such imperfects are used—
- s (1) In a permissive sense, e. g. Gn 2<sup>16</sup> of every tree of the garden (אֶכֶל הָאֵילִם) thou mayest freely eat (the opposite in verse 17); 3<sup>2</sup>, 42<sup>27</sup>, Lv 21<sup>3,22</sup>, Jb 21<sup>3</sup>. In the 1st pers. ψ 5<sup>8</sup>, 22<sup>13</sup> (I may, or can, tell); in a negative sentence, e. g. ψ 5<sup>5</sup>.
- t (2) In interrogative sentences, e. g. Pr 20<sup>9</sup> מִי־יֹאמַר quis dixerit? Cf. Gn 17<sup>17</sup>, 18<sup>14</sup>, 31<sup>43</sup>, 1 S 11<sup>12</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>12</sup> הֲלֹא־אֶרְחֵץ בָּהֶם may I not wash in them? Is 33<sup>14</sup>, ψ 15<sup>1</sup>, 24<sup>8</sup>, Ec 5<sup>5</sup>. So especially in a question expressing surprise after אֵיךְ, e. g. Gn 39<sup>9</sup> how then can I . . .? 44<sup>34</sup>, Is 19<sup>11</sup>, ψ 137<sup>4</sup>, and even with regard to some point of time in the past, looking forward from which an event might have been expected to take place, e. g. Gn 43<sup>7</sup> הֲיָדוּעַ גֵּרַע could we in any wise know . . .? Cf. 2 S 3<sup>33</sup> יָמוּת was Abner to die as a fool, i. e. was he destined to die . . .?), and so probably also Gn 34<sup>31</sup> (should he deal . . .?). Very closely connected with this is the use of the imperfect—
- u (3) In a consecutive clause depending on an interrogative clause, e. g. Ex 3<sup>11</sup>, who am I (מִי אֲנִי) that I should (ought, could) go? 16<sup>7</sup>, Nu 11<sup>12</sup>, Ju 9<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 18<sup>13</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>13</sup>, Is 29<sup>16</sup>, Jb 6<sup>11</sup>, 21<sup>15</sup>, similarly after אֲשֶׁר Gn 38<sup>18</sup>, Ex 5<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> But אֲשֶׁר יַעַן in a causal sense (because, since), e. g. Ju 20<sup>20</sup> (as אֲשֶׁר Gn 34<sup>27</sup>) is followed by the perfect. On Jos 4<sup>24</sup> see above, § 74 g.

[<sup>2</sup> R.V. because he shall not see.]

<sup>3</sup> In 2 K 2<sup>16</sup> אֲפֹר occurs with the perf. in a vivid presentment of the time when the fear is realized and the remedy comes too late. (In 2 S 2c<sup>6</sup>, since a perfect consec. follows, read with Driver יִכְנַע.)

<sup>4</sup> By this, of course, is not meant that these finer distinctions were consciously present to the Hebrew mind. They are rather mere expedients for

Rem. In passages like 1 S 11<sup>5</sup>, ψ 8<sup>5</sup>, 114<sup>5</sup>, the context shows that the ו imperfect corresponds rather to our present. In such sentences the perfect also is naturally used in referring to completed actions, e.g. Gn 20<sup>10</sup>, Ju 18<sup>22</sup>, 2 S 7<sup>18</sup>, Is 22<sup>1</sup>.

(4) In *negative sentences* to express actions, &c., which cannot or *w* should not happen, e.g. Gn 32<sup>13</sup> לֹא יִסְפָּר מִרְבּוֹ which cannot be numbered for multitude; 20<sup>9</sup> לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה (אֲנִי) that ought not to be done (cf. above, g); ψ 5<sup>5</sup>.

(5) In *conditional clauses* (the *modus conditionalis* corresponding *x* to the Latin present or imperfect conjunctive) both in the protasis and apodosis, or only in the latter, ψ 23<sup>4</sup> רָע לִי-אֲרִיָּה . . . אֶפְרָאִיָּהּ yea, though I walk (or had to walk) . . . I fear (or I would fear) no evil; Jb 9<sup>30</sup> though I be righteous, mine own mouth shall condemn me. After a perfect in the protasis, e.g. Jb 23<sup>10</sup>. Very frequently also in an apodosis, the protasis to which must be supplied from the context, e.g. Jb 5<sup>8</sup> but as for me, I would seek unto God (were I in thy place); 3<sup>13,16</sup>, 14<sup>14</sup>, ψ 55<sup>13</sup>, Ru 1<sup>12</sup>. However, some of the imperfects in these examples are probably intended as jussive forms. Cf. § 109 h.

### § 108. *Use of the Cohortative.*

The cohortative, i.e. according to § 48 c, the 1st pers.<sup>1</sup> sing. or *a* plur. of the imperfect lengthened by the ending הָ, <sup>2</sup> represents in general an endeavour directed expressly towards a definite object. While the corresponding forms of the indicative rather express the mere announcement that an action will be undertaken, the cohortative lays stress on the determination underlying the action, and the personal interest in it.

Its uses may be divided into—

1. The cohortative standing alone, or co-ordinated with another *b* cohortative, and frequently strengthened by the addition of the particle אֲנִי:

(a) To express self-encouragement, e.g. Ex 3<sup>3</sup> אָפְרָה-נָא וְנִי I will turn aside now, and see . . . ! So especially as the result of inward deliberation (in soliloquies), e.g. Gn 18<sup>21</sup>, 32<sup>21</sup> (rarely so used after אֲלֵ, Gn 21<sup>16</sup> let me not look . . . ! Jer 18<sup>20</sup>), and also as a more or less emphatic statement of a fixed determination, e.g. Is 5<sup>1</sup> I will sing<sup>3</sup> . . . ! 5<sup>6</sup>, 31<sup>8</sup>. Cf. also Gn 46<sup>30</sup> now let me die (I am willing to die),

<sup>1</sup> For the few examples of cohortatives in the 3rd sing., see § 48 d.

<sup>2</sup> But verbs הָהָ, according to § 75 l, even in the cohortative, almost always have the ending הָ; cf. e.g. in Dt 32<sup>20</sup> אֲרָאָה after אֲתִירָה.

[3 R V 1st ed. 1881]

since *I have seen thy face*; and  $\psi$  31<sup>8</sup>. In the 1st pers. plur. the cohortative includes a summons to others to help in doing something, e. g.  $\psi$  2<sup>3</sup> בְּנִתְקַהּ *come! let us break asunder!* &c., and Gn 11<sup>3</sup>.

- c (b) To express a wish, or a request for permission, that one should be allowed to do something, e. g. Dt 2<sup>27</sup> אֶעְבְּרָה *may I be allowed to pass through (let me pass through)!* Nu 20<sup>17</sup> נֵעְבְּרָהּ נָא *may we be allowed to pass through!* Jer 40<sup>15</sup> *let me go, I pray thee!* &c.; 2 S 16<sup>9</sup>; so after ל 2 S 18<sup>14</sup>; after אֶל 2 S 24<sup>14</sup>, Jer 17<sup>18</sup>,  $\psi$  25<sup>2</sup> אֶל-אֲבֹנֶיךָ *let me not be ashamed*; cf.  $\psi$  31<sup>2,13</sup>, 71<sup>1</sup>; 69<sup>15</sup>. After אֶל-נָא Jon 1<sup>14</sup>.

- d 2. The cohortative in dependence on other moods, as well as in conditional sentences: (a) In dependence (with *wāw* copulative;  $\psi$  9<sup>15</sup> after לְמַעַן) on an imperative or jussive to express an intention or intended consequence, e. g. Gn 27<sup>4</sup> *bring it to me, וְאֹכְלָה that I may eat, prop. then will I eat*; Gn 19<sup>5</sup>, 23<sup>4</sup>, 24<sup>56</sup>, 27<sup>25</sup>, 29<sup>21</sup>, 30<sup>25f</sup>, 42<sup>34</sup>, 49<sup>1</sup>, Dt 32<sup>1</sup>, Ho 6<sup>1</sup>,  $\psi$  2<sup>8</sup>, 39<sup>14</sup>, Jb 10<sup>20</sup> *Qerê*; Is 5<sup>19</sup> *and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come, וְנִדְעָה that we may know (it)!* Gn 26<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 27<sup>5</sup>. Also after negative sentences, Gn 18<sup>30,32</sup>, Ju 6<sup>30</sup>, and after interrogative sentences, 1 K 22<sup>7</sup>, Is 40<sup>25</sup>, 41<sup>26</sup>, Am 8<sup>5</sup>.

- e (b) In conditional sentences (with or without אִם) to express a contingent intention, e. g. Jb 16<sup>6</sup> אִם-אֶרְבֶּרָה *should I determine to speak, my grief is not assuaged, וְאִחְדָּלָה and should I forbear, what am I eased?* without אִם Jb 19<sup>18</sup>, 30<sup>26</sup> (where, however, וְאִחְדָּלָה is probably intended);  $\psi$  73<sup>16</sup> (unless וְאִם should be read), 139<sup>8f</sup>. After the 3rd person, Jb 11<sup>17</sup> *though it be dark, &c.* So perhaps also 2 S 22<sup>33</sup> אֶרְדֶּבָּה *if I determined to pursue, then . . .*, but cf.  $\psi$  18<sup>38</sup>.

- f (c) Likewise in the apodosis of conditional sentences, e. g. Jb 31<sup>7f</sup> *if my step hath turned out of the way . . . , וְאֶזְרַע then let me sow*; cf. 16<sup>4f</sup>. *I also could speak as ye do, if . . . !* So even when the condition must be supplied from the context, e. g.  $\psi$  40<sup>6</sup> *else would I declare and speak of them*; 51<sup>18</sup> *else would I (gladly) give it, i. e. if thou didst require it* (cf. the precisely similar וְאִשָּׂא  $\psi$  55<sup>13</sup>); Jb 6<sup>10</sup>. In the 1st plur. Jer 20<sup>10</sup>. To the same category belong the cohortatives after the formula expressing a wish  $\text{מִי־יִתֵּן, מִי־יִתְּלֵנִי}$ , e. g. Jer 9<sup>1</sup> *oh, that I had . . . , וְאֶעֱזָבָה then* (i. e. if I had) *should I (or would I) leave my people, &c.*; Ju 9<sup>29</sup>; without *Wāw* Is 27<sup>4</sup>,  $\psi$  55<sup>7</sup>, Jb 23<sup>4</sup> (cf. also verse 7).

- g Rem. 1. The question, whether a resolution formed under compulsion (a necessity) is also expressed by the cohortative (so, according to the prevailing opinion, in Is 38<sup>10</sup> וְאֵלֶיכָה; Jer 3<sup>25</sup>, 4<sup>19,21</sup>, 6<sup>10</sup>,  $\psi$  55<sup>3,18</sup> (?); 57<sup>5</sup>, where, however, with Hupfeld, שִׁכְבָּה should be read; 77<sup>7</sup>, 88<sup>16</sup>, and in the 1st plur. Is 59<sup>10</sup>), is to be answered in the sense that in these examples the cohortative form is used after its meaning has become entirely lost, merely for the sake of its fuller sound, instead of the ordinary imperfect. This view is strongly

supported by the rather numerous examples of cohortative forms after *wāw* consec. of the imperfect (cf. § 49 e, as also  $\psi$  66<sup>6</sup>  $\text{וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ שָׁם}$  *there did we rejoice*<sup>1</sup>;  $\psi$  119<sup>168</sup>  $\text{וְאֶתְעַבְהָ}$ ; Pr 7<sup>7</sup>), which can likewise only be explained as forms chosen merely for euphony, and therefore due to considerations of rhythm.

2. The cohortative is strange after  $\psi$  עָרַד  $\psi$  73<sup>17</sup> *until I went* . . .  $\text{אֲבַיְנָה}$  *I considered their latter end*; possibly a pregnant construction for 'until I made up my mind, saying, I will consider', &c. (but  $\text{אֲבַיְנָה}$  Pr 7<sup>7</sup> is still dependent on the preceding  $\text{וְ}$ );  $\psi$  עָרַד  $\text{אֲבַיְנָה}$  Pr 12<sup>10</sup> is at any rate to be explained in the same way (in Jer 49<sup>19</sup>, 50<sup>44</sup> we have  $\text{כִּי־אֲבִי}$  with a similar meaning), *as long as I (intentionally) wink with the eyelashes (shall wink)*. On the other hand, in Ex 32<sup>30</sup>  $\text{אֲנִי־אֲכַפֵּר}$  is to be read, with the Samaritan, instead of  $\text{אֲכַפֵּר־אֲנִי}$  after  $\text{אֲנִי־אֲכַפֵּר}$ .

### § 109. Use of the Jussive.

As the *cohortative* is used in the 1st pers., so the *jussive* is especially *a* found in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. and plur. to express a more or less definite desire that something should or should not happen (cf. for its form, which frequently coincides with that of the ordinary *imperfect*,<sup>2</sup> § 48 f, g). More particularly its uses may be distinguished as follows:

1. The *jussive* standing alone, or co-ordinated with another jussive:

(a) In affirmative sentences to express a command, a wish (or a *b* blessing), advice, or a request; in the last case (the optative or precative) it is frequently strengthened by the addition of  $\text{נָא}$ . Examples: Gn 1<sup>3</sup>  $\text{יְהִי אֹרֶךְ}$  *let there be light!* Gn 1<sup>6,3,11</sup>, &c. (the creative commands); Nu 6<sup>26</sup> *the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace!* cf. verse 25. After particles expressing a wish, Gn 30<sup>34</sup>  $\text{לִי יְהִי}$  *I would it might be*;  $\psi$  81<sup>9</sup>  $\text{אִם־תִּשְׁמַע־לִי}$  *if thou wouldst hearken unto me!* As a humble request, Gn 44<sup>33</sup> . . .  $\text{וְהָעֶרֶךְ יַעֲבֹדְךָ}$  . . .  $\text{יִשְׁבַּעְנָא עֲבָדְךָ}$  *let thy servant, I pray thee, abide, &c., and let the lad go up, &c.*, Gn 47<sup>4</sup>.

(b) In negative sentences to express prohibition or dissuasion, *c* warning, a negative wish (or imprecation), and a request. The prohibitive particle used before the jussive (according to § 107 o) is almost always  $\text{אַל}$  (in negative desires and requests frequently

<sup>1</sup> Analogous to this cohortative (as equivalent to the imperfect) after  $\text{שָׁם}$  is the use of the historic imperf. after  $\text{אֵל}$ , § 107 c.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to verbs  $\text{לָחַץ}$ , it is true that the full form of the imperfect is frequently used with the meaning of the jussive (as also for the cohortative, see § 108 a, note 2), e.g.  $\text{אֲלֹהֵי־יִרְאָה}$  Jb 3<sup>3</sup> (but previously  $\text{יִקַּן}$  *let it look for!*); especially in (Neh 2<sup>3</sup>) and immediately before the principal pause, Gn 1<sup>10</sup>  $\text{תִּבְרָא}$ ; Ju 6<sup>38</sup>  $\text{יְהִי־נָא}$ , but previously  $\text{יְהִי־נָא}$  Is 47<sup>3</sup>  $\text{תִּבְרָא}$ , previously  $\text{תִּבְרָא}$ ;  $\psi$  109<sup>7</sup>. On the attempt to distinguish such jussives from the imperfect by means of a special meaning  $\text{הָ}$ —, see § 75 hh.

אֵלֶּיךָ); e.g. Ex 34<sup>3</sup> אִישׁ אֶל־יָדָא neither let any man be seen! Pr 3<sup>7</sup> אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ wise in thine own eyes! Jb 15<sup>31</sup> אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ ne confidat. In the form of a request (prayer), Dt 9<sup>26</sup> אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ destroy not! 1 K 2<sup>20</sup>, ψ 27<sup>9</sup>, 69<sup>18</sup>.

d Rem. 1. The few examples of אֵלֶּיךָ with the jussive could at most have arisen from the attempt to moderate subsequently by means of the jussive (voluntative) form what was at first intended to be a strict command (אֵלֶּיךָ with imperf. indic.); probably, however, they are either cases in which the defective writing has been misunderstood (as in 1 K 2<sup>6</sup>, Ez 48<sup>14</sup>), or (as in Gn 24<sup>8</sup>) instances of the purely rhythmical jussive form treated below, under k. Moreover, cf. אֵלֶּיךָ Jo 2<sup>9</sup> and from the same verb Gn 4<sup>12</sup> (unless it is to be referred to h) and Dt 13<sup>1</sup>. The same form, however, appears also to stand three times for the cohortative (see below), and in Nu 22<sup>19</sup> for the ordinary imperfect (but see below, i). Thus it is doubtful whether an imaginary by-form of the ordinary imperf. is not intended by the Masora in all these cases, and whether consequently אֵלֶּיךָ, &c., should not be restored.—On אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ, &c., Dt 7<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>9</sup>, &c., Ez 5<sup>11</sup>, &c., cf. § 72 r, according to which אֵלֶּיךָ should probably be read in every case.—The jussive appears in the place of the cohortative after אֵלֶּיךָ 1 S 14<sup>26</sup> אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ co-ordinated with two cohortatives), 2 S 17<sup>12</sup>; cf. Is 41<sup>23</sup> K<sup>th</sup>. (וְנָרָא, i.e. וְנָרָא, after another cohortative); also (see above) אֵלֶּיךָ Dt 18<sup>16</sup>, Ho 9<sup>15</sup>, and even without אֵלֶּיךָ Ez 5<sup>16</sup>.

e 2. אֵלֶּיךָ with the jussive (or imperf., cf. § 107 p) is used sometimes to express the conviction that something cannot or should not happen; cf. Is 2<sup>9</sup> (where, however, the text is very doubtful) אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ and thou canst not possibly forgive them [R.V. therefore forgive them not]; ψ 34<sup>6</sup>, 41<sup>3</sup>, 50<sup>8</sup>, 121<sup>3</sup> אֵלֶּיךָ; Pr 3<sup>25</sup>, Jb 5<sup>22</sup> אֵלֶּיךָ neither needest thou be afraid; 20<sup>17</sup>, 40<sup>32</sup>.

f 2. The jussive depending on other moods, or in conditional sentences:

(a) Depending<sup>1</sup> (with Wāw) on an imperative or cohortative to express an intention or an assurance of a contingent occurrence, e.g. Gn 24<sup>51</sup> take her and go, and let her be (וְהָיָה prop. and she will be) . . . ; 30<sup>3</sup>, 31<sup>37</sup>, 38<sup>24</sup>, Ex 8<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>13</sup>, 10<sup>17</sup>, 14<sup>2</sup>, Jos 4<sup>16</sup>, Ju 6<sup>30</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>11</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>10</sup>, ψ 144<sup>5</sup>, Pr 20<sup>22</sup>, Jb 14<sup>6</sup>. Also after interrogative sentences, which include a demand, Est 7<sup>2</sup> (say) what is thy desire . . . , וְהָיָה and it shall (i.e. in order that it may) be granted! 1 K 22<sup>20</sup>, Is 19<sup>12</sup>, Jb 38<sup>34</sup>. Depending on a cohortative, e.g. Gn 19<sup>20</sup> אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ oh, let me escape thither . . . אֵלֶּיךָ that my soul may live; even after a simple imperf. (cf. below, g), 1 K 13<sup>33</sup> whosoever would, he consecrated him . . . וְהָיָה that he might be a priest (read פָּהֵן) of the high places, but probably the LXX reading וְהָיָה is to be preferred.

<sup>1</sup> This does not include the cases in which the jussive is not logically dependent on a preceding imperat., but is merely co-ordinated, e.g. Gn 20<sup>7</sup>, ψ 27<sup>14</sup>, &c.

Rem. In 2 Ch 35<sup>21</sup> a negative final clause with  $\text{וְלֹא־}$  is dependent on an  $\text{ג}$  imperative, *forbear from* (meddling with) *God . . . that he destroy thee not*. As a rule, however, negative final clauses are attached to the principal sentence by means of  $\text{וְלֹא־}$  and a following imperfect; so after an imperative, Gn 42<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>44</sup>; after a jussive, Ex 30<sup>20</sup>, Neh 6<sup>9</sup>; after a perfect consec., Ex 28<sup>35,43</sup>, 30<sup>12</sup>, Nu 18<sup>5</sup>; after  $\text{לֹא־}$  with an imperfect, Lv 10<sup>8</sup>, Nu 18<sup>3</sup>, Dt 17<sup>17</sup> *neither shall he multiply wives unto himself* ( $\text{וְלֹא־יִסַּר לְכַבֹּד}$ ) *that his heart turn not away*; 1 S 20<sup>14</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>17</sup>, Jer 11<sup>21</sup>; after  $\text{וְלֹא־}$  with jussive, Lv 10<sup>9</sup>, 11<sup>43</sup>, 16<sup>2</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>25</sup>, Jer 25<sup>6</sup>, 37<sup>20</sup>, 38<sup>24 f.</sup>; after the asseverative  $\text{וְאִם־}$  with the impft., Gn 14<sup>23</sup>; even after a simple imperfect, Jer 10<sup>4</sup> *with nails . . . they fasten it* ( $\text{וְלֹא־יָצִיק}$ ) *that it move not*; after a participle, Jb 9<sup>7</sup>.

(b) Frequently in conditional sentences (as in Arabic), either in the protasis or in the apodosis, cf.  $\psi$  45<sup>12</sup>  $\text{יִתְאוּ}$  *should he desire . . . then . . .*; 104<sup>20</sup>  $\text{וְיָהִי . . . תְּשֶׁח}$  *if thou makest darkness, then it is night*; so also in the protasis, Ex 22<sup>1</sup>, Lv 15<sup>21</sup>, Is 41<sup>28</sup>, Ez 14<sup>7</sup> ( $\text{וְיָעַל}$ ), Jb 34<sup>29</sup>; in the apodosis, Ex 7<sup>9</sup> *then will it* (not, *then shall it*) *become a serpent*; Pr 9<sup>9</sup> after an imperat. in the protasis; Jb 10<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>5</sup>, 22<sup>28</sup>. In a negative apodosis, Gn 4<sup>12</sup> ( $\text{וְלֹא־תִסְעָר}$ ), but see above, d). In 2 K 6<sup>27</sup>  $\text{וְלֹא־יִשְׁעֶךָ}$  (*if the Lord do not help thee, &c.*) is to be explained as a jussive in a negative protasis.

Rem. Undoubtedly this use of the jussive (in conditional sentences) is based  $\dot{z}$  on its original *voluntative* meaning; let something be so and so, then this or that must happen as a consequence. Certain other examples of the *jussive*, however, show that in the consciousness of the language the *voluntative* has in such cases become weakened almost to a *potential* mood, and hence the *jussive* serves to express facts which may happen *contingently*, or may be expected, e.g. Nu 22<sup>19</sup> ( $\text{מָה־יִסְעָרְךָ}$ ), but cf. above, d); Jb 9<sup>33</sup> *there is no daysman beholdest us, that might lay* ( $\text{וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה}$ ), hence plainly a *subjunctive* = *qui ponat*; also in Nu 23<sup>19</sup>  $\text{וְיִכְבֹּד}$  *that he should lie* is probably intended as a *jussive*; Ec 5<sup>14</sup>; so after interrogative sentences, Jer 9<sup>11</sup> *who is the wise man*, ( $\text{וְיִבֵּן}$ ) *qui intelligat hoc?*; Ho 14<sup>10</sup>.

Moreover, in not a few cases, the jussive is used, without any collateral  $\dot{k}$  sense, for the ordinary imperfect form, and this occurs not alone in forms, which may arise from a misunderstanding of the defective writing, as Dt 28<sup>21,35</sup>, 32<sup>8</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>1</sup>, Is 12<sup>1</sup>, Mi 3<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>3</sup>,  $\psi$  11<sup>8</sup>, 18<sup>12</sup>, 21<sup>2</sup> ( $\text{מָה־יִגְלֶל}$ ), K<sup>eth.</sup>  $\text{וְיִגְלֶל}$ , 25<sup>9</sup>, 47<sup>4</sup>, 90<sup>8</sup>, 91<sup>4</sup>, 107<sup>29</sup>, Pr 15<sup>25</sup>, Jb 13<sup>27</sup>, 15<sup>33</sup>, 18<sup>9</sup>, 20<sup>23b</sup>, 27<sup>22</sup>, 33<sup>11</sup>, 36<sup>14</sup>, 38<sup>24</sup>, Ec 12<sup>9</sup> (verse  $\text{יִשָּׁב}$  7), but immediately afterwards ( $\text{וְתִשָּׁב}$ ), Dn 8<sup>12</sup>,—but also in shortened forms, such as  $\text{יָהִי}$  Gn 49<sup>17</sup> (Sam.  $\text{וְיִהְיֶה}$ ), Dt 28<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>24</sup>, Ho 6<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>4</sup>, Am 5<sup>14</sup>, Mi 1<sup>2</sup>, Zp 2<sup>13</sup>, Ze 9<sup>5</sup>,  $\psi$  72<sup>16 f.</sup> (after other jussives), 104<sup>31</sup>, Jb 18<sup>12</sup>, 20<sup>23,26,28</sup>, 27<sup>8</sup>, 33<sup>21</sup>, 34<sup>37</sup>, Ru 3<sup>4</sup>. This use of the jussive can hardly be due merely to poetic licence, but is rather to be explained on rhythmical grounds. In all the above-cited examples, in fact, the jussive stands at the beginning of the sentence (and hence removed as far as possible from the principal tone), in others it is immediately before the principal pause (Is 42<sup>6</sup>, 50<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  68<sup>15</sup>, Pr 23<sup>25</sup>, Jb 24<sup>14</sup>, 29<sup>3</sup>, 40<sup>19</sup>), or actually in pause (Dt 32<sup>18</sup>, Jb 23<sup>9,11</sup>, La 3<sup>60</sup>), and is then a simply rhythmical shortening due to the strong influence of the tone. Moreover, since the jussive in numerous cases is not distinguished in form from the imperfect (§ 48 g), it is frequently doubtful which of the two the writer intended. This especially applies to those cases, in which a *subjunctive* is to be expressed by one or other of the forms.

## § 110. The Imperative.

Mayer Lambert, 'Sur la syntaxe de l'impératif en hébreu,' in  
*REJ.* 1897, p. 106 ff.

- a* 1. The imperative,<sup>1</sup> which, according to § 46, is restricted to the 2nd pers. sing. and plur., and to *positive* commands, &c., may stand either alone, or in simple co-ordination (as in 1 K 18<sup>44</sup>, Is 56<sup>1</sup>, 65<sup>18</sup>) with other imperatives:
- (*a*) To express real commands, e.g. Gn 12<sup>1</sup> *get thee out of thy country*; or (like the jussive) mere admonitions (Ho 10<sup>12</sup>) and requests, 2 K 5<sup>22</sup>, Is 5<sup>3</sup>; on the addition of נָּ see below, Rem. 1. The imperative is used in the sense of an ironical challenge (often including a threat) in 1 K 2<sup>22</sup> *ask for him the kingdom also*; 22<sup>15</sup>, Ju 10<sup>14</sup>, Is 47<sup>12</sup> (with נָּ), Jer 7<sup>21</sup>, Ez 20<sup>39</sup>, Am 4<sup>4</sup>, Jb 38<sup>34</sup>, 40<sup>10ff.</sup>, La 4<sup>21</sup>. The imperative has a concessive sense in Na 3<sup>15</sup> (though thou *make thyself many*, &c.), and in the cases discussed under *f*, e.g. Is 8<sup>9f.</sup>, 29<sup>9</sup>.
- b* (*b*) To express permission, e.g. 2 S 18<sup>23</sup> after previous dissuasion, (then) *run* (as far as I am concerned)! Is 21<sup>12</sup>, 45<sup>11</sup>.
- c* (*c*) To express a distinct assurance (like our expression, *thou shalt have it*)<sup>2</sup> or promise, e.g. Is 65<sup>18</sup> *but be ye glad*, &c. (i.e. ye will have continually occasion to be glad); and Is 37<sup>30</sup>, ψ 110<sup>2</sup>; in a threat, Jer 2<sup>19</sup>. So especially in commands, the fulfilment of which is altogether out of the power of the person addressed, e.g. Is 54<sup>14</sup> *be far from anxiety* (meaning, thou needst not fear any more); Gn 1<sup>28</sup>, &c. (for other examples, such as 1 K 22<sup>22</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>13</sup>, see below, *f*). Most clearly in the case of the imperative *Niph'al* with a passive meaning, e.g. Gn 42<sup>16</sup> וְהָיָה אֲנִי וְאֶחָיו וְכָל הָעַרְבָּאִים וְהָיָה אֲנִי וְאֶחָיו וְכָל הָעַרְבָּאִים *and ye shall be bound*; Dt 32<sup>50</sup>, Is 49<sup>9</sup> (Is 45<sup>22</sup>, see below, *f*).
- d* Rem. 1. The particle נָּ *age*! (§ 105) is frequently added to the imperative, as to the jussive, sometimes to soften down a command, or to make a request in a more courteous form (see above, *a*), Gn 12<sup>13</sup>, 24<sup>2</sup>, sometimes to strengthen an exhortation uttered as a rebuke or threat (Nu 16<sup>28</sup>, 20<sup>10</sup>) or in ridicule (Is 47<sup>12</sup>).
- e* 2. The imperative after the desiderative particle הִנֵּה Gn 23<sup>13</sup> (at the end of verses 5 and 14 also read הִנֵּה for הִנֵּה and join it to the following imperative) is due to an anaecoluthon. Instead of the imperfect which would be expected here after הִנֵּה, the more forcible imperative is used in a new sentence.
- f* 2. The imperative in logical dependence upon a preceding imperative, jussive (or cohortative), or an interrogative sentence, serves to

<sup>1</sup> On the close relation between the imperative and jussive (both in meaning and form), cf. § 46 and § 48 i.

<sup>2</sup> Like the threatening formulae in the Latin comic writers, e.g. *vapula*, Ter. Phorm. v. 6, 10 = *vapulare te iubeo*, Plaut. Cure. vi. 4, 12.



express the distinct assurance or promise that an action or state will ensue as the certain consequence of a previous action. So especially:

(a) The imperative when depending (with *wāw copulative*) upon another imperative. In this case the first imperative contains, as a rule, a condition, while the second declares the consequence which the fulfilment of the condition will involve. The imperative is used for this declaration, since the consequence is, as a matter of fact, intended or desired by the speaker (cf. *divide et impera*), e.g. Gn 42<sup>18</sup> וְאַתָּה עֲשֵׂה לָנוּ כֵּן *this do, and live*, i. e. thus shall ye continue to live. Gn 17<sup>1</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>12</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>13</sup>, Is 36<sup>16</sup>, 45<sup>22</sup> (וְהִשְׁעֵנִי), Jer 6<sup>16</sup>, Am 5<sup>4,6</sup>, ψ 37<sup>27</sup>, Pr 3<sup>31</sup>, 4<sup>4</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>, 13<sup>20</sup> *Keith.*, Jb 2<sup>9</sup>, 2 Ch 20<sup>20</sup>; in Jer 25<sup>5</sup>, Jb 22<sup>21</sup> נָא is added to the first imperative. In other cases, the first imperative contains a mocking concession, the second an irrevocable denunciation, e.g. Is 8<sup>9</sup> וְהָיוּ רַעֲי עַמִּים (continue to) *make an uproar, O ye peoples, and ye shall be broken in pieces*; cf. verse 9 b.

Rem. 1. If a promise or threat dependent on an imperative be expressed in the 3rd pers. then the jussive is naturally used instead of the 2nd imperative Is 8<sup>10</sup>, 55<sup>2</sup>.

2. In Pr 20<sup>13</sup> the second imperative (containing a promise) is attached by asyndeton; elsewhere two imperatives occur side by side without the copula, where the second might be expected to be subordinated to the first, e.g. Dt 24<sup>24</sup> רָשׁ הָחֵל (where רָשׁ is virtually, as it were, an object to הָחֵל) *begin, take in possession for to take in possession* (cf., however, Ju 19<sup>6</sup> וְלֵינָהּ הָיָא לְנָא *be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night*, and on this kind of co-ordination in general, cf. § 120 d). But such imperatives as לָךְ (לְכֵ), קֵם (קִימוּ), when immediately preceding a second imperative, are for the most part only equivalent to interjections, *come! up!*

(b) The imperative, when depending (with *wāw copulative*) upon a jussive (cohortative), or an interrogative sentence, frequently expresses also a consequence which is to be expected with certainty, and often a consequence which is intended, or in fact an intention; cf. Gn 20<sup>7</sup> *and he shall pray for thee*, וְיָחַיָּהּ *and thou shalt live*; cf. Ex 14<sup>16</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>10</sup>, Jb 11<sup>6</sup>, ψ 128<sup>5</sup> *the Lord bless thee . . . so that (or in order that) thou seest, &c.*; Ru 1<sup>9</sup>, 4<sup>11</sup>; after a cohortative, Gn 12<sup>2</sup>, 45<sup>18</sup>, Ex 3<sup>10</sup> וְהֵצֵאתָ *that thou mayest bring forth*; Ex 18<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 12<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>12</sup>; Jer 35<sup>15</sup> (after imperative and jussive); after an interrogative sentence, 2 S 21<sup>3</sup> *wherewith shall I make atonement*, וְיִבְרַכְךָ *that ye may bless, &c.*—In Nu 5<sup>19</sup> the imperative without ! (in 32<sup>23</sup> with !) is used after a conditional clause in the sense of a definite promise.

Rem. The 2nd sing. masc. occurs in addressing feminine persons in Ju 4<sup>20</sup> לְ (עֲלֵךְ), according to Qimhi an infinitive, in which case, however, the infinitive absolute עֲלֵךְ should be read; but probably we should simply read עֲלֵמְךָ with Moore), Mi 1<sup>13</sup> and Ze 13<sup>7</sup> (after עֲלֵמְךָ); and in Is 22<sup>1</sup> the 2nd sing. masc. (עֲלֵמְךָ).

the four forms of the 2nd fem. plur. imperative in Is 32<sup>11</sup>, erroneously explained here in former editions, see now § 48 i). In Na 3<sup>15</sup> the interchange of masc. and fem. serves to express totality (the nation in all its aspects). Cf., moreover, § 145 p on other noticeable attempts to substitute the corresponding masculine forms for the feminine.

### § 111. The Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive.

- a* 1. The *imperfect with wāw consecutive* (§ 49 a-g) serves to express actions, events, or states, which are to be regarded as the temporal or logical sequel of actions, events, or states mentioned immediately<sup>1</sup> before. The *imperfect consecutive* is used in this way most frequently as the *narrative tense*, corresponding to the Greek *aorist* or the Latin *historic perfect*. As a rule the narrative is introduced by a perfect, and then continued by means of imperfects with *wāw consecutive* (on this interchange of tenses cf. § 49 a, and especially § 112 a), e.g. Gn 3<sup>1</sup> *now the serpent was* (וַיִּהְיֶה) *more subtil . . . and he said* (וַיֹּאמֶר) *unto the woman*; 4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>9ff.</sup>, 10<sup>9f.</sup>, 15<sup>19</sup>, 11<sup>12ff. 27ff.</sup>, 14<sup>5f.</sup>, 15<sup>1f.</sup>, 16<sup>1f.</sup>, 21<sup>1ff.</sup>, 24<sup>1f.</sup>, 25<sup>19ff.</sup>, 36<sup>2ff.</sup>, 37<sup>2</sup>.
- b* Rem. 1. To this class belong some of the numerous *imperfects consec.* after various expressions of time, whenever such expressions are equivalent in meaning to a perfect<sup>2</sup> (viz. וַיָּקֵץ *it came to pass*), e.g. Is 6<sup>1</sup> *in the year that king Uziah died, I saw* (וַיֵּרָא) &c.; Gn 22<sup>4</sup>, 27<sup>84</sup>, Ju 11<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 4<sup>19</sup>, 17<sup>57</sup>, 21<sup>8</sup>, Ho 11<sup>1</sup>: on the use of וַיָּקֵץ to connect expressions of time, see below, g.—It is only in late books or passages that we find the simple *perfect* in a clause following an expression of time, as 1 S 17<sup>65</sup> (cf. Driver on the passage), 2 Ch 12<sup>7</sup>, 15<sup>8</sup>, &c., Dn 10<sup>11</sup>, 15<sup>19</sup>; the *Perfect* after *and* the subject, 2 Ch 7<sup>1</sup>.
- c* 2. The continuation of the narrative by means of the imperfect consec. may result in a series of any number of such imperfects, e.g. there are forty-nine in Gn. 1. As soon, however, as the connecting *Wāw* becomes separated from the verb to which it belongs, by the insertion of any word, the perfect necessarily takes the place of the imperfect, e.g. Gn 1<sup>6</sup> *and God called* (וַיִּקְרָא) *the light Day, and the darkness he called* (וַיִּקְרָא) *Night*; verse 10, 2<sup>20</sup>, 11<sup>3</sup> and frequently.
- d* 3. Of two co-ordinate *imperfects consecutive* the former (as equivalent to a temporal clause) is most frequently subordinate in sense to the latter, e.g. Gn 28<sup>8f.</sup> וַיֵּלֶךְ . . . וַיֵּרָא *when Esau saw that . . . , he went*, &c.; so also, frequently וַיֵּשְׁבֶנּוּ, &c., Gn 37<sup>21</sup>, &c. On the other hand, a second *imperfect consecutive* is seldom used in an explanatory sense, e.g. Ex 2<sup>10</sup> וַתֹּאמֶר *for she said*; cf. 1 S 7<sup>12</sup>. Other examples of the imperfect consecutive, which apparently represent a progress in the narrative, in reality only refer to the same time, or explain what precedes, see Gn 2<sup>25</sup> וַיִּהְיוּ *they were*; but Jos 4<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>8</sup> *they are*; Gn 36<sup>14</sup> (וַיִּמְלֹךְ), 36<sup>22</sup> (וַיִּמְלֹךְ), 1 K 1<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On an apparent exception (the *imperf. consec.* at the beginning of whole books) see § 49 b note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Is 45<sup>1</sup>, where the *imperf. consec.* is joined to an abrupt statement of the cause, and Jb 36<sup>7</sup>, where it is joined to an abrupt statement of the place.

4. The imperfect consecutive sometimes has such a merely external connexion with an immediately preceding perfect, that in reality it represents an antithesis to it, e.g. Gn 32<sup>31</sup> *and (yet) my life is preserved*; 2 S 3<sup>8</sup> *and yet thou chargest me*; Jb 10<sup>8</sup>, 32<sup>3</sup>; similarly in dependence on noun-clauses, Pr 30<sup>25</sup> ff.

2. The introduction of independent narratives, or of a new section *f* of the narrative, by means of an *imperfect consecutive*, likewise aims at a connexion, though again loose and external, with that which has been narrated previously. Such a connexion is especially often established by means of וַיָּבֹא (καὶ ἐγένετο) *and it came to pass*, after which there then follows either (most commonly) an *imperfect consecutive* (Gn 4<sup>3,6</sup>, 8<sup>6</sup>, 11<sup>3</sup>, Ex 12<sup>20</sup>, 13<sup>17</sup>, &c.), or *Wāw* with the perfect (separated from it), Gn 7<sup>10</sup>, 15<sup>12</sup>, 22<sup>1</sup>, 27<sup>30</sup>, or even a perfect without *Wāw* (Gn 8<sup>13</sup>, 14<sup>14</sup>, 40<sup>1</sup>, Ex 12<sup>41</sup>, 16<sup>22</sup>, Nu 10<sup>11</sup>, Dt 1<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 18<sup>30</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>21</sup>, &c.), or finally a noun-clause introduced by *Wāw*, Gn 41<sup>1</sup>.

Rem. 1. This loose connexion by means of וַיָּבֹא *g* is especially common, when the narrative or a new section of it begins with any expression of time, see above, *b*; cf., in addition to the above-mentioned examples (e.g. Gn 22<sup>1</sup> *and it came to pass after these things, that God did prove Abraham*), the similar cases in Gn 19<sup>34</sup>, 21<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 11<sup>11</sup>, Ru 1<sup>4</sup>. Elsewhere the statement of time is expressed by *וְ* or *כִּי* with an infinitive (Gn 12<sup>14</sup>, 19<sup>17,20</sup> 39<sup>15</sup>, 15<sup>18,17</sup>, Ju 16<sup>25</sup>) or by an independent sentence with the perfect (equivalent to a pluperfect, cf. § 106 *f*), e.g. Gn 15<sup>17</sup>, 24<sup>15</sup>, 27<sup>30</sup>, or by a temporal clause introduced by *כִּי* *when*, Gn 26<sup>8</sup>, 27<sup>1</sup>, Ju 16<sup>16</sup>, כִּי בָאֵשׁ *when*, Gn 12<sup>11</sup>, 20<sup>13</sup>, מֵאָז *from the time that*, Gn 39<sup>5</sup>; or, finally, by a noun-clause (cf. § 116 *u*), e.g. 2 K 13<sup>21</sup> וַיְהִי הֵם קִבְּרִים אִישׁ *and it came to pass, as they were (just) burying a man (prop. they burying), that . . .*; Gn 42<sup>35</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>11</sup> (the apodosis in both these cases being introduced by וַיְהִי); 1 S 7<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>30</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>5,25</sup>, 19<sup>27</sup> (= Is 37<sup>33</sup>).—In 1 S 10<sup>11</sup>, 11<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>22</sup>, 15<sup>2</sup> a noun standing absolutely follows וַיְהִי (as the equivalent of a complete sentence; see below, *h*), and then an *imperfect consecutive* follows.

2. Closely related to the cases noticed in *g* are those in which the *imperfect consecutive*, even without a preceding וַיָּבֹא, introduces the apodosis either—(a) to whole sentences, or (b) to what are equivalent to whole sentences, especially to nouns standing absolutely. As in certain cases of the *perfect consecutive* (see § 112 *x*), so the *imperfect consecutive* has here acquired a sort of independent force. Cf. for (a) 1 S 15<sup>23</sup> *because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord*, וַיִּמְאָסֶךָ *he hath rejected thee* (cf. Nu 14<sup>16</sup>, Is 48<sup>4</sup>, where the causal clause precedes in the form of an infinitive with preposition), Ex 9<sup>21</sup>; for (b) Gn 22<sup>24</sup> וַיִּפְלֶנָּה *and (as to) his concubine . . .*, וַיִּתְּלָה *she bare*, &c.; Ex 38<sup>24</sup>, Nu 14<sup>26f.</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>10</sup>, 17<sup>24</sup>, 2 S 4<sup>10</sup>, 19<sup>41</sup> *Keth.*, 21<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 9<sup>20f.</sup>, 12<sup>17</sup>, 2 K 25<sup>22</sup>, Jer 6<sup>10</sup>, 28<sup>3</sup>, 33<sup>24</sup>, 44<sup>26</sup>.<sup>2</sup>—In 1 K 15<sup>13</sup>, 2 K 16<sup>14</sup> the preceding noun, used absolutely, is even regarded as the object of the following *imperfect consecutive*, and is therefore introduced by אֲשֶׁר.

<sup>1</sup> Exhaustive statistics of the use of וַיָּבֹא in its many and various connexions are given by König in *ZAW.* 1899, p. 260 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Mēša' inscription, l. 5 (Omri) *the king of Israel*, וַיִּעַנְי *he oppressed Moab*, &c.—The peculiar *imperfect consecutive* in Gn 30<sup>27b</sup> (in the earlier editions explained as equivalent to an object-clause) arises rather from a pregnant brevity of expression: *I have observed and have come to the conclusion, the Lord hath blessed me*, &c.—In Gn 27<sup>24</sup> read, with LXX, וַיְהִי before בִּשְׁמֵךָ.

i 3. The *imperfect consecutive* serves, in the cases treated under *a-h*, to represent either expressly, or at least to a great extent, a *chronological* succession of actions or events; elsewhere it expresses those actions, &c., which represent the logical consequence of what preceded, or a result arising from it by an inherent necessity. Thus the *imperfect consecutive* is used—

k (a) As a final summing up of the preceding narrative, e.g. Gn 2<sup>1</sup>, 23<sup>20</sup> וְהָיָה הָאָרֶץ לְרֵשֶׁתְּךָ *so (in this way) the field became (legally) the property of Abraham, &c.*; 1 S 17<sup>50</sup>, 31<sup>6</sup>.

l (b) To express a logical or necessary consequence of that which immediately precedes, e.g. Gn 39<sup>2</sup>, Jb 2<sup>3</sup> *and he still holdeth fast his integrity*, וְהָיָה כִּי תִּשָּׁאֵל *so that thou thus (as it now appears) groundlessly movedst me against him*; ψ 65<sup>9</sup> *so that they are afraid . . .*; even a consequence which happens conditionally, Jer 20<sup>17</sup> וְהָיָה *so that my mother should have been . . .* Another instance of the kind perhaps (if the text be correct) is Jer 38<sup>9</sup> וְיָמָת *so that he dies (must die).*

m Rem. Such consecutive clauses frequently occur after interrogative sentences, e.g. Is 51<sup>12</sup> *who art thou (i.e. art thou so helpless)*, וְהָיָה לָּךְ *that thou art (must needs be) afraid?* ψ 144<sup>3</sup> (cf. ψ 8<sup>5</sup>, where in a very similar context כִּי *that* is used with the imperfect); Gn 12<sup>10</sup> (וְאַתָּה); 31<sup>27</sup> וְהָיָה כִּי אֶשְׁלַחְךָ *so that I might have sent thee away.*

4. As regards the range of time it is to be carefully noticed—

n (a) That the *imperfect consecutive* may represent all varieties in the relations of tense and mood, which, according to § 107 a, follow from the idea of the imperfect;

o (b) That the more precise determination of the range of time to which an *imperfect consecutive* relates must be inferred in each case from the character of the preceding tense (or tense-equivalent), to which it is attached, in a more or less close relation, as temporal or logical sequence. Thus the *imperfect consecutive* serves—

p (i) To represent actions, events, or states, which are *past* (or were repeated in past time), when it is united with tenses, or their equivalents, which refer to an actual past.

q Cf. the examples given above, under *a* and *f*, of the imperfect consecutive as an historic tense. The imperfect consecutive also frequently occurs as the continuation of a perfect (*preterite*) in a subordinate clause; e.g. Gn 27<sup>1</sup>, Nu 11<sup>20</sup>, Dt 4<sup>37</sup>, 1 S 8<sup>8</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>5</sup>, 11<sup>32</sup>, 18<sup>13</sup>, &c.; also in Is 49<sup>7</sup> וְיִבְרַחְךָ *is the continuation of a preterite, contained, according to the sense, in the preceding וְיָמָת*.—In Jb 31<sup>26,34</sup> the imperfect consecutive is joined to an imperfect denoting the past in a conditional sentence. An imperfect consecutive occurs in dependence on a perfect which has the sense of a pluperfect (§ 106 f), e.g. in Gn 26<sup>13</sup>, 28<sup>6 f.</sup>, 31<sup>19,24</sup> (*now Rachel had taken the teraphim, וְהָיָה וְהָיָה* and had

put them, &c.); Nu 14<sup>36</sup>, 1 S 28<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>28</sup>, Is 39<sup>1</sup>. Finally there are the cases in which an infinitival or participial construction representing past time, according to § 113 r, § 116 x, is taken up and continued by an imperfect consecutive.

(2) To represent *present* actions, &c., in connexion with tenses, or *r* their equivalents, which describe actions and states as being either present or lasting on into the present (continuing in their effect); so especially,

(a) In connexion with the present perfects, described in § 106 g, e.g.  $\psi$  16<sup>3</sup> *therefore my heart is glad* (שָׂמַח) *and my glory rejoiceth* (וַיִּגִּל); Is 3<sup>16</sup> (parallel with a simple imperfect). Cf. also such examples as  $\psi$  29<sup>10</sup> וַיֵּשֶׁב (prop. he sat down, *and has been enthroned ever since*),  $\psi$  41<sup>13</sup>.

(β) In connexion with those perfects which represent experiences *s* frequently confirmed (see § 106 k), e.g. Jb 14<sup>2</sup> *he cometh up* (אָצַף) *like a flower, and is cut down* (וַיִּגִּל); *he fleeth* (יִתְגַּדֵּל) *also as a shadow, וְלֹא יַעֲמֹד and continueth not*; Jb 20<sup>15</sup>, 24<sup>2,11</sup>, Is 40<sup>21</sup>, Pr 11<sup>2</sup>.

(γ) In connexion with imperfects which, in one of the ways *t* described in § 107. 2, are used in the sense of the present; e.g. Jb 14<sup>10</sup> *but man dieth* (יָמוּת) *and becometh powerless* (וַיִּחַלְשֵׁ), &c., i. e. remains powerless; Jb 4<sup>5</sup>, Ho 8<sup>13</sup>, Hb 1<sup>94</sup>,  $\psi$  55<sup>18</sup>, 90<sup>3</sup>, Jb 5<sup>18</sup>, 7<sup>18</sup>, 11<sup>3</sup> (*when thou mockest*), 12<sup>25</sup>, 34<sup>24</sup>, 37<sup>8</sup> (parallel with a simple imperfect); 39<sup>15</sup>. In the apodosis of a conditional sentence,  $\psi$  59<sup>16</sup>, so also after an interrogative imperfect, 1 S 2<sup>20</sup>,  $\psi$  42<sup>6</sup> (וְיִתְהַיֵּי) *for which in verse 12 and in 43<sup>5</sup> we have וַיִּתְהַיֵּי and why art thou disquieted?*).

(δ) In dependence on participles, which represent what at present *u* continues or is being repeated, e.g. Nu 22<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>6</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>2</sup> *behold the king weepeth* (בָּכָה) *and mourneth* (וַיִּתְאַבֵּל) *for Absalom*; Am 5<sup>8</sup>, 9<sup>54</sup>, Na 1<sup>4</sup>,  $\psi$  34<sup>8</sup>, Pr 20<sup>26</sup>, Jb 12<sup>22x</sup>, but cf. e.g. Jb 12<sup>4</sup> וַיִּשְׁאַל וַיֹּאמֶר *who called upon God, וַיַּעֲנֵהוּ and he answered him*.

(ε) In dependence on other equivalents of the present, as in Is 51<sup>12</sup>,  $\psi$  144<sup>3</sup> (see above, *m*); Jb 10<sup>22</sup>. So especially as the continuation of an infinitive, which is governed by a preposition (cf. § 114 r), Is 30<sup>12</sup>, Jer 10<sup>13</sup>,  $\psi$  92<sup>8</sup>, &c.

(3) To represent *future* actions, &c., in dependence on—(a) an *u* imperfect which refers to the future,  $\psi$  49<sup>15</sup>, 94<sup>234</sup>;—(β) a perfect consecutive, or those perfects which, according to § 106 n, are intended to represent future events as undoubtedly certain, and therefore as though already accomplished (*perf. propheticum*); cf. Is 5<sup>15</sup> (parallel with a simple imperfect separated from *y*); 5<sup>16</sup> (cf. 2<sup>11,17</sup>, where the same threat is expressed by the perfect consecutive); 5<sup>25</sup>, 9<sup>5,104</sup>,

13<sup>15, 17 ff.</sup>, 22<sup>7 ff.</sup>, Jo 2<sup>23</sup>, Mi 2<sup>13</sup>, Ez 33<sup>4, 6</sup>, ψ 7<sup>13</sup>, 64<sup>8 ff.</sup>;—(γ) a future participle, Jer 4<sup>16</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

*a* Rem. An imperfect consecutive in dependence on a perfect or imperfect, which represents an action occurring only conditionally, is likewise used only in a hypothetical sense, e.g. Jb 9<sup>16</sup> וְאִם־יִקְרָאֵנִי אִתִּי if I had called, and he had answered me, yet . . . ; ψ 139<sup>11</sup> וְאִם־יִשְׁמַעֵנִי if I should say (previously, in verse 8 f., hypothetical imperfects are used).—In Is 48<sup>18 f.</sup> an imperfect consecutive occurs in dependence on a sentence expressing a wish introduced by וְיִהְיֶה *utinam* (וְיִהְיֶה and it, or so that it were, equivalent to then should it be). Cf. also the examples mentioned above, under *l* (Jer 20<sup>17</sup>) and *m* (Gn 31<sup>27</sup>), where the imperfect consecutive expresses facts occurring *contingently*.

## § 112. The Perfect with Wāw Consecutive.

G. R. Berry, 'Waw consecutive with the perfect in Hebrew,' in *Bibl. Lit.*, xxii. (1903), pp. 60-69.

*a* 1. The perfect, like the imperfect (§ 111), is used with *wāw consecutive* (cf. § 49 *a*; on the external differentiation of the perfect consecutive by a change in the position of the tone, see § 49 *b*) to express actions, events, or states, which are to be attached to what precedes, in a more or less close relation, as its *temporal* or *logical* consequence. And as, according to § 111 *a*, the narrative which begins with a perfect, or its equivalent, is continued in the imperfect consecutive, so, vice versa, the perfect consecutive forms the regular continuation to a preceding imperfect, or its equivalent.

*b* Rem. 1. This alternation of perfect and imperfect or their equivalents is a striking peculiarity of the *consecutio temporum* in Hebrew. It not only affords a certain compensation for the lack of forms for tenses and moods, but also gives to Hebrew style the charm of an expressive variety, an action conceived as being still in progress (*imperfect*, &c.), reaching afterwards in the *perfect* a calm and settled conclusion, in order to be again exhibited in movement in the imperfect, and vice versa.<sup>2</sup> The strict regularity of this

<sup>1</sup> Also in Jer 51<sup>20</sup> the imperfects consecutive are attached to the threat virtually contained in the preceding imperatives. On the other hand וְיִתְּלֶנָּה Ho 8<sup>10</sup> would be very remarkable as expressing a future; the text is, however, certainly corrupt, and hence the Cod. Babyl. and the Erfurt MS. 3 endeavour to remedy it by וְיִתְּלֶנָּה, and Ewald reads וְיִתְּלֶנָּה.—In Ez 28<sup>16</sup> (cf. Jer 15<sup>6 f.</sup>) וְאִתְּלַחֵלְךָ appears to announce an action irrevocably determined upon, and therefore represented as already accomplished; cf. the prophetic perfects in verse 17 ff.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to give a proper explanation of this phenomenon (according to § 49 *a*, note, to be found only in the Canaanitish group of languages), when we have given up the theory of a special *wāw conversivum* in the unscientific sense mentioned in § 49 *b*, note, at the end, and if we accept the fact that the *perfect* and *imperfect consecutive* cannot possibly be used in a way which contradicts their fundamental character as described in §§ 106 and 107. In other words, even the *perfect consecutive* originally represents a finally completed action, &c., just as the *imperfect consecutive* represents an action which

alternation belongs indeed rather to the higher style, and even then it depends upon the view and intention of the speaker, whether he wishes the action, &c., to be regarded as the logical consequence of what has preceded, or as simply co-ordinate with it, and so in the same tense.

2. A succession of any number of other *perfects consecutive* may be co-ordinated with a *perfect consecutive* (cf. e.g. Ez 14<sup>13</sup>, Am 5<sup>19</sup>, Ru 3<sup>3</sup>, four perfects in each case, Is 8<sup>7</sup> five, Ex 6<sup>01</sup> eight). It is true, however, of the perfect (as conversely of the *imperfect*, § 111 c), that as soon as the *Wāw* is separated by any intervening word from the verb to which it belongs, an *imperfect* necessarily takes the place of the *perfect*, e.g. Gn 12<sup>12</sup> *when the Egyptians shall see thee, they shall say* (וַיֹּאמְרוּ), *This is his wife: and they will kill me* (וַיִּהְיוּ אֲתִי) *but thee they will save alive* (וַיִּחְיֶיךָ).

2. The perfect consecutive, like the imperfect consecutive, always *d* belongs to the period of time expressed by the preceding tense, or its equivalent, with which it is connected as the temporal or logical consequence. The particular cases may be classed under three heads: (a) the perfect consecutive in *immediate* dependence (see e), (b) in loose connexion (see x) with the preceding, and (c) the perfect consecutive at the beginning of the apodosis to other sentences, or their equivalents (see ff').

3. The perfect consecutive in immediate dependence on the preceding tense, or its equivalent, serves

(a) As a frequentative tense to express *past* actions, &c., i.e. actions repeatedly brought to a conclusion in the past, and follows tenses, or their equivalents, representing actions which have *continued* or been *repeated in the past*:

(a) After a simple imperfect, e.g. Gn 2<sup>6</sup> וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶת־מִטְּהָרָהּ there went up a mist (again and again) from the earth, וַיִּשְׂקָהּ and watered (as it were, and ever watered afresh), &c. This frequentative use of the perfect consecutive is equally evident after frequentative imperfects, Gn 2<sup>10</sup> וַיְהִי וַיֵּלֶךְ and it became again every time; וַיְהִי would mean, and it became so once for all); 29<sup>24</sup> (four perfects consecutive referring to actions repeated daily); Ex 33<sup>7-11</sup> וַיֵּלֶךְ he used to take at each new encampment the tent, וַיִּצָּק and to pitch it again every time without the camp; notice, amongst the numerous frequent, perff. consec., the imperf. in vv. 7, 8, 9, 11, always in a frequentative sense; 34<sup>34</sup>, Nu 9<sup>19,21</sup> (among several simple imperfects), 10<sup>17</sup>, Ju 2<sup>19</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>19</sup> וַיִּשְׁעוּ.

is only beginning, becoming or still continuing, and hence in any case incomplete. The simplest view is to suppose, that the use of the *perfect consecutive* originated from those cases, in which it had to express the conclusion (or final consequence) of an action which was continued (or repeated) in *past time* (see the examples above), and that this use was afterwards extended to other cases, in which it had to represent the temporal or logical consequence of actions, &c., still in progress, and thus in the end a regular interchange of the two tenses became recognized.



she used to make . . . וְהֵעֲלָתָהּ and brought it to him from year to year; 27<sup>9</sup> (וְלִקְחָהּ), 1 K 14<sup>28</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>35</sup>, 12<sup>15</sup> (in verses 16<sup>16</sup> imperfects occur again). So also in dependent sentences, Gn 6<sup>4</sup> (וַיִּלְדוּ) as a continuation of יִבְנֶהוּ, Jb 31<sup>20</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

f (β) After an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Ex 39<sup>3</sup> (Samaritan וְקִצְצוּ), 1 S 5<sup>7</sup> (1 see § 112 rr), 7<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>25</sup>, 16<sup>13</sup> and he threw stones at him, וַיַּפֵּר and cast dust continually; 12<sup>16,31</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>10</sup>, 12<sup>11 ff.</sup>, 15, Jer 37<sup>15</sup>, Jb 1<sup>5</sup>.

g Rem. The frequentative perfect consecutive is sometimes joined even with imperfects consecutive which simply express one single action or occurrence in the past; thus Ex 18<sup>26</sup>, 40<sup>31 f.</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>4</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>1 f.</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>27</sup> (cf. verse 28); 1 K 18<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 12<sup>10</sup>. For other examples of a loosely connected frequentative perfect consecutive, see below, *ad.*

h (γ) After a perfect, Gn 37<sup>3</sup> (וַיְצַעֲהוּ לוֹ), i. e. as often as he needed a new garment)<sup>2</sup>; Gn 31<sup>7</sup>, Nu 11<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>14</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>4</sup>, ψ 22<sup>9</sup>;<sup>3</sup> in interrogative sentences, 1 S 26<sup>9</sup> *who has ever*, &c.; ψ 80<sup>13</sup>, Jb 1<sup>14</sup>, Ru 4<sup>7</sup>.

i (δ) After an infinitive, Am 1<sup>11</sup> עַל-יְרֵכּוֹ because he did pursue his brother, וְשָׁחַת and (on each occasion) did cast off all pity (then an imperfect consecutive); after an infinitive absolute, Jos 6<sup>13</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>19</sup>, Jer 23<sup>14</sup>.

k (ε) After a participle, Is 6<sup>3</sup> (וּמְרָאָה), &c., frequentative, as a continuation of עֲלֵמֵי יָרֵךְ, verse 2); 1 S 2<sup>22</sup>, 2 S 17<sup>17</sup>.<sup>4</sup>

l (ζ) After other equivalents of tenses, e. g. Gn 47<sup>22</sup> the priests had a portion from Pharaoh, וַיֹּאכְלוּ and did eat (year by year), &c.; 1 K 4<sup>7</sup>.

m (b) To express present actions, &c., as the temporal or logical consequence of actions or events which continue or are repeated in the present, especially such as have, according to experience, been at all times frequently repeated, and may be repeated at any time:

(a) After a simple imperfect, e. g. Gn 2<sup>24</sup> therefore a man leaves (יֵצֵא is accustomed to leave) . . . וַיִּבָּק and cleaves, &c., here, as frequently elsewhere, clearly with the secondary idea of purpose, i. e. in order to cleave; Is 5<sup>11</sup> (if וְהָיָה is to be taken as a continuation

<sup>1</sup> Also in Ez 44<sup>12</sup> (where Stade, *ZAW.* v. 293, would read וַיִּהְיוּ and וַיִּשְׁרְתוּ) the unusual tenses may have been intentionally chosen: *because they continually ministered and so always became afresh . . .*

<sup>2</sup> Driver, on this passage, rightly refers to 1 S 2<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Am 4<sup>7</sup> would also come under this head, if וְהִמְטַרְתִּי is really intended, and the statement refers to the past; כִּנְעָתִי might, however, also be a perfect expressing positive assurance (§ 106 m), and the passage would then come under s.

<sup>4</sup> That וְהִלְכָהּ, &c., are frequentatives (*the maidservant used to go repeatedly and tell them*) may be seen from וַיִּלְכּוּ (necessarily an imperfect, since it is separated from וְ by הֵם) and וַיִּבְלּוּ; on the other hand in verse 18 וַיִּיָּא and וַיִּלְכּוּ of actions which happened only once.

of וַיִּלְכֹּם); Is 28<sup>28</sup>, Jer 12<sup>3</sup>, Ho 4<sup>3</sup>, 7<sup>7</sup>, ψ 90<sup>6</sup>, Jb 14<sup>9</sup>; also in dependent clauses, Lv 20<sup>18</sup>, Is 29<sup>8,11f</sup>, Am 5<sup>18</sup>.

(β) After a participle, as the equivalent of a sentence representing *n* a contingent action, &c., e.g. Ex 21<sup>12</sup> מִכָּה אִישׁ וְנָמַת (instead of מִכָּה there is in verse 20, &c. וְנָמַת אִישׁ if one smite a man and (so that) he die, &c., Ex 21<sup>16</sup>, Is 29<sup>15</sup>, Am 6<sup>1</sup>, Hb 2<sup>12</sup>).

(γ) After an infinitive absolute, Jer 7<sup>9f</sup>. *will ye steal, murder, and o* commit adultery (simple infinitives absolute; cf. § 113 ee) וּבֹאֲתֶם and then come and stand before me . . . and say, &c.; cf. below, u.

(c) To express future actions, &c., as the temporal or logical con- *p* sequence of tenses, or their equivalents, which announce or require such future actions or events. Thus—

(a) After imperfects in the sense of a simple future, e.g. Am 9<sup>3f</sup>. יִלְכֹּשׁ אֶחָדָם וְיִקְחֵם I will search and take them out thence, &c.; Gn 4<sup>14</sup>, 40<sup>13</sup>, Ex 7<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>32</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>11</sup>, Jb 8<sup>6f</sup>. (also with a change of subject, Gn 27<sup>12</sup>, Ju 6<sup>16</sup>, &c.); and in interrogative sentences, Gn 39<sup>9</sup>, Ex 27<sup>2</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>18</sup>, 2 K 14<sup>10</sup>, Am 8<sup>3</sup>, ψ 41<sup>6</sup>; cf. also Ru 1<sup>11</sup>; in sentences expressing a wish, 2 S 15<sup>4</sup>; as well as in almost all kinds of dependent clauses. Also in conditional clauses after אִם Gn 32<sup>9</sup>, Ex 19<sup>5</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>11</sup>, or כִּי Gn 37<sup>26</sup>, or הִנֵּן Jer 3<sup>1</sup>; in final clauses after לְמַעַן Gn 12<sup>13</sup>, Nu 15<sup>40</sup>, Is 28<sup>13</sup>; after אֲשֶׁר Dt 2<sup>25</sup>, or כִּי Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, 19<sup>19</sup>, 32<sup>12</sup>, Is 6<sup>10</sup>, Am 5<sup>6</sup>; in temporal clauses, Is 32<sup>15</sup>, Jer 13<sup>16</sup>; and in relative clauses, Gn 24<sup>14</sup>, Ju 1<sup>12</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>26</sup>.

(β) After the jussive (or an imperfect in the sense of a jussive or *q* optative) or cohortative, with the same or a different subject, e.g. Gn 1<sup>14f</sup>. וְהָיָה . . . מְאֹרֹת יְהִי let there be lights . . . and let them be, &c.; Gn 24<sup>4</sup>, 28<sup>3</sup>, 31<sup>44</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>2</sup>, 22<sup>13</sup>, Ru 2<sup>7</sup>, 1 Ch 22<sup>11</sup>; after a jussive expressing an imprecation, ψ 109<sup>10</sup>.

(γ) After an imperative, also with the same or a different subject, *γ* e.g. 2 S 7<sup>5</sup> וְאָמַרְתָּ לָהּ go and tell (that thou mayst tell), &c., and often, *perf. consec.* after לֵךְ (as also the *perf. consec.* of אָמַר and דִּבֶּר very frequently follows other imperatives); Gn 6<sup>14</sup>, 8<sup>17</sup>, 27<sup>43f</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>3,18</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>26</sup>, Jer 48<sup>26</sup>.

(δ) After perfects which express a definite expectation or assurance *s* (cf. § 106 m and n), e.g. Gn 17<sup>20</sup> אֲנִי וְהִפְרֵתִי אֹתוֹ behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, &c.; Is 2<sup>11</sup>, 5<sup>14</sup>; on Am 4<sup>7</sup> see above, note 3 on h; in an interrogative sentence, Ju 9<sup>9</sup>, 11<sup>13</sup>.

(ε) After a participle, e.g. Gn 7<sup>4</sup> for yet seven days, אֲנִי וְיִגְשֵׁם and I will cause it to rain . . . וְיִמְחִיֵּר and I will (i.e. in order to) destroy, &c.; Jer 21<sup>9</sup>; also with a different subject, Gn 24<sup>43f</sup>. the

maiden which cometh forth (הַיְצִיאתָ) . . . , וְאָמְרָתִי אֵלֶיָּהּ to whom I shall say . . . , וְאָמְרָהּ and she (then) shall say, &c. This use of the perfect consecutive is especially frequent after a participle introduced by הִיזָה, e.g. Gn 6<sup>17f.</sup>; with a different subject 1 K 20<sup>36</sup>, Am 6<sup>14</sup>; after a complete noun-clause introduced by הִנֵּה (cf. § 140), Ex 3<sup>13</sup> behold, I come (i.e. if I shall come) . . . לָהֶם וְאָמְרָתִי and shall say unto them . . . , וְאָמְרוּ and they (then) shall say, &c.; 1 S 14<sup>38</sup>, Is 7<sup>14</sup>, 8<sup>7f.</sup>, 39<sup>6</sup>.

- u (ζ) After an infinitive absolute, whether the infinitive absolute serves to strengthen the finite verb (see § 113 ε), e.g. Is 31<sup>5</sup>, or is used as an emphatic substitute for a cohortative or imperfect (§ 113 dd and ee), e.g. Lv 2<sup>6</sup>, Dt 1<sup>16</sup>, Is 5<sup>5</sup>, Ez 23<sup>46f.</sup>

- v (η) After an infinitive construct governed by a preposition (for this change from the infinitive construction to the finite verb, cf. § 114 r), e.g. 1 S 10<sup>8</sup> לְךָ וְהִוָּדַעְתִּי אֵלַיךְ עַד-בֹּאִי אֵלַיךְ till I come unto thee (prop. until my coming) and show thee, &c.; Gn 18<sup>25</sup>, 27<sup>45</sup>, Ju 6<sup>18</sup>, Ez 39<sup>27</sup>; cf. 1 K 23<sup>7, 12</sup>.

- w Rem. To the same class belong 1 S 14<sup>24</sup>, where the idea of time precedes, until it be evening and until I be avenged, &c., and Is 5<sup>5</sup>, where the idea of place precedes, in both cases governed by עַד.

- x 4. The very frequent use of the perfect consecutive in direct dependence upon other tenses (see above, d-v) explains how it finally obtained a kind of independent force—especially for the purpose of announcing future events—and might depend loosely on sentences to which it stood only in a wider sense in the relation of a temporal or logical consequence. Thus the perfect consecutive is used—

(a) To announce *future* events, &c., in loose connexion with a further announcement, e.g. Gn 41<sup>30</sup> וְקָמוּ and two co-ordinate perfects consecutive, equivalent to *but then shall arise*, &c.; frequently so after הִנֵּה with a following substantive (1 S 9<sup>6</sup>), or a participial clause (cf. the analogous instances above, under t), e.g. 1 S 23<sup>1</sup> behold, the days come, וְנִכְרַעְתִּי that I will cut off, &c.; Is 39<sup>6</sup>, Am 4<sup>2</sup>, 8<sup>11</sup>, 9<sup>13</sup>, and very often in Jeremiah; after an expression of time, Ex 17<sup>4</sup>, Is 10<sup>25</sup>, 29<sup>17</sup>, Jer 51<sup>58</sup>, Ho 1<sup>4</sup>. Further, when joined to a statement concerning present or past facts, especially when these contain the reason for the action, &c., expressed in the perfect consecutive; cf. Is 6<sup>7</sup> lo, this hath touched thy lips, וְכִּי therefore thine iniquity shall be taken away, &c. (not copulative and it is taken away, since it is parallel with a simple imperfect), Gn 20<sup>11</sup>, 26<sup>22</sup>, Ju 13<sup>3</sup> (here in an adversative sense); Ho 8<sup>4</sup>. In loose connexion with a noun-clause, a long succession of perfects consecutive occurs in Ex 6<sup>6</sup>. Also in Amos 5<sup>26</sup> וְיִשְׁאָלֶם may be an announcement *yea, ye shall take up*; but cf. below, rr.

Rem. 1. Very frequently the announcement of a future event is attached *y* by means of וְהָיָה<sup>1</sup> and it shall come to pass (cf. the analogous continuation in the past by means of וְהָיָה, § 111, 2), after which the event announced (sometimes after a long parenthesis) follows in one or more (co-ordinate) perfects consecutive, Gn 9<sup>14</sup>, 12<sup>12</sup> (וְהָיָה = *if*, as in 46<sup>38</sup>, Ex 1<sup>10</sup>, 22<sup>26</sup> and frequently), 1 K 18<sup>12</sup>, Is 14<sup>32</sup>, Am 5<sup>9</sup>; or in the imperfect, Gn 4<sup>14</sup>, Is 2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>24</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>, 7<sup>18.21</sup> ff. (cf. 29<sup>8</sup>); or in the jussive, Lv 14<sup>9</sup>. It very rarely happens that the verb which is thus loosely added, agrees in gender and number with the following subject, as in Nu 5<sup>27</sup>, Jer 42<sup>16</sup> וְהָיָה (before הָעָרָב), and in Jer 42<sup>17</sup> וְהָיָה (before בְּלִי-אֲנָשִׁים).

2. The jussive form וְהָיָה occurs (in the sense described in *y*) instead of וְהָיָה<sup>2</sup> in 1 S 10<sup>6</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>24</sup> (1 Ch 14<sup>15</sup>), 1 K 14<sup>5</sup>, Ru 3<sup>4</sup>, although in the first three places a jussive is wholly inadmissible in the context, and even in Ru 3<sup>4</sup> (where an admonition follows) וְהָיָה would be expected (see below, *bb*). In 1 K 14<sup>5</sup> the form is a textual error, and the pointing should simply be וְהָיָה. In the other passages וְהָיָה (always before an infinitive with a preposition) stands at the beginning of the sentence at an unusually long distance from the principal tone, and hence is certainly to be explained according to § 109 *k*, except that in 1 S 10<sup>6</sup>, &c., the simply rhythmical jussive form takes the place, not of the full imperfect form, but (exceptionally) of the perfect consecutive.

(b) To introduce a command or wish: Dt 10<sup>19</sup> *love ye therefore the aa* stranger; 1 S 6<sup>6</sup>, 24<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>6</sup> (in Gn 40<sup>14</sup> the precative perfect consecutive, as elsewhere the cohortative, jussive, and imperative, is strengthened by means of וְנָתַן). So, also, in loose connexion with participial and other noun-clauses (see above, *x*), Gn 45<sup>12f</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>2f</sup>, Ru 3<sup>3f</sup>, 3<sup>9</sup>.—In Gn 17<sup>11</sup> the perfect consecutive (וְנִמְלְצֶתֶם and *ye shall be circumcised*, &c.) is used to explain a preceding command.

Rem. As in the cases mentioned above under *y*, the connexion may be *bb* made by means of וְהָיָה. Thus with a following perfect consecutive, e.g. Gn 46<sup>38</sup>, 47<sup>24</sup>, Ju 4<sup>20</sup>. Cf. also Gn 24<sup>14</sup>, where the real wish, at least as regards the sense, is contained in the next sentence.

(c) To introduce a question, whether in loose connexion with *cc* another interrogative sentence (see above, *p*), e.g. Gn 29<sup>15</sup> *art thou my brother* (equivalent to, *Surely thou art*), וְעַבְדְּךָ לִי and *shouldst thou then serve me for naught?* or with a positive statement, e.g. Ex 5<sup>5</sup> וְהַשְׁבֹּתָם will ye then make them rest?; Nu 16<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>11</sup>, and (if it is *Mitra*) ψ 50<sup>21</sup> (וְהִחַרְשֵׁתִי).

(d) To introduce actions frequently repeated (hence analogous to *dd* the numerous examples of a frequentative perfect consecutive, above, under *e*), e.g. 1 S 1<sup>3</sup> (וְעָלָה of annual festival journeys); 13<sup>21</sup> (where, however, the text appears radically corrupt); 27<sup>9</sup> (וְהָיָה, i.e. every time, therefore continued by means of וְהָיָה); 1 K 5<sup>7</sup> (וְכִלְכְּלוּ).

<sup>1</sup> On the various combinations with וְהָיָה see König's statistics in *ZAW.* xix. 272 ff.

parallel with a simple imperfect); 9<sup>25</sup>, Jer 25<sup>4</sup>, Ho 12<sup>11</sup>, Dn 8<sup>4</sup>.—In Jb 1<sup>41</sup> a series of frequentative perfects consecutive is interrupted by an imperfect consecutive, while a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae*) forms the conclusion. In Jer 6<sup>17</sup> a similar perfect is expressly marked, by placing the tone on the final syllable (according to § 49 *h*), as parallel with the real perfects consecutive.

ee Rem. The loose connexion of *tempora frequentativa* by וְהָיָה (cf. the Rem. on *y* and *bb*) is also very common in this sense; thus with a following perfect consecutive, Gn 30<sup>41</sup>, (but in verse 42<sup>a</sup>, where the verb is separated from the *Wāw* by an insertion, we find לֹא יֵשֶׁם he used not to put them in, according to § 107 *e*); Gn 38<sup>9</sup>, Ex 17<sup>11</sup>, 33<sup>7</sup> <sup>π</sup>, (see above, *e*), Nu 21<sup>9</sup>, Ju 6<sup>8</sup>, 19<sup>30</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>23</sup> (followed by five perfects consecutive); 2 S 15<sup>6</sup>; with a following imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae*), Ju 21<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>26</sup>.—In Ju 12<sup>54</sup>, וְהָיָה, contrary to what would be expected, is continued by means of the imperfect consecutive, and in 1 S 13<sup>22</sup> by לֹא יֵשֶׁם with the perfect (instead of the imperfect).

ff 5. Finally the perfect consecutive is very frequently employed with a certain emphasis to introduce the apodosis after sentences (or their equivalents) which contain a condition, a reason, or a statement of time. Such an apodosis, as in the cases already treated, may represent either future events, or commands and wishes, or even events which have been often repeated in the past. Thus—

(a) The perfect consecutive occurs in the apodosis to conditional sentences<sup>1</sup> (§ 159 *g, o, s*):

(a) After אִם with the imperfect, e. g. 2 K 7<sup>45</sup> וּמָתָנוּ וְנָמָתָנוּ if they kill us, (well then) we shall but die; here the perfect consecutive is used obviously with greater emphasis than the imperfect (יָמָתָנוּ) which immediately precedes; Gn 18<sup>26</sup>, 24<sup>8,41</sup>, 32<sup>9</sup>, Nu 30<sup>16</sup>, Ju 4<sup>20</sup>, 1 S 11<sup>11</sup>, 20<sup>6</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>14</sup>, Na 3<sup>12</sup>, Ec 4<sup>11</sup>.

gg (β) After אִם with the perfect (in the sense of a *futurum exactum*), Nu 5<sup>27</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>20</sup>, 7<sup>4a</sup>, Is 4<sup>41</sup>; as precativ apodosis after אִם־נֶאֱמַר with the perf. *preteritum*, Gn 33<sup>10</sup>; as a frequentative perfect consecutive, to represent past events in the apodosis after אִם with a perfect, Gn 38<sup>9</sup>, Nu 21<sup>9</sup>, Ju 6<sup>8</sup>, Jb 7<sup>4</sup>; after אִם with imperfect, Gn 31<sup>8</sup>.

hh (γ) After כִּי (in case, suppose that) with the imperfect, Gn 12<sup>12</sup>, Ex 18<sup>16</sup>, Ju 13<sup>17</sup>, Is 58<sup>7</sup>, Ez 14<sup>13</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Frequentative with reference to the past, after כִּי with frequentative perfect, Ju 2<sup>18</sup>, Jb 7<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In a number of the examples of this kind the protasis is already loosely connected by means of וְהָיָה, and hence some of them had to be already mentioned above, under *y, bb, ee*.

<sup>2</sup> In 1 S 24<sup>19</sup> a question appears to be expressed by the perfect consecutive, for if a man find his enemy, will he let him go well away? Probably, however, with Klostermann, וְנָמָתָנוּ should be read for וְנָמָתָנוּ.

(δ) After אִשָּׁר with the imperfect, Gn 44<sup>9</sup> וְיָמָה . . . אִתּוֹ *with whomsoever . . . it be found, let him die*; with the perfect, Ex 21<sup>12</sup> *and if a man lie not in wait, &c.*; Ju 1<sup>12</sup>.

(ε) Very frequently after a perfect consecutive (one or more) containing the condition, e.g. Gn 44<sup>29</sup> וְהוֹרַדְתֶּם . . . וְלִקְחֶתֶם וּמֵאֲחֶזְקָה *and if ye take (or shall have taken) this one also . . . ye shall bring down, &c.*; cf. Gn 33<sup>13</sup>, 42<sup>38</sup>, 44<sup>4,22</sup>, 47<sup>30</sup>, Nu 30<sup>12</sup>, Ru 2<sup>9</sup>, and probably also Ez 39<sup>28</sup>.—Also frequentative in reference to the past, e.g. 1 S 17<sup>34</sup> . . . וּבָא הַלֵּוֹנִי וַיֵּצֵאֵתִי *and when there came (as sometimes happened) a lion . . . I went out, &c.*; Ex 33<sup>10</sup>, Nu 10<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>10</sup>, Jer 20<sup>9</sup> (the perfects consecutive being regularly continued in the apodosis by וְלֵא with an imperfect<sup>1</sup>).

Rem. The perfect consecutive may be used also in the protasis to express a condition when the employment of the perfect consecutive in the apodosis has become impossible, owing to an emphatic word having to stand before it; thus in Ez 14<sup>14</sup> on account of הִכְפֹּה; 33<sup>4</sup> on account of רָמוּ. In 1 S 14<sup>62</sup> the imperfect consecutive, contrary to what might be expected, stands in the apodosis, *and when Saul saw any . . . valiant man, he took him unto him*, where וַיֹּאכְלֵהוּ suggests the special case, rather than a repeated occurrence; cf. 2 S 15<sup>2</sup>. Conversely, in 1 S 21<sup>16</sup> (וַיֹּאכְלֵהוּ) perhaps a mere mistake for וַיִּקְרָא, 17<sup>35</sup> b an imperfect consecutive stands in the protasis.

(ζ) After various equivalents of sentences, which contain a condition; *mm* thus, after a substantive standing absolutely, or a participle (a *casus pendens*), Gn 17<sup>14</sup> וְגַם וְנִכְרְתָהּ וְזָכָר . . . וְעָרַל וְזָכָר *and the uncircumcised male (in case such an one be found), he shall be cut off, &c.*; cf. Gn 30<sup>32</sup>, Ex 12<sup>15</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>10</sup>, Is 6<sup>13</sup>, and (after an infinitive with a preposition) 2 S 7<sup>14</sup>; in a wider sense also Ex 4<sup>21</sup>, 9<sup>19</sup>, 12<sup>44</sup>, Is 9<sup>4</sup>, 56<sup>5</sup>.

(b) The perfect consecutive serves as the apodosis to causal clauses; *nn* thus e.g. after לָעַן אִשָּׁר with the perfect, Is 3<sup>16</sup>; after לָעַן אִשָּׁר with perfect, 1 K 20<sup>28</sup>; after לָעַקֵּב with perfect, Nu 14<sup>24</sup>; also after what are equivalent to causal clauses, e.g. ψ 25<sup>11</sup> וְסִלְחָהּ . . . לְמַעַן שְׁמוֹךְ *for thy name's sake . . . pardon . . .*; Is 37<sup>29</sup> after לָעַן with an infinitive.

(c) The perfect consecutive occurs as the apodosis to temporal clauses or their equivalents, e.g. 1 S 21<sup>15</sup> וּבָא . . . וְקָטְרוּן אֶת־הַחֶלֶב *before they burnt the fat, the priests' servant came* (used to come), &c., hence a frequentative perfect consecutive relating to the past, as in Ex 1<sup>19</sup>; also after participial clauses (§ 116 w), e.g. 1 S 21<sup>15</sup> וּבָא . . . כְּלֵאִישׁ וְזָבַח וְזָבַח *when(ever) any man offered sacrifice, then came,*

<sup>1</sup> In all these examples (not only in the frequentative perfects consecutive) the original idea of the perfect, which also underlies the perfect consecutive, comes out very distinctly. Gn 44<sup>29</sup> (see above) implies in the mind of the speaker, If it ever shall have come to this, that ye have taken this one also, then ye have thereby brought me down to Sheol.

&c. (so Ju 19<sup>30</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>12</sup>), with a frequentative perfect consecutive. The perfect consecutive is very frequently used to announce future actions or events after simple expressions of time of any kind; thus Gn 3<sup>5</sup>, Ex 32<sup>34</sup> (after *כִּי* with the infinitive), cf. also such examples as Gn 44<sup>31</sup>, Ju 16<sup>2</sup>, Jos 6<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 12<sup>23</sup>, 16<sup>23</sup> (numerous frequentative perfects consecutive after the infinitive with a preposition; so 2 S 15<sup>5</sup>, see above, *ee*); 1 S 20<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>25</sup>, 15<sup>10</sup>, Is 18<sup>5</sup>; moreover, Ex 17<sup>4</sup>, Is 10<sup>25</sup>, 29<sup>17</sup>, 37<sup>26</sup>; even after single disconnected words, e.g. Ex 16<sup>6</sup> *וְיָדַעְתֶּם* *at even* (when it becomes evening) *then ye shall know*; cf. verse 7, Lv 7<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>31</sup>, Pr 24<sup>27</sup>.

pp 6. Finally there still remains a number of passages which cannot be classed with any of those hitherto mentioned. Of these, some are due to the influence of Aramaic modes of expression, while in others the text is evidently corrupt.<sup>1</sup> In a few instances we can do no more than merely call attention to the incorrectness of the expression. (We are not of course concerned here with the cases—usually occurring in dependent clauses—in which a 2nd pers. *perf.* with Wāw copulative is simply co-ordinate with what precedes, as in Gn 28<sup>6</sup>, and probably Nu 21<sup>15</sup>, Dt 33<sup>2</sup>.)

(a) The influence of the Aramaic construction of the perfect with *י* as the narrative tense, instead of the Hebrew imperfect consecutive (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 71 b), is certainly to be traced in *Qoheleth*, and sporadically in other very late books,<sup>2</sup> perhaps also in a few passages in the books of Kings, which are open to the suspicion of being due to later interpolation; so probably 1 K 12<sup>32</sup> *וְהָעֵמִיד*; 2 K 11<sup>1</sup> *וְהָאֵתָה*; 14<sup>14</sup> *וְלָקַח* (in the parallel passage, 2 Ch 25<sup>24</sup>, the word is wanting); 2 K 23<sup>4</sup> *וְהָיָה*, &c.; verse 10 *וְהָיָה*, &c.; verse 12 *וְהָיָה*, &c.; verse 15 *וְהָיָה*, &c.<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Ez 37<sup>2,7,10</sup>.

qq (b) The text is certainly corrupt in Is 40<sup>6</sup> (read with the LXX and Vulgate

<sup>1</sup> Mayer Lambert, *REJ.* xxvi. 55, is probably right in pointing some of these forms as *infm. abs.* instead of *perfects*.

<sup>2</sup> In the whole of *Qoheleth* the imperfect consecutive occurs only in 1<sup>17</sup> and 4<sup>1,7</sup>. Several of the perfects with *י* can no doubt be explained as frequentatives, e.g. 1<sup>13</sup>, 2<sup>5,9,11,13,15</sup>, 5<sup>18</sup>, compared with 6<sup>2</sup>; but this is impossible in such passages as 9<sup>14</sup> *et.* In *Ezra*, Driver reckons only six examples of the historical perfect with *י*, in *Nehemiah* only six, and in *Esther* six or seven.

<sup>3</sup> Stade in *ZAW.* v. 291 ff. and in *Ausgewählte akad. Reden*, Giessen, 1899, p. 194 ff. and appendix p. 199, discusses, in connexion with 2 K 12<sup>12</sup>, a number of critically questionable perfects with *י*. He considers that the whole section, 2 K 23<sup>4</sup> from *וְהָיָה* to verse 5 inclusive, is to be regarded as a gloss, since the continuation of an imperfect consecutive by means of a perfect with *י* never occurs in pre-exilic documents, except in places where it is due to corruption of the original text. The theory of frequentative perfects consecutive (even immediately after imperfects consecutive), which has been supported above, under *f* and *g*, by a large number of examples, is quite inconsistent with the character of the action in 2 K 23<sup>5</sup> *וְהָיָה*, verse 8 *וְהָיָה*,



וְאָמַר; Jer 38<sup>28</sup>, where the narrative breaks off in the middle of the sentence; 40<sup>8</sup> (וְהָיָה, &c., wanting in the LXX); also in Ju 7<sup>13</sup> וַיִּפֹּל הָאֱחָל is altogether redundant; in 1 S 3<sup>13</sup> read, with Klostermann, the 2nd sing. masc. instead of וְהִגְדַּרְתִּי; in 1 K 21<sup>12</sup> וְהִשְׁכַּח is, no doubt, incorrectly repeated from verse 9, where it is an imperative.

Of other questionable instances, (α) the following, at any rate, may also be 77 explained as frequentatives, Gn 21<sup>26</sup>, 49<sup>23</sup>, Ex 36<sup>28</sup>, 38<sup>28</sup>, 39<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>7</sup>, 17<sup>20</sup>, 24<sup>11</sup> (but even so וְאָמַר would be expected); 2 K 23<sup>12</sup>, Is 28<sup>20</sup> (parallel with an imperfect); Am 5<sup>26</sup> (unless it is rather, *yea, ye shall take up*; see above, x); ψ 26<sup>3</sup>, Ez 8<sup>36</sup>.

(β) A longer or constant continuance in a past state is perhaps represented SS by the perfect with ו (as a variety of the frequentative perfect with ו), in Gn 15<sup>6</sup>, 34<sup>5</sup>, Nu 21<sup>20</sup>, Jos 9<sup>12</sup>, 22<sup>3b</sup>, Is 22<sup>14</sup>, Jer 3<sup>9</sup>. But the unusual *perfects consec.* in Jos 15<sup>8-11</sup>, 16<sup>2-8</sup> (ultimately parallel with an imperf. as in 17<sup>9</sup>, 18<sup>20</sup>), 18<sup>12-21</sup>, 19<sup>11-14, 22, 26-28, 34</sup>, are without doubt rightly explained by Bennett (SBOT., Joshua, p. 23) as originally containing the directions either of God to Joshua or of Joshua to the people; cf. the evident trace of this in 15<sup>1b</sup>. A redactor transformed the directions into a description but left the *perfects consec.*, which are to be explained as in αα. In the same way וְהָיָה Ex 36<sup>20</sup> is most simply explained as repeated from 26<sup>25</sup>.

(γ) The following are due to errors in the text, or to incorrect modes of *tt* expression: Ex 36<sup>29f</sup>, Ju 3<sup>23</sup>, 1 K 16<sup>18</sup> (read וַיַּעֲלֵה), 1 S 4<sup>19</sup>, 17<sup>38</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>6</sup>, 19<sup>18f</sup> (read וַיַּלְחֹץ and וַיַּעֲבֹר), 1 K 3<sup>11</sup> (where וְשָׁלַח is, no doubt intentionally, assimilated to the four other perfects); 13<sup>3</sup>, 20<sup>21</sup>; 2 K 14<sup>7</sup> (where, with Stade, וְשָׁפַשׁ should be read); 14<sup>14</sup>, 18<sup>4</sup> (where, at any rate, וַיִּשְׁפַּר might be taken as a frequentative, but not וְכָרַח, &c.; evidently the perfects are co-ordinated only in form with הָיָה הַסִּיר); 18<sup>36</sup>, 21<sup>15</sup>, 24<sup>14</sup>, Jer 37<sup>15</sup> (where וְהָבִי, but not וַנְּחַנֵּי, might be frequentative); Ez 9<sup>7</sup> (omit וַיִּצְאָה with Stade, and read וְהָבִי); 20<sup>22</sup> וְהִשְׁבַּחְתִּי *Mirā* before an imperfect consecutive); Am 7<sup>4</sup> (וְאָכַל after an imperfect consecutive); Jb 16<sup>12</sup>.

Finally, in 1 S 11<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>9</sup>, 17<sup>48</sup>, 25<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 6<sup>6</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>15</sup>, Jer 37<sup>11</sup>, Am 7<sup>2</sup> וְהָיָה is to be *uu* read throughout instead of וְהָיָה, but in Gn 38<sup>5</sup> וְהָיָה with the LXX.

## B. THE INFINITIVE AND PARTICIPLE.

### § 113. *The Infinitive Absolute.*

Cf. the dissertation of J. Kahan, and, especially, the thorough investigation by E. Sellin, both entitled, *Ueber die verbal-nominale Doppelnatur der hebräischen Participien und Infinitive*, &c., Lpz. 1889; F. Prätorius, 'Ueber die sogen. Infin. absol. des Hebr.' in *ZDMG.* 1902, pp. 546 ff.

1. The infinitive absolute is employed according to § 45 to emphasize *α* the idea of the verb *in the abstract*, i.e. it speaks of an action (or state) without any regard to the agent or to the circumstances of time and mood under which it takes place. As the *name* of an action the infinitive absolute, like other nouns in the stricter sense,

<sup>1</sup> Or does וַנְּעַל, as a frequentative, imply fastening with several bolts? It is, at all events, to be noticed, that in 2 S 13<sup>18</sup> also וַנְּעַל follows an imperfect consecutive.

may form part of certain combinations (as a subject, predicate, or object, or even as a genitive,<sup>1</sup> see below); but such a use of the infinitive absolute (instead of the infinitive construct with or without a preposition) is, on the whole, rare, and, moreover, open to question on critical grounds. On the other hand, the infinitive absolute frequently exhibits its character as an expression of the *verbal idea* by taking an object, either in the accusative or even with a preposition.

*b* Examples of the use of the infinitive absolute:—

(a) As subject, Pr 25<sup>27</sup> אָכַל דְּבִשׁ הָרְפוּהוּ לֹא טוֹב *it is not good to eat much honey*; Jer 10<sup>5</sup>, Jb 6<sup>25</sup>, Ec 4<sup>17</sup>; epexegetically, after a demonstrative pronoun, Is 58<sup>6f.</sup>, Ze 14<sup>12</sup>.

(b) As predicate, Is 32<sup>17</sup> and the effect of righteousness (is) הַשְׁקֵט וְיָטַח *quietness* (prop. *to find rest*) and confidence.

(c) As object, Is 1<sup>17</sup> לִמְדוּ הַיָּטִיב *learn to do well*; Is 7<sup>15</sup>, Pr 15<sup>12</sup>, Jb 9<sup>18</sup>; according to the sense also Jer 9<sup>23</sup> 23<sup>14</sup>, as well as Is 5<sup>5</sup> הָיָה (פָּרַץ) and הָיָה (פָּרַץ) virtually depend on the idea of the wish contained in Is (עֲשֵׂהָ); Is 22<sup>13</sup>, where a long series of infinitives absolute is governed by הָיָה, and 55<sup>13</sup> (six infinitives governed by יִרְעֻנֶנּוּ in verse 12); Dt 28<sup>56</sup> is strange since the object precedes the infinitive absolute which governs it,<sup>2</sup> also Is 42<sup>24</sup>, where the statement of place precedes the infinitive absolute.—In Jer 9<sup>4</sup>, Jb 13<sup>3</sup> the infinitive absolute as the object of the verb is placed before it for the sake of emphasis (with the verb negated by לֹא in Is 57<sup>20</sup>, Jer 49<sup>23</sup>), so also in La 3<sup>45</sup> where it is the remoter object and co-ordinated with a substantive.

(d) As genitive, Is 14<sup>23</sup> בְּמִטְאָטָא הַשְׁמֵר *with the besom of destruction*; so perhaps also 4<sup>4</sup> בְּעֵר בִּרְחָן; cf. further, Pr 1<sup>3</sup>, 21<sup>16</sup>. The infinitive absolute is never used in immediate connexion with prepositions<sup>3</sup> (which as being originally substantives govern the genitive), but always the infinitive construct; but if a second infinitive is co-ordinated by וְ with such an infinitive construct, it has the form of the infinitive absolute (since it is released from the immediate government of the preposition), e.g. 1 S 22<sup>13</sup> . . . לָהֶם בְּתַתֶּךָ לוֹ בָּתָּחָד לוֹ וְשָׁאוֹל לוֹ בְּאַלְהֵים *in that thou hast given him bread . . . and hast enquired of God for him*; Ez 36<sup>3</sup>; 1 S 25<sup>28.33</sup> (after כֵּן); after לְ Ex 32<sup>6</sup>, Jer 7<sup>18</sup>, 44<sup>17</sup>.

(e) Governing an accusative of the object, e.g. Is 22<sup>13</sup> הָרֹג בְּקֶרֶךְ וְשָׂחַט צֹאן *slaying oxen and killing sheep*; cf. Ex 20<sup>8</sup>, 23<sup>30</sup>, Dt 5<sup>12</sup>, Is 37<sup>19</sup>, Ez 23<sup>30</sup>, and of the examples in a-a, Dt 28<sup>56</sup>, Is 5<sup>5</sup>, 58<sup>6f.</sup>, Pr 25<sup>27</sup>, &c.; followed by a preposition, e.g. Is 7<sup>15</sup> כָּאִם בָּרַע וּבָחַר בְּטוֹב *to refuse the evil and choose the good*; Pr 15<sup>12</sup> (הוֹכִיחַ לוֹ).

g If the object be a personal pronoun, then, since the infinitive absolute can never be united with a suffix (see the note on a), it is affixed by means of the accusative-sign אֶת (את), e.g. Jer 9<sup>23</sup> וְיָדַע אֹתִי *and knoweth me*; Ez 36<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The infinitive absolute can never be joined with a genitive or a pronominal suffix.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps הָיָה according to § 53 b should be explained as an infinitive construct, or should be written הָיָה.

<sup>3</sup> ואחרי שָׂחַט 1 S 1<sup>9</sup> is impossible Hebrew, and as the LXX shows, a late addition.

2. Analogous to the use of the infinitive absolute as the accusative *h* of the object, mentioned in *d*, is its employment as a *casus adverbialis*<sup>1</sup> in connexion with some form of the finite verb, to describe more particularly the manner or attendant circumstances (especially those of time and place) under which an action or state has taken place, or is taking place, or will take place; e.g. Jer 22<sup>19</sup> *he shall be buried with the burial of an ass*, קָחוּב וְהִשְׁלֵךְ *a drawing and casting forth*, i.e. being drawn and cast forth, &c.; Gn 21<sup>16</sup> (הִרְחֵק *a removing*, i.e. distant; cf. Ex 33<sup>7</sup>, Jos 3<sup>16</sup>); Gn 30<sup>32</sup>, Ex 30<sup>36</sup>, Nu 6<sup>5,23</sup>, 15<sup>35</sup> (where a subject is added subsequently; see below, *gg*); Jos 3<sup>17</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>12</sup> (הָחֵל וְכָלָה *a beginning and ending*, i.e. from beginning to end); 2 S 8<sup>2</sup>, Is 7<sup>11</sup> (וְהַעֲמִק and הַגִּבַּה, prop. *a making deep* . . . , and *a making high*, i.e. whether thy request extend to the world below or to the height above); 57<sup>17</sup> (הִתְחַבֵּר *in hiding*, sc. my face); Jer 3<sup>15</sup> (וְהִשְׁכִּיל *with knowledge and understanding*); Hb 3<sup>13</sup> (עֲרוּת, for the form cf. § 75 *aa*); Zc 7<sup>3</sup>, ψ 35<sup>16</sup> (תִּרְק, to define more precisely קִרְעֵ verse 15); Jb 15<sup>3</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. 1. To an adverbial infinitive absolute of this kind, there may further *z* be added a *casus adverbialis* (the accusative of state or circumstance), or even a circumstantial clause, to define more exactly the manner in which the action is performed, e.g. Is 20<sup>2</sup> *and he did so* וַיֵּהָרֵץ עָרוֹם וַיֵּהָרֵץ *walking naked and barefoot*, prop. in the condition of one naked, &c.; Is 30<sup>14</sup> *a breaking in pieces* (acc. to the reading בְּתוֹת; the Masora requires בְּתוֹת) *without sparing*.

2. A few infinitives of this kind, all of which are in Hiph'il, have, through frequent use, come to be treated by the language as simple adverbs; so especially הִרְבֶּה (cf. § 75 *f*) *multum faciendo*, i.e. *multum*, very frequently strengthened by מְאֹד *very* and even used without connexion with a finite verb (see the Lexicon); also הֵיטִיב *bene faciendo*, i.e. *bene*, used especially to express the careful and thorough performance of an action (e.g. Dt 13<sup>15</sup>); in Dt 9<sup>21</sup>, 27<sup>8</sup> it is added epexegetically to another adverbial infinitive absolute, in Jon 4<sup>9</sup> it twice precedes the verb for the sake of emphasis. Finally, הִשָּׂם *mane faciendo*, i.e. *early in the morning*, then in general *early* with the additional idea of earnestness; in 1 S 17<sup>16</sup> joined with the infinitive absolute וְהָעֶרֶב *a denominative from עָרַב evening (morning and evening, i.e. early and late)*, elsewhere (with the exception of Pr 27<sup>14</sup>) always joined with the infinitive absolute of the governing verb, e.g. Jer 11<sup>7</sup> *for I earnestly protested* (הִעָדֵיתִי) *unto your fathers* . . . וְהָעֹרֵר הִשָּׂם *rising early and protesting*, i.e. with earnest protestation; Jer 25<sup>3</sup>, 26<sup>5</sup> (where י should be omitted before ה); Jer 29<sup>19</sup>, 32<sup>33</sup>, 2 Ch 16<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> That this *casus adverbialis* also was originally regarded as an accusative, may be seen from classical Arabic, where an infinitive of this kind expressly retains the accusative ending. In Latin the ablative of the gerund corresponds in many ways to this use of the infinitive absolute.

<sup>2</sup> Also in 2 K 21<sup>13</sup> for מָחָה וְהָפַךְ read with Stade and Klostermann וְהָפַךְ מָחָה; similarly, with Stade, וְקָשָׁה in Ju 24<sup>4</sup>, וְחָזַק in Jer 23<sup>14</sup>, and on Is 31<sup>5</sup> cf. *l*.

l 3. The infinitive absolute occurs most frequently in immediate connexion with the finite verb of the same stem, in order in various ways to define more accurately or to strengthen the idea of the verb.<sup>1</sup>

- m These infinitives absolute joined immediately to the finite verb belong in a sense to the *schema etymologicum* treated in § 117 p, i.e. they are objects of the finite verb in question, except that the infinitive absolute (as a *nomen abstractum*) lays stress rather on the actual occurrence or the energy of the action (see the examples below), while the noun proper emphasizes the result or extent of the action; cf. e.g. Ex 22<sup>22</sup> אֵלַי יִצְעַק אֶלִּי if it actually happens that he cries to me, with Gn 27<sup>34</sup> (as it were, he cried, so that a great cry was heard).

We must further distinguish—

- n (a) The infinitive absolute used before the verb to strengthen the verbal idea, i.e. to emphasize in this way either the certainty (especially in the case of threats) or the forcibleness and completeness of an occurrence. In English, such an infinitive is mostly expressed by a corresponding adverb, but sometimes merely by putting greater stress on the verb; e.g. Gn 2<sup>17</sup> מוֹת תָּמוּת thou shalt surely die, cf. 18<sup>10,18</sup>, 22<sup>17</sup>, 28<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>6</sup> (cometh surely to pass); 24<sup>21</sup>, Am 5<sup>5</sup>, 7<sup>17</sup>, Hb 2<sup>3</sup>, Zc 11<sup>17</sup>; with the infinitive strengthened by אָף Gn 44<sup>28</sup> (but 27<sup>30</sup> and Jacob was yet scarce gone out, &c.); Gn 43<sup>3</sup> בָּנִי הָעֵד הָעֵד he did solemnly protest unto us; 1 S 20<sup>6</sup> נִשְׁאַל נִשְׁאַל David earnestly asked leave of me; Jos 17<sup>13</sup>, Ju 1<sup>23</sup> וְהוֹרִישׁ לֹא הוֹרִישׁ and did not utterly drive them out; especially typical instances are Am 9<sup>8</sup> I will destroy it from off the face of the earth וְלֹא הִשְׁמִיד אֶשְׁמִיד saving that I will not utterly destroy, &c.; Jer 30<sup>11</sup> and will in no wise leave thee unpunished; cf. further Gn 20<sup>18</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>26</sup>, Jo 1<sup>7</sup>, Jb 13<sup>5</sup>.

- o The infinitive absolute is used before the verb with less emphasis:

(1) Frequently at the beginning of the statement; cf. Driver on 1 S 20<sup>6</sup>. However, in these cases a special emphasis on the following verb is sometimes intended; cf. above, n, on Gn 43<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 20<sup>6</sup>; also Gn 3<sup>16</sup>, 26<sup>28</sup>, 32<sup>17</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>28</sup>, 20<sup>3</sup>. Elsewhere the infinitive absolute is evidently used only as possessing a certain fullness of sound (hence for rhythmical reasons, like some uses of the separate pronoun, § 135 a), as in Gn 15<sup>13</sup>, 43<sup>7,20</sup>, Ju 9<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>16</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>6</sup>, 20<sup>18</sup>.

(2) Very frequently in conditional sentences after אִם, &c. The infinitive absolute in this case emphasizes the importance of the con-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Rieder, *Die Verbindung des Inf. abs. mit dem Verb. fin. . . im Hebr., Lpz., 1872*; also his *Quae ad syntaxin Hebraicam . . . planiorem faciendam ex lingua Graeca et Latina afferantur*, Gumbinnen (Programm des Gymnasiums), 1884. G. R. Hauschild, *Die Verbindung finitler und infinitiver Verbalformen desselben Stammes in einigen Bibelsprachen*, Frankfurt a. M., 1893, discussing especially the rendering of such constructions in the Greek and Latin versions.

dition on which some consequence depends, e.g. Ex 15<sup>25</sup> *if thou wilt diligently hearken*, &c., Ex 19<sup>5</sup>, 21<sup>5</sup>, 22<sup>3, 11<sup>f</sup>, 16, 22</sup> (see above, m); 23<sup>22</sup>, Nu 21<sup>2</sup>, Ju 16<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 11<sup>1</sup>, 12<sup>25</sup>; after לִי 1 S 14<sup>30</sup>.

The infinitive absolute is used to give emphasis to an antithesis, e.g. p 2 S 24<sup>24</sup> *nay; but I will verily buy* (קָנִי אֶתְּךָ) *it of thee*, &c. (not receive it as a gift); Ju 15<sup>13</sup> *no; but we will bind thee fast . . . but surely we will not kill thee*; cf. further Gn 31<sup>30</sup> (thou art indeed gone=) *though thou wouldst needs be gone* (Vulg. esto), *because thou sore longedst*, &c.; ψ 118<sup>13, 15</sup>, 126<sup>6</sup> (the second infinitive absolute as a supplement to the first—see below, r—comes after the verb).—Hence also, as permissive, Gn 216<sup>f</sup>. כָּל הָאֲכָל thou mayest freely eat, but, &c. (so that verse 16 is in antithesis to verse 17); or concessive, 1 S 2<sup>30</sup> *I said indeed . . .*, 14<sup>43</sup>.

The infinitive absolute is used to strengthen a question, and q especially in impassioned or indignant questions, e.g. Gn 37<sup>8</sup> הֲמִלְכָה עָלֵינוּ *shalt thou indeed reign over us?* Gn 37<sup>10</sup>, 43<sup>7</sup>, Ju 11<sup>25</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>27</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>43</sup>, Jer 3<sup>1</sup>, 13<sup>12</sup>, Ez 28<sup>9</sup>, Am 3<sup>5</sup>, Zc 7<sup>5</sup>; but cf. also Gn 24<sup>5</sup> *must I needs bring again?*

(b) The infinitive absolute after the verb, sometimes (as in n) to r intensify<sup>1</sup> the idea of the verb (especially after imperatives and participles, since the infinitive absolute can never precede either, e.g. Nu 11<sup>15</sup>, Jb 13<sup>17</sup>, 21<sup>2</sup>, 37<sup>2</sup> שָׁמְעוּ שָׁמְעוּ *hearken ye attentively*; Jer 22<sup>10</sup>; after participles, e.g. Is 22<sup>17</sup>, also elsewhere, e.g. Nu 23<sup>11</sup>, 24<sup>10</sup> *thou hast altogether blessed them*; Jos 24<sup>10</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>11</sup>, Dn 11<sup>10</sup>, and with the infinitive absolute strengthened by means of בְּ Gn 31<sup>15</sup>, 46<sup>4</sup>, Nu 16<sup>13</sup>); sometimes to express the long continuance of an action; here again after an imperative, Is 6<sup>9</sup> שָׁמְעוּ שָׁמְעוּ *hear ye continually*; after a perfect, Jer 6<sup>20</sup>; after a participle, Jer 23<sup>17</sup>; after an imperfect consecutive, Gn 19<sup>9</sup>, Nu 11<sup>32</sup>.

To this class belong especially those cases in which a second infinitive absolute is co-ordinated with the first; the latter then expresses either an accompanying or antithetical action or the aim to which the principal action is directed; e.g. 1 S 6<sup>12</sup> הָלְכוּ הָלְכוּ *lowing as they went* (lowing continually; so after a participle, Jos 6<sup>13b</sup> Q<sup>er</sup>); Gn 8<sup>7</sup> *it went forth to and fro*<sup>2</sup>; Is 19<sup>22</sup> *smiting and* (i.e. but also) *healing again*; Jo 2<sup>25</sup> (see above, m).

Rem. r. Instead of a second infinitive absolute (see above) there is sometimes found a perfect consecutive (Jos. 6<sup>13a</sup> and 2 S 13<sup>10</sup> [but Stade's וַיִּקַּח is

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic also, the intensifying infinitive regularly stands after the verb, but in Syriac before the verb.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Ez 1<sup>14</sup> for the distorted form רָצוּא reads simply יָצוּא יָצוּא.

is preferable], in both places as perfect frequentative; Is 31<sup>5</sup> referring to the future, unless with Stade, *ZAW.* vi. 189, we read וְהָמַלִּיט and וְהָמַלִּיט, or an imperfect consecutive (1 S 19<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>13</sup>) or participle (2 S 16<sup>6</sup>); cf. also u.

- u 2. The idea of long *continuance* is very frequently expressed by the verb הָלַךְ to go, along with its infinitive absolute, or even by the latter alone, and this occurs not only when it can be taken in its literal sense (*to go, to walk*, as in the examples given above, Jos 6<sup>3,13</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>2</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>19</sup>; cf. also, Is 3<sup>16</sup>, where both infinitives stand before the verb, and ψ 126<sup>6</sup>, where הָלוֹךְ precedes), but also in cases where הָלַךְ in the sense of *to go on, to continue*, merely performs the function of an adverb. The action itself is added in a second infinitive absolute, or sometimes (see above, t) in a participle or verbal adjective. Examples, Gn 8<sup>3</sup> וַיָּשׁוּבוּ הַמַּיִם . . . הָלוֹךְ וַיָּשׁוּבוּ and the waters returned . . . continually; Gn 8<sup>5</sup>, 12<sup>2</sup>, Ju 14<sup>9</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>11</sup>; with a participle following, Jer 41<sup>6</sup> (unless we read in Jer 2 S 3<sup>16</sup>); with an adjective following, Gen 26<sup>13</sup>, Ju 4<sup>24</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>10</sup> (1 Ch 11<sup>19</sup>), 2 S 18<sup>23</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, in 1 S 17<sup>41</sup> the participle הָלַךְ is used instead of the infinitive absolute. Of a different kind are the instances in which the participle הָלַךְ is used as predicate along with the co-ordinate adjective (Ex 19<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>26</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>1</sup>, 15<sup>12</sup>, Est 9<sup>4</sup>, 2 Ch 17<sup>12</sup>) or participle (1 S 17<sup>15</sup>, Jon 1<sup>11</sup>, Pr 4<sup>18</sup>, Ec 1<sup>6</sup>).

- v 3. The regular place of the negative is between the intensifying infinitive absolute and the finite verb,<sup>2</sup> e.g. Ex 5<sup>23</sup> וְהָיָה לְאִי-הַעֲבָלָתִי neither hast thou delivered at all, Ju 15<sup>13</sup>, Jer 13<sup>12</sup>, 30<sup>11</sup>; cf. Mi 1<sup>10</sup> (אֵל). Exceptions are Gn 3<sup>4</sup> (where the negation of the threat pronounced in 2<sup>17</sup> is expressed in the same form of words); Am 9<sup>3</sup>, ψ 49<sup>8</sup>.

- w 4. With a finite verb of one of the derived conjugations, not only the infinitive absolute of the same conjugation may be connected (Gn 28<sup>22</sup> Piel; 17<sup>13</sup>, Ex 22<sup>9</sup>, Ez 14<sup>3</sup> Niph'al; Gn 40<sup>16</sup> Pu'al; Ho 4<sup>18</sup> Hiph'il; Ez 16<sup>4</sup> Hoph'al; but also (especially with Niph'al, rarely with Piel and Hiph'il; see Driver on 2 S 20<sup>18</sup>) that of Qal as the simplest and most general representative of the verbal idea, 2 S 20<sup>18</sup> (with Piel; but in Gn 37<sup>35</sup>, 44<sup>28</sup> טָרַף is a passive of Qal, § 52 e); 46<sup>4</sup> (with Hiph'il); Ex 19<sup>18</sup>, 21<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 23<sup>7</sup>, Is 40<sup>80</sup>, Jer 10<sup>5</sup>, Jb 6<sup>2</sup> (with Niph'al); Is 24<sup>10</sup> (with Hithpo'el; רָעָה in the same verse must also, according to the Masora, certainly be the infinitive absolute Qal; see § 67 o), and so always מוֹת יוֹמָת he shall surely be put to death. Elsewhere the infinitive absolute of a conjugation with kindred meaning is found, Lv 19<sup>20</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>23</sup> Hoph'al for Niph'al (but most probably we should read, with Driver, the *infin. Niph.* in both places, הִפְתָּרָה and הִפְתָּרָה; 1 S 2<sup>16</sup> (Piel for Hiph'il, unless הִפְתָּרָה is to be read); Ez 16<sup>4</sup> (Hoph'al for Pu'al).<sup>3</sup> Finally, the infinitive absolute may

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in French, *Le mal va toujours croissant, la maladie va toujours en augmentant et en empirant*, 'continually increases and becomes worse and worse.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rieder, *Quo loco ponantur negationes לֹא et אֵל* . . . (*Zeitschrift für Gymn.-Wesen*, 1879, p. 395 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> In three passages even the infinitive absolute of another stem of like sound occurs; but in Is 28<sup>28</sup> אָדָּשׁ is no doubt a mere textual error for רוּשׁ, and in Jer 8<sup>13</sup>, according to § 72 aa, we should read אֶסְפֶּסֶם, and in Zp 1<sup>2</sup> אֶסְפֶּה. Barth, *Nem.-bildung*, § 49 b, sees in אָדָּשׁ and אֶסְפֶּסֶם infinitives Hiph'il, exactly corresponding in form to *ʿāqām[ā]* the Aram. *infin.* 'Aph'el of קָם; but there is no more evidence for a *Hiph.* of אָדָּשׁ in Hebrew than for a stem אָדָּשׁ.

equally well be represented by a *substantive* of kindred stem.<sup>1</sup> In Is 29<sup>14</sup> the substantive intensifying the verb is found *along with* the infinitive absolute.

5. Instead of the infinitive absolute immediately connected with the finite *v* verb, an infinitive construct form appears (cf. § 73 *a*), in Nu 23<sup>25</sup> (נָם קָב); cf. Ru 2<sup>16</sup> (נָם שָׁל); Jer 50<sup>34</sup> (רִיב יָרִיב); Pr 23<sup>1</sup> (כִּין חֲבִין). In the last instances the infinitive is probably assimilated to the imperfect, like the infinitive Niph'al in the forms noticed in § 51 *k* and note.—Cf. also 2 K 3<sup>24</sup> בָּא נִרְבָּאוּ וְחֲבֹת (read so with the LXX) before א, hence, no doubt due to the dislike of a hiatus; so in ψ 50<sup>21</sup>, Neh 1<sup>7</sup> (חָבַל), all in rapid style; *after* the verb, Jos 7<sup>7</sup>, unless הֶעֱבִיר is intended.

4. Finally the infinitive absolute sometimes appears as *a substitute y* for the finite verb, either when it is sufficient simply to mention the verbal idea (see *z*), or when the hurried or otherwise excited style intentionally contents itself with this infinitive, in order to bring out the verbal idea in a clearer and more expressive manner (see *aa*).

(*a*) The infinitive absolute as the continuation of a preceding finite *z* verb. In the later books especially it often happens that in a succession of several acts only the first (or sometimes more) of the verbs is inflected, while the second (or third, &c.) is added simply in the infinitive absolute. Thus after several perfects, Dn 9<sup>5</sup> (cf. verse 11) *we have sinned . . . and have transgressed thy law*, וְסוֹר and *have turned aside* (prop. *a turning aside* took place); so after a perfect Ex 36<sup>7</sup> (1), 1 S 2<sup>28</sup>, Is 37<sup>19</sup>, Jer 14<sup>5</sup>, 19<sup>13</sup>, Hag 1<sup>6</sup> (four infinitives), Zc 3<sup>4</sup> (but read with Wellhausen, after the LXX, וְהִלָּכְשׁוּ אִתּוֹ, 7<sup>5</sup>, Ec 8<sup>9</sup>, 9<sup>11</sup>, Est 3<sup>13</sup>, 9<sup>6,16,18</sup>, 12<sup>6ff.</sup>, Neh 9<sup>8,13</sup>, 1 Ch 5<sup>20</sup>, 2 Ch 28<sup>19</sup>; <sup>2</sup> after the *perfect consecutive*, Zc 12<sup>10</sup>; after the *perfect frequentative* 1 K 9<sup>26</sup> (unless וְהִקְטִיר be intended); after the simple *imperfect*, Lv 25<sup>14</sup>, Nu 30<sup>3</sup>, Jer 32<sup>44</sup> (three infinitives), 36<sup>23</sup>, 1 Ch 21<sup>24</sup>; after a *cohortative*, Jos 9<sup>20</sup>; after the *imperfect consecutive*, Gn 41<sup>43</sup> (as a continuation of וַיִּרְפֹּב); Ex 8<sup>11</sup>, Ju 7<sup>19</sup>, Jer 37<sup>21</sup>, Neh 8<sup>8</sup>, 1 Ch 16<sup>30</sup>, 2 Ch 7<sup>3</sup>; with אִם or after the *jussive*, Dt 14<sup>21</sup>, Est 2<sup>3</sup>, 6<sup>9</sup>; after the *imperative*, Is 37<sup>30b</sup>, Am 4<sup>4f.</sup>; after the *participle*, Hb 2<sup>15</sup> (strengthened by אִם, and regarded, like the participle itself, as an adverbial accusative); Est 8<sup>8</sup>.

(*b*) At the beginning of the narrative, or at least of a new section *aa* of it. The special form of the finite verb which the infinitive absolute represents must be determined from the context. The infinitive

<sup>1</sup> On these substantives (and on the use of the infinitive absolute generally as absolute object, see above, *m*), cf. the *schema etymologicum* treated in connexion with the government of the verb in § 117 *p, q*.

<sup>2</sup> In Ez 7<sup>14</sup> a perfect appears to be continued by means of an infinitive construct; but the text is quite corrupt; Cornill reads הָכִינוּ הָכִינוּ הָכִינוּ.



absolute is most frequently used in this way, corresponding to the infinitive of command in Greek, &c.<sup>1</sup>:—

bb (α) For an emphatic imperative,<sup>2</sup> e. g. שָׁמֹר (thou shalt, ye shall), observe Dt 5<sup>12</sup>; זָכוֹר (thou shalt) remember, Ex 13<sup>3</sup>, 20<sup>8</sup> (the full form occurs in Dt 6<sup>17</sup> שָׁמֹר הַשְׁמִירָן; 7<sup>18</sup> זָכוֹר הַזִּכֹּר); Lv 2<sup>6</sup>, Nu 4<sup>2</sup>, 25<sup>17</sup>, Dt 1<sup>10</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>10</sup>, Is 38<sup>5</sup>, Jer 2<sup>2</sup>, followed by a *perfect consecutive*; Jos 1<sup>13</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>16</sup>, Is 7<sup>4</sup>, 14<sup>31</sup> (parallel with an *imperative*; in Na 2<sup>3</sup> three imperatives follow). But הָיִיתָ 142<sup>5</sup> may be only an incorrect spelling of הָיִיתָ imperative.<sup>3</sup>

cc (β) For the jussive, Lv 6<sup>7</sup>, Nu 6<sup>5</sup>, 2 K 11<sup>15</sup>, Ez 23<sup>46</sup>; cf. also Pr 17<sup>12</sup> (let it rather meet).

dd (γ) For the cohortative, Is 22<sup>15b</sup> אָכֹל וְשָׁחַ (the exclamation of the mocker); Ez 21<sup>31</sup>, 23<sup>30,46</sup>; perhaps also Jer 31<sup>2</sup> (הָלוֹהִי).<sup>4</sup>

ee (δ) For the imperfect in emphatic promises, e. g. 2 K 4<sup>43</sup> ye shall eat and leave thereof; 19<sup>29</sup> (Is 37<sup>30</sup>), 2 Ch 31<sup>10</sup>; also in indignant questions, Jb 40<sup>2</sup> shall he that cavilleth contend with the Almighty? <sup>5</sup> (on the addition of the subject cf. the Rem. below); Jer 3<sup>1</sup> and thinkest thou to return again to me? Jer 7<sup>9a</sup>. (six infinitives, continued by means of the *perfect consecutive*; cf. § 112 o).

ff (ε) For any historical tense (like the Latin *historico* infinitive) in lively narration (or enumeration) and description, even of what is still taking place in present time, e. g. Hos 4<sup>2</sup> swearing and breaking faith, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery (in these they are busied); 10<sup>4</sup> (after a *perfect*); Is 21<sup>5</sup>, 59<sup>4</sup>, Jer 8<sup>15</sup>, 14<sup>19</sup>, Jb 15<sup>25</sup>; cf. further Jer 32<sup>33</sup>, Ec 4<sup>2</sup>.—In Ez 23<sup>30</sup>, Pr 12<sup>7</sup>, 15<sup>22</sup>, and 25<sup>4</sup>, the infinitive absolute is best rendered by the passive.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also such infinitives in French as *voir* (page so and so, &c.), *s'adresser* . . . , *se mêler des voleurs*!

<sup>2</sup> Pratorius, *op. cit.*, p. 547: the extraordinarily common use of the infinitive form *qātāl* in the sense of an imperative, jussive, or cohortative has long since caused it to be compared with the Arab. *fa'āl*. It thus appears that the infin. *qātāl* in Hebrew could be used from early times as a kind of fixed, invariable word of command.

<sup>3</sup> In Ez 21<sup>31</sup>, for the infinitives construct הָסִיר, הָרִים, הַשְׁפִּיל (beside הִנְבִּה) read with Cornill the infinitives absolute הָסֵר, &c. The K<sup>thibh</sup> probably intends הָסִיר, &c.

<sup>4</sup> In 2 S 3<sup>18</sup> the infinitive construct appears to be used instead of the cohortative, but הוֹשִׁיעַ should certainly be read for הוֹשִׁיעַ. Also in 1 K 22<sup>30</sup> (2 Ch 18<sup>20</sup>), which was formerly included under this head (I will disguise myself and go into the battle), read אֶתְהַפֵּשׂ וְיָבֹא.

<sup>5</sup> In Jb 34<sup>18</sup> in a similar question instead of the infinitive constr. we should rather expect the infinitive absolute (הָאָמַר), unless with the LXX and Vulg. the participle with the article (הַאָּמֵר) is to be read.

Rem. The subject is sometimes added to the infinitive absolute when it takes the place of the finite verb, e.g. Lv 67, Nu 15<sup>35</sup>, Dt 15<sup>2</sup>, ψ 17<sup>6</sup>, Pr 17<sup>12</sup>, Jb 40<sup>2</sup>, Ec 4<sup>2</sup>, Est 9<sup>1</sup>. So, probably, also in Gn 17<sup>10</sup>, Ex 12<sup>43</sup>, although here פִּלְיָוֶכָר according to § 121 *a* might also be taken as an object with a passive verb; cf. Est 3<sup>13</sup>. In 1 S 25<sup>28,33</sup> the subject follows an infinitive absolute which is co-ordinated with an infinitive construct, see above, *e*.

### § 114. The Infinitive Construct.

1. The infinitive construct, like the infinitive absolute, may also *a* represent a *nomen verbale* (§ 45 *a*), but of a much more flexible character than the infinitive absolute (cf. § 113 *a*). Its close relation with nouns properly so called is especially seen in the readiness with which the infinitive construct may be used for any case whatever; thus,

(*a*) As the nominative of the subject, e.g. Gn 2<sup>18</sup> לֹא-טוֹב הָיִיתָ לְבַדּוֹ, הָאָדָם, literally, *not good is the being of man in his separation*; Gn 30<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 23<sup>20</sup>, Is 7<sup>13</sup>, Pr 17<sup>26</sup>, 25<sup>7,24</sup> (but cf. 21<sup>9</sup> לֹא-שָׁבַת מִיב in the same statement); ψ 32<sup>9</sup> prop. *there is not a coming near unto thee*, but the text is probably corrupt. With a *feminine* predicate, 1 S 18<sup>23</sup>, Jer 2<sup>17</sup>.

(*b*) As genitive, e.g. Ec 3<sup>4</sup> עַת כְּפֹד וְעַת רִקּוֹד a time of mourning *b* and a time of dancing; Gn 2<sup>17</sup>, 29<sup>7</sup>, Neh 12<sup>46</sup>, 2 Ch 24<sup>14</sup>. This equally includes, according to § 101 *a*, all those cases in which the infinitive construct depends on a preposition (see below, *d*) [and Driver, *Tenses*, § 206].

(*c*) As accusative of the object, e.g. 1 K 3<sup>7</sup> לֹא יָדָע יָצֵאת וְבֵא I know *c* not the going out or the coming in (I know not how to go out and come in); Gn 21<sup>6</sup>, 31<sup>23</sup>, Nu 20<sup>21</sup>, Is 1<sup>14</sup>, 37<sup>28</sup> (even with אֵת), Jer 6<sup>15</sup>, Jb 15<sup>22</sup> (cf. for the use of the infinitive absolute as object, § 113 *f*); as accusative with a verb expressing fullness, Is 11<sup>9</sup>.

2. The construction of the infinitive with prepositions (as in Greek, *d* ἐν τῷ εἶναι, διὰ τὸ εἶναι, &c.) may usually be resolved in English into the finite verb with a conjunction, e.g. Nu 35<sup>19</sup> בְּפָגְעוֹ-בּוֹ in his meeting him, i.e. if (as soon as) he meets him; Gn 27<sup>45</sup> (עַד-שִׁיבָה); Is 30<sup>12</sup> יַעַן כִּי-אֲמַרְתָּם because ye despise; Jer 2<sup>35</sup> עַל-אֲמַרְתָּךְ because thou sayest; Gn 27<sup>1</sup> and his eyes were dim מִרְאֵת from seeing, i.e. so that he could not see.

This use of the infinitive construct is especially frequent in connexion with וְ or כִּי to express time-determinations (in English resolved into a temporal clause, as above the combination of the infinitive with יַעַן or עַל- is resolved into a causal clause), especially after וַיְהִי (see the

examples, § 111 g), e.g. 1 S 2<sup>27</sup> בְּהִיוֹתָם בְּמִצְרַיִם when they were in Egypt; Gn 24<sup>30</sup> וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ וַיְהִי כִּרְאֵת אֶת־הַחֹם . . . and it came to pass, when he saw (prop. in the seeing) the ring . . . , and when he heard (prop. in his hearing), &c.

f But by far the most frequent is the connexion of the infinitive construct with לְ.<sup>1</sup> Starting from the fundamental meaning of לְ, i. e. *direction towards something*, infinitives with לְ serve to express the most varied ideas of purpose or aim, and very commonly also (with a weakening or a complete disregard of the original meaning of the לְ) to introduce the object of an action, or finally even (like the infinitive absolute used adverbially, § 113 h, and the Latin gerund in -ndo) to state motives or attendant circumstances. See the instances in the Remarks.

g Rem. 1. The original meaning of the לְ is most plainly seen in those infinitives with לְ which expressly state a purpose (hence as the equivalent of a final clause), e.g. Gn 11<sup>5</sup> and the Lord came down, לִרְאֹת אֶת־הָעִיר to see the city; also with a change of subject, e.g. 2 S 12<sup>10</sup> and thou hast taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite לְהָיִיתָ לָּךְ לְאִשָּׁה to be (i. e. that she may be) thy wife; cf. Gn 28<sup>4</sup>, Jer 38<sup>26</sup> (לְמָוֶת).—If there is a special emphasis on the infinitive with לְ, it is placed, with its complement, before the governing verb, e.g. Gn 42<sup>9</sup>, 47<sup>4</sup>, Nu 22<sup>20</sup>, Jos 2<sup>9</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>2</sup> with בּוֹא; Ju 15<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>25</sup> with עָלָה.

h 2. Just as clearly the idea of aiming at a definite purpose or turning towards an object may be seen in the combination of the verb הָיָה to be, with לְ and an infinitive. In fact הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת may mean, either (a) *he was in the act of, he was about to* (as it were, he set himself), *he was ready, to do something*, or (b) *he or it was appointed or compelled, &c., to do the action in question*. In the latter case הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת corresponds to the Latin *faciendum erat*, cf. also the English *I am to go*. In both cases הָיָה (as elsewhere when copula) is often omitted.

i Examples of (a) Gn 15<sup>12</sup> וַיְהִי הַשָּׁמֶשׁ לָבוֹא and when the sun was going down (just about to set); 2 Ch 26<sup>5</sup> וַיְהִי לִדְרֹשׁ אֱלֹהִים and he set himself to seek God (here with the secondary idea of a continuous action); with the omission of הָיָה Is 38<sup>20</sup> הָיָה לְהוֹשִׁיעַנִי the Lord is ready to save me; 1 S 14<sup>21</sup> (?), Jer 51<sup>40</sup>, ψ 25<sup>14</sup> (et foedus suum manifestaturus est eis); Pr 18<sup>24</sup> (?), 19<sup>8</sup> לְמִצָּא consecuturus

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 45 g, according to which the close union of the לְ with the first consonant of the infinitive (לְכַתֵּב with a firmly closed syllable, as opposed to כְּכַתֵּב, בְּכַתֵּב, &c.) seems to point to the formation of a special new verbal form. Quite distinct are the few examples where the infinitive with לְ serves to express time, as Gn 24<sup>63</sup> לְפָנֹת עָרֶב at the eventide (prop. at the time of the return of evening); cf. Dt 23<sup>12</sup>, Ex 14<sup>27</sup>, Ju 19<sup>26</sup>; 2 S 18<sup>20</sup> when Joab sent the king's servant.

est, unless we simply read יִמְצָא with the LXX<sup>1</sup>; 2c<sup>25</sup>, Ec 3<sup>15</sup> אֲשֶׁר לְחַיֹּת *quod futurum est*; 2 Ch 11<sup>22</sup>, 12<sup>12</sup> (in a negative statement); in a question, Est 7<sup>8</sup> (will he even . . . ?). Cf. also 1 S 4<sup>19</sup>.

Of (b) Jos 2<sup>5</sup> וַיְהִי הַשַּׁעַר לִסְגוֹרָה and the gate was to be shut (had to be shut); *Is* 37<sup>26</sup>, *ψ* 109<sup>13, 2</sup>. Mostly with the omission of הָיָה, e.g. 2 K 4<sup>13</sup> מָה לַעֲשׂוֹת לְךָ וְגו' *what is to be done for thee?* (הֵיטָל לְרִבְרָאֲךָ) *wouldst thou be* (lit. is it to be) spoken for to the king, &c.? 2 K 13<sup>19</sup> לְהַכּוֹת *it was to smite* equivalent to *thou shouldst have smitten*; *Is* 5<sup>4</sup>, *ψ* 32<sup>9</sup>, 68<sup>19</sup> (?), *Jb* 30<sup>6</sup> (*habitudinem est iis*), 1 Ch 6<sup>25</sup>, 10<sup>15</sup>, 22<sup>5</sup>, 2 Ch 8<sup>13</sup> (?), 11<sup>22</sup>, 19<sup>2</sup>, 36<sup>19</sup> (?), *Ho* 9<sup>13</sup>, *Hb* 1<sup>17</sup>. In a question 2 Ch 19<sup>2</sup>; after לֹא 1 Ch 5<sup>1</sup>, 15<sup>2</sup>; after אֵין 1 Ch 23<sup>26</sup>, 2 Ch 5<sup>11</sup> and frequently.

Of the same kind also are the cases, in which the infinitive with ל depends on the idea of an obligation or permission (or prohibition); especially in such forms of expression as 2 S 18<sup>11</sup> וְגו' עָלַי לָתֶתְךָ לָךְ *it was upon me*, i. e. it would have been *my duty to give thee*, &c.<sup>2</sup>; cf. *Mi* 3<sup>1</sup> (2 Ch 13<sup>5</sup>) *it is not for you to* (i. e. are ye not bound to)?<sup>4</sup> with a negative, 2 Ch 26<sup>18</sup> וְגו' לֹא לָךְ *it pertaineth not unto thee*, *Uzziah*, to burn incense unto the Lord, but only to the priests; also אֵין with an infinitive expresses *it is not permitted* (*nefas est*), *may not*, e.g. Est 4<sup>2</sup> לֹא אֵין לָבוֹא *for none might enter*; 8<sup>8</sup>, 1 Ch 15<sup>2</sup>; אֵין with an infinitive is used in a somewhat different sense, equivalent to *it is not feasible, not possible*, e.g. in *ψ* 40<sup>6</sup>, Ec 3<sup>14</sup>, 2 Ch 5<sup>11</sup>.<sup>5</sup>—With either meaning לֹא can be used instead of אֵין, e.g. Am 6<sup>10</sup> לֹא לְהַקְבִּיר *nefas est, to make mention of the name of the Lord*: but *Ju* 1<sup>19</sup> *for it was not possible to drive out*, &c., perhaps, however, the text originally stood as in *Jos* 17<sup>12</sup> וַיִּכְרוּ לָהּ לֹא; 1 Ch 15<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> P. Haupt (*SBOT.*, Proverbs, p. 52, lines 10 ff.; *Critical Notes on Esther*, p. 17c, on 7<sup>8</sup>) considers it possible that here and in *Pr* 2<sup>8</sup>, 6<sup>24</sup>, 7<sup>5</sup>, 16<sup>30</sup>, 30<sup>14</sup>, as well as in 14<sup>35</sup>, 17<sup>21</sup> before a noun, the ל is a survival of the emphatic ל with an imperf., which is especially common in Arabic. In that case לִמְצָא must be read לִמְצָא, i. e. ל + יִמְצָא. But all the above instances can be taken as infinitives with ל without difficulty.

<sup>2</sup> Somewhat different are the cases where הָיָה with the infinitive (which is then used exactly as a substantive) implies *to become something*, i. e. to meet with a particular fate, as *Nu* 24<sup>22</sup> (cf. *Is* 5<sup>5</sup>, 6<sup>13</sup>) לְבָכֵר *for wasting*, for which elsewhere frequently לְשִׂמְחָה and the like; probably also לְבָלוֹת *ψ* 49<sup>15</sup> is to be explained in this way, the הָיָה being omitted.

<sup>3</sup> 2 S 4<sup>10</sup> (*cui dandum erat mihi*) appears to be similar; it may, however, be better, with Wellhausen, to omit the אֲשֶׁר.

<sup>4</sup> But in 1 S 23<sup>26</sup> after וְלָנוּ and our part shall be the infinitive without ל stands as the subject of the sentence.

<sup>5</sup> Quite different of course are such cases as *Is* 37<sup>8</sup> וְכֵחַ אֵין לְלָרֶה *and there is not strength to bring forth*; cf. *Nu* 20<sup>5</sup>, *Ru* 4<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> In 2 S 14<sup>19</sup> אֵשׁ (= יֵשׁ *it is, there is*) is used in a similar sense after אֵין, the negative particle of asseveration, *of a truth it is not possible to turn to the right hand or to the left*.

*m* 3. A further class comprises the very numerous cases, in which the infinitive with ל is used as the object<sup>1</sup> of a governing verb, hence, again, for the direction which an action takes. The verbs (or conjugations) which occur most frequently in this combination with ל and an infinitive are: הָחֵל (with an infinitive without ל, e.g. Dt 2<sup>25,31</sup>, Jos 3<sup>7</sup>), הוֹאִיל to begin, הוֹסִיף, הוֹסִיף (prop. to add) to continue, very frequently, even in prose, with an infinitive without ל, as Gn 4<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>10,12</sup>, 37<sup>5</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>8</sup>, Jb 27<sup>1</sup>, &c.; חָדַל to cease from, to desist; כָּבֵד to complete, to make an end of; תָּכַח to be finished; הִקְרִיב to come near to, Gn 12<sup>11</sup>; מָהֵר to hasten (with an infinitive without ל Ex 2<sup>18</sup>); אָבַח to be willing (with an infinitive without ל Is 28<sup>12</sup>, 30<sup>9</sup>, Jb 39<sup>9</sup>); חָפֵץ to will, to desire; יָמָאן to refuse (to be unwilling); בִּקֵּשׁ to seek; יָכַל to be able (with an infinitive without ל, e.g. Gn 24<sup>50</sup>, 37<sup>4</sup>, Ex 2<sup>5</sup>, 18<sup>23</sup>, Nu 22<sup>33</sup>, Jb 4<sup>2</sup>); נָתַן with an accusative of the person in the sense of to give up to some one, to cause, or permit him to do something, e.g. Gn 20<sup>6</sup>, ψ 16<sup>11</sup> (with an infinitive abs. Jb 9<sup>18</sup>, see § 113 d), יָדַע to understand how to do something (in Jb 3<sup>8</sup> הִעָרִידָם עָרַר is analogous); לָמַד to learn; קָנָה to wait, expect (with a change of subject, e.g. Is 5<sup>2</sup> and he waited for it to bring forth grapes).

*n* We must further mention here a number of verbs in Hiph'il (partly denominatives), which express an action in some definite direction (cf. § 53 f), as הִנְדִּיל to do greatly, הִשְׁפִּיל to make (it) low, הִנְבִּיֵה to make (it) high, הִעֲמִיק to make (it) deep, הִרְחִיק to make (it) far, distant, הִיטִיב to make (it) good (with an infinitive without ל ψ 33<sup>3</sup>, but 1 S 16<sup>17</sup>, in the same combination, with ל); הִשְׁבִּים to do anything early (ψ 127<sup>3</sup>, along with its opposite אָחַר to do something late, with an infinitive without ל); הִרְבֶּה to make (it) much, הִפְלִא to make (it) wonderful (even with a passive infinitive 2 Ch 26<sup>15</sup>),<sup>2</sup> &c.

<sup>1</sup> This view is based upon the fact, that in numerous expressions of this kind (see the examples above) the ל may be omitted, and the infinitive consequently stand as an actual accusative of the object (see above, c). However, the connexion of the verb with the object is in the latter case closer and more emphatic (hence especially adapted to poetic or prophetic diction), than the looser addition of the infinitive with ל; thus לֹא אָבִי שָׁמוֹעַ Is 28<sup>12</sup> is equivalent to they desired not obeying (אָבִי לֹא אָבִי also with the infin. abs. in Is 42<sup>24</sup>; cf. § 113 d); but לֹא אָבִי לְשָׁמֹעַ Ez 20<sup>8</sup> rather expresses they could not make up their mind as to hearkening. When connected with ל, the governing verb has a more independent sense than when it directly governs the accusative of the object.

<sup>2</sup> In almost all these examples the principal idea is properly contained in the infinitive, whilst the governing verb strictly speaking contains only a subordinate adverbial statement, and is therefore best rendered in English by an adverb; e.g. Gn 27<sup>20</sup> how is it that thou hast found it so quickly? (prop. how thou hast hastened to find!), Gn 31<sup>27</sup> wherefore didst thou flee secretly? So frequently with הִרְבֶּה (= often, abundantly), Ex 36<sup>5</sup>, 1 S 12<sup>2</sup>, 2 K 21<sup>5</sup>, Is 55<sup>7</sup>, Am 4<sup>4</sup>, ψ 78<sup>33</sup>, &c.; with שָׁב (= again), Dt 30<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>17</sup>, Ho 11<sup>9</sup>, Ezr 9<sup>14</sup>; cf. also 2 S 19<sup>4</sup>, Jer 12<sup>2</sup>, Jn 4<sup>2</sup>, and the analogous instances in § 120 g; also 2 K 2<sup>1</sup> thou hast asked a hard thing.

4. Finally, the infinitive with **ל** is very frequently used in a much looser O connexion to state motives, attendant circumstances, or otherwise to define more exactly. In English, such infinitive constructions (like the Latin gerund in *-do*; cf. *f*) must frequently be turned by *that* or a gerund; e.g. 1 S 12<sup>17</sup> **לְשַׁאֵל לָכֶם מֶלֶךְ** *in asking you a king*; 14<sup>33</sup>, 19<sup>5</sup>, 20<sup>30</sup>, Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, 18<sup>19</sup>, 34<sup>7,15</sup>, Ex 23<sup>2</sup>, Lv 5<sup>4,22,26</sup>, 8<sup>15</sup>, Nu 14<sup>86</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>10</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>3f</sup>, 14<sup>8</sup>, Jer 44<sup>7f</sup>, ψ 63<sup>3</sup>, 78<sup>18</sup>, 101<sup>8</sup>, 103<sup>20</sup>, 104<sup>14f</sup>, 111<sup>6</sup>, Pr 2<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>34</sup>, 18<sup>5</sup>, Neh 13<sup>18</sup>. Sometimes the infinitive with **ל** is used in this way simply by itself, e.g. 1 Ch 12<sup>8</sup> *as the roes upon the mountains* **לְמַחֵר** (as regards hasting) *in swiftness*; Gn 2<sup>8</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>25</sup> (**לְהָלֵךְ**); Is 21<sup>1</sup> (**לְחַלּוֹף**); Jo 2<sup>26</sup>, Pr 2<sup>2</sup>, 26<sup>2</sup> and so very frequently the infinitive **לְאמֹר** *dicendo* which has become stereotyped as an adverb to introduce direct narration (in the sense of *thus*, *as follows*).<sup>1</sup>

5. In a number of instances—especially in the later books—the infin. P constr. with **ל** appears to be attached by *Wāw* (like the infinitive absolute, § 113 e), as the continuation of a previous finite verb. In most examples of this kind it is, however, evident that the infinitive with **ל** virtually depends on an idea of intention, effort, or being in the act of, which, according to the sense, is contained in what has preceded, whilst the copula, as sometimes also elsewhere, is used in an emphatic sense (*and that too*); thus e.g. Ex 32<sup>29</sup> (if the text be right) *fill your hand to-day* (sc. with an offering) *for the Lord* . . . *and that to bring a blessing upon you*, i.e. that ye may be blessed; cf. 1 S 25<sup>31</sup> (otherwise in verses 26 and 33 where the infinitive absolute is used, see § 113 e); ψ 104<sup>21</sup>, 2 Jb 34<sup>8</sup>, Ec 9<sup>1</sup>, Neh 8<sup>18</sup>, 2 Ch 7<sup>17</sup>.—In Lv 10<sup>10f</sup> **וְלִהְיוֹת** might be regarded as an explanatory addition to the command contained in verse 9 b (= this prohibition of wine before the service shall ye observe, and that in order to put a difference, &c.); but probably the text has been disturbed by a redactor.—In 2 Ch 30<sup>8</sup> **וְלִשְׁבֹּחַ** depends on the idea of receiving a favour which lies in **לְרַחֲמֵם**. On the other hand, in 1 S 8<sup>12</sup> it is sufficient to explain *and in order to appoint them unto him for captains of thousands* (sc. he will take them). In Is 44<sup>28</sup> translate *and he* (Cyrus) *shall perform all my pleasure, and that in saying of Jerusalem, &c.*

3. The period of time to which an action or occurrence represented *q* by the infinitive construct belongs, must sometimes be inferred from the context, or from the character of the principal tenses; cf. e.g. Gn 2<sup>4</sup> *these are the generations of the heaven and of the earth*, **בְּהִבְרָאם** *when they were created* (prop. in their being created); Ju 6<sup>18</sup> **עַד-בֹּאִי** *until*

<sup>1</sup> **לְאמֹר** is very often so used after **וַיִּדְבֹּר** in the Priestly document (Gn 8<sup>15</sup>, 17<sup>3</sup>, &c., and numberless times in the legal parts of Exod., Lev., and Num.)—a pleonasm which is not surprising considering the admittedly prolix and formal style of the document.

<sup>2</sup> When Delitzsch on ψ 104<sup>21</sup>, referring to Hb 1<sup>17</sup>, explains the infinitive with **ל** as an elliptical mode of expressing the *coniunctio periphrastica* (equivalent to *flagitaturi sunt a deo cibum suum*), this is, in point of fact, certainly applicable to this and a few other places mentioned above; but all these passages, in which the infinitive with **ל** follows, are to be distinguished from the cases treated above under *h*, where the infinitive with **ל** without *Wāw* corresponds to a Latin gerundive, or is actually used to express the *coniunctio periphrastica*.

*I come unto thee, and bring forth, &c.* Cf. 1 S 18<sup>19</sup> (= *when she should have been given*); 2 K 2<sup>1</sup>, Ho 7<sup>1</sup>.

- 7\* Rem. 1. The constructions of the infinitive with a preposition, described above under *d*, are almost always continued in the further course of the narrative by means of the *finite verb*, i. e. by an independent sentence, not by a co-ordinate infinitive. Such a finite verb we regard as governed by a conjunction, which corresponds to the preposition standing before the infinitive. Thus the infinitival construction (frequently even with a change of subject) is continued by a perfect (with לָ, Jer 9<sup>12</sup> *because they have forsaken* (עָלְעָוֹנָם) *my law* . . . וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ and have not obeyed my voice; Gn 39<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 24<sup>12</sup>, Am 1<sup>9</sup>; without לָ Jb 28<sup>25</sup> (perf. after לָ and infin.); by a perfect with וְ (cf. § 112 i and v) Am 1<sup>11</sup> וְגַלְעָדֵי הַיָּדָיו *because he did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off continually all pity* (a frequentative perfect; for examples of the perfect consecutive proper see Gn 27<sup>45</sup>, Ju 6<sup>18</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 18<sup>32</sup> [Is 36<sup>17</sup>], always after עַד־בָּאִי *until I come*); by a simple imperfect, e.g. Pr 1<sup>27</sup> (after בְּ) Is 30<sup>26</sup> (after בַּיּוֹם *in the day*, a temporal phrase which has here become equivalent to a preposition); Is 5<sup>24</sup> (after בְּ), 10<sup>2</sup>, 13<sup>9</sup>, 14<sup>25</sup>, 45<sup>1</sup>, 49<sup>5</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>8</sup>, Pr 2<sup>8</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>, 8<sup>21</sup> (always after לָ) <sup>1</sup>; by an imperfect consecutive, e.g. Gn 39<sup>18</sup> *and it came to pass*, וַאֲקָרָא קוֹלִי בְּהִרְיָמִי *as I lifted up my voice and cried, that* . . .; 1 K 10<sup>9</sup>, Jb 38<sup>18</sup> (after לָ); 1 K 18<sup>18</sup>, Is 38<sup>9</sup>, Jb 38<sup>7.9</sup> ff. (after בְּ); Is 30<sup>12</sup>, Jer 7<sup>13</sup>, Ez 34<sup>8</sup> (after וַעַן).

- 8\* 2. The negation of an infinitive construct, on account of the predominance of the noun-element in its character, is effected not by the verbal negative לֹא (except in the compound בְּלֹא, which has come to be used as a preposition, without, Nu 35<sup>23</sup>, Pr 15<sup>2</sup>), but by בְּלֹאִי, originally a substantive (see the Lexicon), with לָ prefixed (but also Nu 14<sup>16</sup> מִבְּלֹאִי, o. g. Gn 3<sup>11</sup> לֹא־לִבִּי אֶכֶל־מִצֵּנִי *not to eat of it*; in a final sense, 4<sup>15</sup> *lest any finding him should smite him*; only in 2 K 23<sup>10</sup> is לָ repeated before the infinitive. In ψ 32<sup>9</sup> (if the text be right) בְּלֹא negatives, not the infinitive, but the predicate which is understood.

### § 115. Construction of the Infinitive Construct with Subject and Object.

- a* 1. Like the infinitive absolute (see § 113 *a*), the character of the infinitive construct as a *verbal noun* is shown by its power of taking the case proper to its verb, and hence in transitive verbs <sup>2</sup> *the accusative of the object*, e.g. Nu 9<sup>15</sup> בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא אֶת־הַפִּשְׁעוֹן *on the day the*

<sup>1</sup> The great frequency of examples of this kind, especially in the poetical books, is due to a striving after what is called *chiasmus* in the arrangement of the parallel members in the two halves of the verse, i. e. in the instances given, the finite verb at the end of the second (co-ordinate) clause is parallel with the infinitive at the beginning of the first. In this way the verbal form necessarily became separated from the לָ, and consequently the imperfect had to be used instead of the perfect consecutive. Such a parallelism of the external and internal members of a verse is frequent also in other cases, and was evidently felt to be an elegance of elevated—poetic or prophetic—style.

<sup>2</sup> For examples of the same of the object with a pass. infin. see § 121 *c*.



*tabernacle was reared up*; 1 S 19<sup>1</sup> אֶת־דָּוִד לְהָמִית *that they should slay David*; Gn 14<sup>17</sup>, 19<sup>20</sup>, Ex 38<sup>27</sup>, 1 K 12<sup>15</sup>, 15<sup>4</sup>; with a negative, e.g. Lv 26<sup>15</sup> אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹתַי לֹא־תַעֲשׂוּ *so that ye will not do all my commandments*; with the accusative of the personal pronoun, e.g. Dt 29<sup>12</sup> לְפָנֶיךָ הָקִים־אֹתָךְ *that he may establish thee*; Gn 25<sup>26</sup>, Jer 24<sup>7</sup>; with a verbal suffix, e.g. Ex 2<sup>14</sup> לְהַרְגֵנִי *to kill me*; Jer 38<sup>20</sup> הִשְׁבִּינִי *that he would not cause me to return* (on the suffix, cf. c). In Is 49<sup>6</sup> the object even precedes the infinitive with לְ; on this order cf. the note on § 114 r.—If the verb governs a double accusative, the infinitive may also take the same, e.g. Gn 41<sup>30</sup> אֶת־כָּל־זֹאת אֹתָךְ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִי הוֹדִיעַ *forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this*; Dt 21<sup>16</sup>.

Rem. 1. The object after the infinitive construct must also always be regarded as in the accusative, even when it is not expressly introduced (as in all the above examples) by the *nota accusativi* אֶת, and when therefore the substantive in question might easily be taken as the *genitive of the object* governed by the infinitive (the usual construction in Arabic), e.g. Pr 21<sup>15</sup> מִשְׁפָּט מִשְׁפָּט *to do judgement*. Against regarding it as a *genitive*, which is in itself possible (*the doing, the executing of judgement*), is the fact (a) that elsewhere the *nota accusativi* is so frequently added; (b) that in such a case the secondary forms of the infinitive, such as רָאָה for (פָּגַיִךְ) רָאָה Gn 48<sup>11</sup> (cf. ψ 101<sup>3</sup>, Pr 16<sup>14</sup>), would be unintelligible; (c) that certain infinitive forms, if they were to be regarded as in the construct state, could hardly retain the pretonic Qames without exception, whereas, when connected with suffixes (i.e. with real genitives; cf. § 33 c), this Qames necessarily becomes Šewa; e.g. Gn 18<sup>25</sup> לְהָמִית צַדִּיק *to slay the righteous* (never as לְהָמִית; cf., on the other hand, above, הִשְׁבִּינִי; 2 K 21<sup>8</sup>, Ez 44<sup>30</sup>). Similarly in such cases as Is 3<sup>13</sup> (ψ 50<sup>4</sup>) instead of לָרִין עַמִּים we should rather expect לָרִין, if the infinitive were regarded as in the construct state, and עַמִּים as the genitive. Hence also in cases like Is 58<sup>9</sup> (שָׁלַח שְׁלַח) we must assume, with Sellin, op. cit., p. 78, a merely 'external phonetic connexion' and not the genitive construction.

2. The verbal suffixes added to the infinitive are (with the exception of C לְהוֹצִיאָה Jer 39<sup>14</sup>) only the suffix of the 1st pers. sing. (besides the above examples cf. also 1 S 5<sup>10</sup>, 27<sup>1</sup>, 28<sup>9</sup>, Ru 2<sup>10</sup>, 1 Ch 12<sup>17</sup>, &c.) and plural; e.g. לְהַשְׁמִירֵנוּ *to destroy us*, Dt 1<sup>27</sup> (immediately after אֲנִי, so that אֲנִי is doubtless a *verbal* not a *noun*-suffix, although in form it might be either); לְהַמְלִיכֵנוּ Nu 16<sup>18</sup>, Ju 13<sup>23</sup> (after הִפִּיךָ). Elsewhere the pronominal object is appended either by means of the accusative sign (e.g. Gn 25<sup>26</sup> אֹתָם בְּיָדָם *prop. in the bearing them*; לָרַעַת אֹתִי *to know me*, Jer 24<sup>7</sup>) or in the form of a noun-suffix (as genitive of the object). The latter occurs almost always, whenever the context excludes the possibility of a misunderstanding; e.g. 1 S 20<sup>33</sup> לְהַכּוֹתוֹ (*prop. for his smiting*) *to smite him*, not, as the form might also mean, *in order that he might smite*; cf. 1 K 20<sup>35</sup>; with the suffix of the 3rd sing. fem. Nu 22<sup>25</sup>; of the 3rd plur. Jos 10<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>2</sup>, &c. Hence also the suffixes of the 2nd sing. with the infinitive, as לְהַבְהִיךְ Jer 40<sup>14</sup>, cf. Mi 6<sup>13</sup>, and even הַמְלִיכְךָ *to magnify thee*, Jos 3<sup>7</sup>, must certainly be regarded as *nominal* not *verbal* suffixes. The connexion of the noun-suffix, as genitive of the object, with the infinitive,

was so fully established, that it could be used not only in such strange cases. as Gn 37<sup>4</sup> יָבֹלָהּ לְשָׁלוֹם לְדָבָר לְיִצְחָק *they could not speak to him peaceably*, cf. Ze 3<sup>1</sup> לְשֹׂנְאֵי לְיָשׁוּעָא *to be an adversary to him*, but ultimately even in the 1st sing., as in Nu 22<sup>13</sup> לְתַתִּי לְאֵבָה יִבְמִי *to give me leave* [Dt 25<sup>7</sup> לֹא אֵבָה יִבְמִי *he will not perform the duty of a husband's brother unto me*; 1 Ch 4<sup>10</sup> לְלִבִּי עֲצָבִי *that it may not grieve me*.]

- d 3. The power of governing like a verb is also retained in those verbal nouns which, although originally secondary forms of the infinitive, have fully acquired the value of nouns, e. g. Is 11<sup>9</sup> דַּעָה אֶת־יְהוָה *prop. to know the Lord* the knowledge of the Lord; לִירְאָה אֹתִי *to fear me*, Dt 4<sup>10</sup>, 5<sup>26</sup>, 10<sup>12</sup>; an accusative follows לְאֹהֲבָה Dt 10<sup>12,15</sup>, Is 56<sup>6</sup> (cf. also 1 K 10<sup>9</sup>, Ho 3<sup>1</sup>); לְהִנָּפֵחַ Is 30<sup>28</sup>; אֲהַנֵּי בְשֹׁנְאֵת יְהוָה Dt 1<sup>27</sup>; after verbal nouns formed with the prefix כֹּ (cf. § 45 e), Nu 10<sup>2</sup>, Is 13<sup>19</sup>, Am 4<sup>11</sup>, Ez 17<sup>2</sup>. The accusative of the object likewise remains after infinitives (or their secondary forms) which have the article, e. g. Gn 2<sup>9</sup>, Jer 22<sup>16</sup>, or a suffix, e. g. Gn 5<sup>4</sup>, &c., 28<sup>4,6</sup>, 29<sup>18 f</sup>, 30<sup>15</sup>, 38<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>11</sup>, Is 29<sup>13</sup>.

- e 2. The subject of the action represented by the infinitive is mostly placed immediately<sup>1</sup> after it, either in the *genitive* or *nominative*. The subject is in the genitive (§ 33 c) whenever it has the form of a noun-suffix, and also when the infinitive has the termination of the constr. st. fem. sing. (see f); probably also in many other cases, where the infinitive in form and meaning is used more like a substantive, and accordingly governs like a noun. On the other hand, the subject of the infinitive is certainly to be regarded as a *nominative*, when it is separated from the infinitive by any insertion, and according to certain indications (see g) very probably in many other instances.

- f Rem. 1. Examples of genitives of the subject after infinitives in the connective form are Dt 1<sup>27</sup> בְּשֹׁנְאֵת יְהוָה אֲהַנֵּי *prop. in the Lord's hating us*; cf. 7<sup>8</sup>, Gn 19<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>9</sup>, Is 13<sup>19</sup>, 47<sup>9</sup>, Ho 3<sup>1</sup>, Am 4<sup>11</sup>. The subject of the infinitive is probably also to be regarded as genitive in such cases as Ex 17<sup>1</sup> וְהָיָה שָׁם מַיִם לְשִׁתּוֹת הָעָם *for the people to drink* (prop. for the drinking of the people), and in cases like Gn 16<sup>16</sup> בְּלִלְתָּ הָרָרָה *(בְּלִלְתָּ הָרָרָה)*; Gn 16<sup>3</sup>, Ex 19<sup>1</sup>, Nu 20<sup>3,4</sup>, 33<sup>38</sup>, 1 K 6<sup>1</sup>, ψ 133<sup>1</sup>, 2 Ch 7<sup>3</sup>, &c.

- g 2. Examples in which the subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion, and hence must certainly be regarded as a *nominative*, are Jb 34<sup>22</sup> לְחַפְּתֵי שָׁם יִסְתָּרוּ *that the workers of iniquity may hide themselves there* (prop. for the hiding themselves there the workers of iniquity); cf. Gn 34<sup>15</sup>, Nu 35<sup>6</sup>, Dt 19<sup>3</sup>, Ju 9<sup>2</sup>, 2 S 24<sup>13</sup>, ψ 76<sup>10</sup>, and below, i. The subject is likewise to be regarded as a *nominative*, whenever the *Lamedh* is prefixed to the infinitive by means of a pretonic Qames (cf. b above), e. g. 2 S 19<sup>20</sup> לְשׁוֹם הַמִּלְחָמָה אֶל־לְבָבוֹ *(לְשׁוֹם הַמִּלְחָמָה אֶל־לְבָבוֹ)*.

<sup>1</sup> In Gn 24<sup>30</sup> the subject of בָּרָאָה is wanting (but בְּשִׁמְעוֹ follows); the original reading was undoubtedly בָּרָאָהּ, and the text is now in a state of confusion; verse 30a should come before verse 29b. In Gn 19<sup>29</sup>, 25<sup>26</sup>, Ex 9<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 18<sup>19</sup>, Jer 41<sup>4</sup>, ψ 42<sup>4</sup> the subject, although not indicated, is easily supplied from the context. The infinitive in such cases is best rendered in English by a passive.

since, if the infinitive were used as a *nomen regens*, we should rather expect לָשׂוּם according to § 102 f. That the subject of the infinitive is regarded elsewhere also as nominative is again (see above, b) probable, since in such forms as הָנִיחַ Dt 25<sup>19</sup>, יֵשׁ Is 14<sup>3</sup>, הָקִיר ψ 46<sup>8</sup>, &c., the pretonic Qameṣ is retained without exception, whereas on the analogy of הָנִיחַ Ez 24<sup>13</sup>, הָקִיר Jer 23<sup>20</sup>, &c., we should expect הָנִיחַ, הָקִיר, &c., if the infinitive were regarded as a *nomen regens*. Or was the retention of the Qameṣ (assuming the thorough correctness of the Masoretic punctuation) rendered possible even before a following genitive, because that vowel was characteristic of the form? It is at all events certain that owing to the lack of case-endings,<sup>1</sup> a distinction between the genitival and nominative constructions could not have been consciously made in the case of most infinitives, e.g. in unchangeable forms like קָמַל, קִים, &c.

3. When both a *subject* and an *object* are connected with the *h* infinitive, the rule is, that the subject should immediately follow the infinitive, and then the object. The latter, in such a case, is necessarily in the accusative, but the subject (as in e) may be either in the genitive or in the nominative. The noun-suffixes again are, of course, to be regarded as genitives, e.g. Gn 39<sup>13</sup> קָלִי בְּהִרְמִי as *I lifted up my voice* (cf. 1 K 13<sup>21</sup>, and the examples, Gn 5<sup>4</sup>, &c., enumerated above, under d), and so also substantives which follow a connective form, Dt 12<sup>7</sup>, &c.; see above, d and f.

On the other hand, the subject appears necessarily to be in the *i* nominative in such cases as Is 10<sup>15</sup> אֶת־מְרִמִּי יָעֲבֹד בְּהִנִּיחַ as *if a rod should shake them that lift it up* (for the plur. מְרִמִּי cf. § 124 b), not בְּהִנִּיחַ, as would be expected (see g above), if יָעֲבֹד were in the genitive; cf. 2 S 14<sup>13</sup>, Jb 33<sup>17</sup>. And so probably also in other cases, as Gn 5<sup>1</sup>, 13<sup>10</sup>, Jos 14<sup>7</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 23<sup>10</sup>, Is 32<sup>7</sup>. The subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion (and consequently must necessarily be in the nominative; see g above), e.g. in Jer 21<sup>1</sup>.

Rem. Less frequently the object is placed immediately after the infinitive, *k* and then the nominative of the subject, as a subsequent complement, e.g. Is 20<sup>1</sup> בָּשַׁלַּח אֹתוֹ קִרְגָּנִי when *Sargon sent him*; Gn 4<sup>15</sup>, Jos 14<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>29</sup>, Is 5<sup>24</sup>, ψ 56<sup>1</sup>, Pr 25<sup>8</sup>. In Nu 24<sup>28</sup> the subject follows an infinitive which has a noun-suffix in place of the object.

## § 116. The Participles.

Cf. Sellin (see above at the head of § 113), p. 6 ff., and Kahan, p. 11 ff.

1. Like the two infinitives, the participles also occupy a middle *a* place between the noun and the verb. In form they are simple nouns,

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic, where the case-endings leave no doubt as to the construction, it is equally possible to say either *qattu Zaidin* (gen. of subj.) 'Amran (acc.), literally *Zaid's killing Amr*, or *qattu Amrin* (gen. of obj.) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.), or even *el-qattu* (with article) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.) 'Amran (acc. of obj.).

and most nearly related to the adjective; consequently they cannot in themselves be employed to represent definite relations of tense or mood. On the other hand, their verbal character is shown by their not representing, like the adjectives, a fixed and permanent quality (or state), but one which is in some way connected with an *action* or *activity*. The *participle active* indicates a person or thing conceived as being in the continual uninterrupted *exercise* of an activity. The *participle passive*, on the other hand, indicates the person or thing in a state which has been brought about by external *actions*.

b Rem. That the language was fully conscious of the difference between a state implying action (or effected by external action) and mere passivity, is seen from the fact, that participles proper cannot be formed from the purely stative Qal, but only verbal adjectives of the form *qāṭel* (קָטֵל, &c.) or *qāṭōl* (קָטֹל, &c.), whereas the *transitive* Qal שָׂנֵא to hate, although it coincides in form with the intransitive Qal (as a verb middle e), nevertheless forms a participle active שֹׂנֵא, and participle passive שְׁנֹא (cf. the feminine שְׁנְוּהָ).—In cases where the participle proper and the verbal adjective both occur, they are by no means synonymous. When the Assyrians are called in Is 28<sup>11</sup> לְעֵי שִׁפְהָ men of stammering lips, a character is ascribed to them which is inseparably connected with their personality. On the other hand לֵעָג לִי Jer 20<sup>7</sup>, describes those about the prophet as continually engaged in casting ridicule upon him. Cf. also ψ 9<sup>18</sup> (שִׁכְחִי) with 50<sup>22</sup> (שִׁכְחִי).

c On the difference between the participle as expressing *simple* duration and the imperfect as expressing *progressive* duration, cf. what has been stated above in § 107 d. Nevertheless the participle is sometimes used—especially in the later books, cf. e.g. Neh 6<sup>17</sup>, 2 Ch 17<sup>11</sup>—where we should expect the action to be divided up into its several parts, and consequently should expect the finite verb. But the substitution of the participle for the *tempus historicum*, which becomes customary in Aramaic (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 76. 2, d and e), is nevertheless quite foreign to Hebrew.

d 2. The period of time indicated by (a) a participle active, either as an attribute or predicate, must be inferred from the particular context. Thus מֵת may mean either *moriens* (Zc 11<sup>9</sup>), or *mortuus* (so commonly; with the article הַמֵּת regularly=*the dead man*), or *moriturus* (Dt 4<sup>22</sup>); בָּא coming, come Gn 18<sup>11</sup>, &c., *venturus* 1 S 2<sup>31</sup>, &c.; נָפַל falling, but also fallen, Ju 3<sup>25</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>3</sup>, and ready to fall (threatening ruin, Is 30<sup>13</sup>, Am 9<sup>11</sup>). For other examples of perfect participles see Gn 27<sup>31</sup>, 43<sup>18</sup> (הָשֹׁב that was returned; cf. Ezr 6<sup>21</sup>, &c., הַשְׁבִּים which were come again from the captivity); Gn 35<sup>3</sup>, Ex 11<sup>5</sup>, Zc 12<sup>1</sup>, ψ 137<sup>7</sup>, Pr 8<sup>3</sup>, Jb 12<sup>4</sup> (קָרָא), and see m below. For future participles see Gn 41<sup>25</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>9</sup>, Is 5<sup>5</sup>, Jon 1<sup>3</sup>, &c., probably also לָקַח Gn 19<sup>14</sup>. On the *futurum instans* (esp. after הֵנָּה) see p below.

e (b) Of the passive participles, that of Qal (e.g. פְּתוּב scriptus) always corresponds to a Latin or Greek perfect participle passive, those of the other conjugations, especially *Niphal*, sometimes to

a Latin gerundive (or to an adjective in *-bilis*), e. g. נֹרָא *metuendus*, to be feared, ψ 7<sup>6</sup>, &c.; נִחְמָד *desiderandus* (*desiderabilis*) Gn 3<sup>6</sup>, ψ 19<sup>11</sup>, &c.; נִבְרָא *creandus* ψ 102<sup>19</sup>; נוֹלָד, usually *natus*, but also (like הַיִּלָּד Ju 13<sup>8</sup>) *procreandus, nasciturus* 1 K 13<sup>2</sup>, ψ 22<sup>32</sup>; נִעְרָץ *terribilis* ψ 89<sup>8</sup>; נִחְשָׁב *abominable* Jb 15<sup>16</sup>; נִחְשָׁב *acstimandus* Is 2<sup>22</sup>; הַנֶּאֱכָלָה that may be eaten (an animal) Lv 11<sup>47</sup>. In פִּאֵל מְהֻלָּל *laudandus, worthy to be praised* ψ 18<sup>4</sup>. In *Hoph'al*, 2 S 20<sup>21</sup> מִשְׁלָה; 2 K 11<sup>2</sup> הַמְּוִקָּמִים; Is 12<sup>5</sup> מוֹדֵעַת Qerê.<sup>1</sup>

3. The participles active, in virtue of their partly verbal character, possess the power of governing like verbs, and consequently, when used in the absolute state, may take after them an object either in the accusative, or with the preposition with which the verb in question is elsewhere usually construed, e. g. 1 S 18<sup>29</sup> אִיב אֶת-דָּוִד *hating David*; Gn 42<sup>29</sup>; with the suffix of the accusative, e. g. עָשִׂי that made me Jb 31<sup>15</sup>; רֹאֵנִי כִי רֹאֵנִי who seeth us? Is 29<sup>15</sup> (in Is 47<sup>10</sup> רֹאֵנִי is abnormal); רָדָם *ruling them* ψ 68<sup>28</sup>, sometimes also with the article, e. g. ψ 18<sup>33</sup> הַמֵּאֲחֶזֶק that girdeth me (LXX ὁ καταῶν με); Dt 8<sup>4-16</sup>, 13<sup>6, 11</sup>, 20<sup>1</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>44</sup>, Is 9<sup>12</sup> (where, however, Cheyne omits the article), 63<sup>11</sup>, ψ 81<sup>11</sup>, 103<sup>4</sup>, Dn 11<sup>6</sup>; followed by a preposition, e. g. 1 K 9<sup>23</sup> הָיָדִים בָּעָם which bare rule over the people; 2 K 20<sup>5</sup> לֵךְ הִנְנִי רֹפֵא לָךְ *behold, I will heal thee*.<sup>2</sup>

By an exhaustive examination of the statistics, Sellin (see the title at the head of § 113), p. 40 ff., shows that the participle when construed as a verb expresses a single and comparatively transitory act, or relates to particular cases, historical facts, and the like, while the participle construed as a noun (see g) indicates repeated, enduring, or commonly occurring acts, occupations, and thoughts.

So also the verbal adjectives of the form *qāṭēl* may take an accusative of the person or thing, if the finite verb from which they are derived governs an accusative, e. g. Dt 34<sup>9</sup> מָלֵא רֵיחַ הַקְּמָה *full of the spirit of wisdom*; ψ 5<sup>5</sup> הַפֶּז רֵשַׁע *that hath pleasure in wickedness*.

As a sort of noun the participle may, however, also exercise the same government as a noun, being in the construct state, and followed by the object of the action in the genitive (see § 89 a; and cf. § 128 x), e. g. ψ 5<sup>12</sup> אֲהֵבִי שְׁמֶךָ *that love thy name*; cf. ψ 19<sup>84</sup>; also when a verbal adjective, e. g. Gn 22<sup>12</sup> and often יָרָא אֱלֹהִים *one fearing*

<sup>1</sup> Such examples as נֹרָא, נִחְמָד, מְהֻלָּל show plainly the origin of this gerundive use of the participle passive. A person or thing *feared, desired, or praised* at all times is shown thereby to be *terrible, desirable, or praiseworthy*, and therefore also to be *feared, &c.*

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, in Is. 11<sup>9</sup> as the waters לֵים מְבַסִּים covering the sea, the ל serves only to introduce the object preceding the participle [cf. the Arabic parallels cited by Driver, *Tenses*, § 125, 7 Obs.]. Cf. Hab. 2<sup>14</sup>.

God; Hb 2<sup>15</sup>; with an infinitive,  $\psi$  127<sup>2</sup>; with a noun-suffix (which, according to § 33 c, also represents a genitive), e.g. Gn 4<sup>14</sup>  $\text{פֶּל־מִנְיָא}$  *whosoever findeth me* (prop. my finder; cf.  $\text{עֹשֵׂי}$  *my maker*); 12<sup>3</sup>  $\text{מְבַרְכֶּךָ}$  *that bless thee*,  $\text{מְקַלְלֶךָ}$  *that curseth thee* (but read either  $\text{מְקַלְלֶךָ}$ , or  $\text{מְבַרְכֶּךָ}$  in the preceding clause); 27<sup>20</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>20</sup>, Is 63<sup>13</sup>,  $\psi$  18<sup>49</sup>. In Jer 33<sup>22</sup> read  $\text{מִשְׁרָתִים אֵתִי}$ .<sup>1</sup>

h. Rem. To the class of objective genitives belong also specifications of place after the participles  $\text{בָּנִי}$  *iniciens* and  $\text{יֵצֵא}$  *egrediens*, since the verbs  $\text{בָּנָה}$  and  $\text{יָצָא}$ , in the sense of *ingredi*, *egredi*, can be directly connected with an accusative; e.g. Gn 23<sup>10,18</sup>  $\text{בָּנִי שָׁעַר עִירוֹ}$  *that went in at the gate of his city*; La 1<sup>4</sup>; after  $\text{יָצָא}$ , Gn 5<sup>10</sup>, 34<sup>24</sup>, 46<sup>26</sup>, &c.—In poetic language the participle in the construct state may be connected not only with a genitive of the object, but also with any other specifications (especially of space) which otherwise can only be made to depend on the verb in question by means of a preposition; cf. Is 38<sup>18</sup>, and frequently,  $\text{יֹרְדֵי-בֹר}$  *they that go down into the pit* (the grave);  $\psi$  88<sup>6</sup>  $\text{שֹׁכְבֵי קֶבֶר}$  *that lie in the grave*; Dt 32<sup>24</sup> (Mi 7<sup>17</sup>); 1 K 2<sup>7</sup>, 2 K 11<sup>5,7,9</sup> *those that came in* (or *went out*) *on the sabbath*, Pr 2<sup>7</sup>, 1 Ch 5<sup>13</sup>, &c.; instead of the construction with  $\text{מִן}$ , e.g. Is 59<sup>20</sup> (*those who turn from transgression*), Mi 2<sup>8</sup>.

i. These genitives of nearer definition appear also in the form of a noun-suffix, e.g.  $\psi$  18<sup>40,49</sup>  $\text{קָמִי}$  (for  $\text{קָמִים עָלַי}$ ) *that rise up against me*; cf. Ex 15<sup>7</sup>, Dt 33<sup>11</sup>,  $\psi$  44<sup>9</sup>, Ex 32<sup>26</sup>, Is 12<sup>27</sup>  $\text{שֹׂבְרֶיהָ}$  *her converts*;  $\psi$  53<sup>6</sup> ( $\text{וְחִנָּה}$ ); Pr 21<sup>9</sup>  $\text{פֶּל־בִּפְאֵיהָ}$  *all that go unto her*; the construction is especially bold in Is 29<sup>7</sup>  $\text{וּמִצְרֹתֶיהָ}$  *all that fight against her and her stronghold* (for  $\text{בְּפִלְחָצְבָּאִים עָלֶיהָ וְעַל-מִ}$ );  $\psi$  102<sup>9</sup> even with a participle Po'al,  $\text{מְהוֹלְלִי}$  *they that are mad against me* (?), but read perhaps with Olshausen  $\text{מְהוֹלְלִי}$  *who pierce me*.—In Is 1<sup>30</sup> as a *terebinth*  $\text{עֹלֶה נָפְלֹת}$  *fading as regards its leaf*, it remains doubtful whether  $\text{נָפְלֹת}$  is in the absolute state, and consequently  $\text{עֹלֶה}$  in the accusative, or whether it is to be regarded as construct state, and  $\text{עֹלֶה}$  as the genitive. In the latter case it would be analogous to Pr 14<sup>2</sup> (see k).

k. 4. The passive participles also may either be in the absolute state, and take the determining word in the accusative,<sup>2</sup> or may be connected

<sup>1</sup> When, as in Jb 40<sup>19</sup>, the participle with the noun-suffix  $\text{הָעֹשֵׂי}$  *he that made him*, also has the article (cf. § 127 i), the anomaly is difficult to understand, since a word determined by a genitive does not admit of being determined by the article.—No less remarkable is the use of the constr. st. of the participle before the accusative in Jer 33<sup>22</sup>  $\text{אֵתִי מִשְׁרָתִי}$  *that minister unto me* (for which there is  $\text{מִשְׁרָתִי}$  in verse 21). In Am 4<sup>13</sup> an accusative of the product follows the genitive of the object,  $\text{עֹשֶׂה שָׁחַר עֵיפָה}$  *maker of the morning into darkness*. In Jer 2<sup>17</sup>  $\text{בְּעֵת מוֹלִיכֶךָ}$  is supposed to mean *at the time when he led thee*; perhaps the perfect ( $\text{הוֹלִי}$ ) should be read as in 6<sup>45</sup>. In Ez 27<sup>34</sup>, the ancient versions read  $\text{נִשְׁבְּרָתָהּ}$  ( $\text{עַתָּה}$ ) *now thou art broken*, instead of the difficult  $\text{עַתָּה נִשְׁבְּרָתָהּ}$ . In 1 K 20<sup>40</sup> read  $\text{עֹשֶׂה}$  before  $\text{הָהֵן וְהָנָה}$ .

<sup>2</sup> On the proper force of this accusative when retained in the passive con-

with it in the construct state, e.g. Ju 18<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>18</sup>, Ez 9<sup>2</sup> לְבוּשׁ בָּרִים קָרַע בְּתִנְתּוֹ clothed in linen, cf. verse 3 הִלְבֵּשׁ הַבָּרִים; (even with a suffix קָרַע אֶת־בְּתִנְתּוֹ rent as regards his coat 2 S 15<sup>32</sup>; with the participle following Ju 17<sup>7</sup>); but Ez 9<sup>11</sup> לְבוּשׁ הַבָּרִים the one clothed with linen; 2 S 13<sup>31</sup> קָרַע בְּגָדִים rent in respect of clothes, equivalent to with their clothes rent (cf. Jer 41<sup>5</sup>); Nu 24<sup>4</sup>, Dt 25<sup>10</sup>, Is 3<sup>5</sup>, 33<sup>21</sup>, Jo 1<sup>8</sup>, ψ 32<sup>1</sup> נָשִׁי־אֶפְשָׁעָה forgiven in respect of transgression, הִטָּאָה כָּסִי covered in respect of sin; with a suffix to the noun, Pr 14<sup>2</sup> יִלְוֶה דְּרָכָיו he that is perverse in his ways.

Rem. The passive participle occurs in the construct state before a genitive of the cause, e.g. in Is 1<sup>7</sup> שָׂרְפוֹת אֵשׁ burnt with fire; cf. Gn 41<sup>6</sup>, Ex 28<sup>11</sup>, Dt 32<sup>24</sup>; before a genitive denoting the author, e.g. Gn 24<sup>31</sup> בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה blessed of the Lord (but ψ 115<sup>15</sup> לִיהוָה בְּרוּכִים, see § 121 f); cf. Is 53<sup>4</sup>, ψ 22<sup>7</sup>, Jb 14<sup>1</sup> (15<sup>14</sup>, 25<sup>4</sup>); hence also with noun-suffixes (which are accordingly genitive) Pr 9<sup>18</sup> קָרְאִיהָ her invited ones, i.e. those invited by her; cf. 7<sup>26</sup>, ψ 37<sup>21</sup>.

5. The use of the participle as predicate is very frequent in noun-clauses (which, according to § 140 e, describe established facts and states), in which the period of time intended by the description must again (see above, d) be inferred from the context. Thus:

(a) As present, in speaking of truths which hold good at all times, e.g. Ec 1<sup>4</sup> נָא אֶבְדֹּת הָאֶרֶץ דּוֹר הָאֶל דּוֹר one generation goeth, and another generation cometh; and the earth abideth (עֹמֶדֶת) for ever; cf. verse 7; also to represent incidental (continuous) occurrences which are just happening, Gn 3<sup>5</sup>, 16<sup>8</sup> (I am fleeing); 32<sup>12</sup>, Ex 9<sup>17</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>15</sup>, 23<sup>1</sup>, 2 K 7<sup>9</sup>, Is 1<sup>7</sup>; when the subject is introduced by the emphatic demonstrative הִנֵּה behold! (§ 100 o and § 105 b), e.g. Gn 16<sup>11</sup> הִנֵּה הָרָה behold, thou art with child, &c.; 27<sup>42</sup>; frequently also in circumstantial clauses (connected by *Wāw*), cf. § 141 e, e.g. Gn 15<sup>2</sup>, &c.

(b) To represent past actions or states, sometimes in independent noun-clauses, e.g. Ex 20<sup>18</sup> וְכָל־הָעָם רָאוּ אֶת־הַקּוֹלֹת and all the people saw the thunders, &c.; 1 K 1<sup>5</sup>; in negative statements, e.g. Gn 39<sup>23a</sup>; sometimes in relative clauses, e.g. Gn 39<sup>23b</sup>, Dt 3<sup>2</sup> (cf. also the frequent combination of the participle with the article as the equivalent of a relative clause, e.g. Gn 32<sup>10</sup> הָאִמֶּר which saidst; 12<sup>7</sup>, 16<sup>18</sup>, 35<sup>13</sup>, 36<sup>35</sup>, 48<sup>16</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>31</sup>, &c.); sometimes again (see n) in circumstantial clauses, especially those representing actions or states which occurred simultaneously with other past actions, &c., e.g. Gn 19<sup>1</sup> and the two angels came to Sodom וְלוֹט יָשָׁב and (i.e. while) Lot sat, &c.; 18<sup>1.8.16.22</sup>, 25<sup>26</sup>, Ju 13<sup>9</sup>, 2 Ch 22<sup>9</sup>; also with the subject introduced by הַזֶּה 37<sup>7</sup>, 41<sup>17</sup>. (On הַזֶּה with a following adjective or participle to express an action constantly or occasionally recurring, cf. § 113 u.)

(c) To announce future actions or events, e.g. 1 K 2<sup>2</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>16</sup> at this season when the time cometh round, אַתָּה הֹלֵךְ בֵּן thou shalt embrace a son; so after a specification of time, Gn 7<sup>4</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 17<sup>19</sup>, 19<sup>13</sup>, Hag 2<sup>6</sup> (but in Is 23<sup>15</sup>, where, after וְהָיָה we should rather expect a perfect consecutive, it is better to explain

struction cf. below, § 117 cc, &c, and § 121 c, d. So also Neh 4<sup>12</sup> is to be understood, and the builders were אִישׁ חֶרְבוֹ אֶסְדִּים עַל־מִתְנָיו girded every one with his sword on his side, and building.



וְנִשְׁחַת, with *Qimhi*, as the 3rd sing. fem. of the perfect; on the form, cf. § 44 f); or in relative clauses, Gn 41<sup>23</sup>, Is 5<sup>6</sup> *what I am doing*, i.e. am in the act of doing; in a deliberative question, Gn 37<sup>30</sup>; but especially often when the subject is introduced by הִנֵּה (especially also if the subject be attached as a suffix to הִנֵּה as הִנֵּנִי, הִנֵּךְ, &c.), if it is intended to announce the event as imminent, or at least near at hand (and sure to happen), when it is called *futurum instans*, e.g. Gn 6<sup>17</sup>, 15<sup>8</sup>, 20<sup>8</sup>, 24<sup>18f.</sup>, 48<sup>21</sup>, 50<sup>5</sup>, Ex 3<sup>13</sup>, 8<sup>25</sup>, 9<sup>8</sup>, 34<sup>10</sup>, Jos 4<sup>18</sup>, Ju 1<sup>17</sup>, 9<sup>33</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>11</sup>, 2 K 7<sup>2</sup>, Is 3<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>14</sup>, 17<sup>1</sup>, Jer 30<sup>10</sup>, Ze 2<sup>13</sup>, 3<sup>8</sup>; with a participle passive, 2 S 20<sup>21</sup>; cf. also § 112 f.

q Rem. 1. As the above examples show, a noun-clause with a participle as predicate may have for its subject either a substantive or a personal pronoun; in both cases the participle, especially if there be a certain emphasis upon it, may precede the subject. Also in noun-clauses introduced by הִנֵּה the subject may be either a substantive, or (e.g. Gn 37<sup>7</sup>) a separate personal pronoun, or a suffix attached to הִנֵּה. In the same way, the subject may also be introduced by יֵשׁ (*est*, see the Lexicon) with a suffix, and in negative sentences by אֵין (*non est*) with a suffix, e.g. Ju 6<sup>36</sup> אִם-יִשָּׁע מוֹשִׁיעַ if thou wilt save; Gn 43<sup>6</sup> יִרְוּ הַנְּטוּיָה אִם-אֵינֶיךָ מוֹשִׁיעַ if thou wilt not send; 1 S 19<sup>11</sup>.—In such cases as Is 14<sup>27</sup> הַנְּטוּיָה יִרְוּ the stretched out hand is his, הַנְּטוּיָה is not, like נְטוּיָה in 9<sup>11,16</sup>, &c., the predicate (in which case the participle could not take the article), but the subject; cf. Gn 2<sup>11</sup>, 45<sup>12</sup>, Is 66<sup>9</sup>, Ez 20<sup>29</sup>, Ze 7<sup>6</sup> (cf. § 126 k), where the participle with the article likewise refers to the present, also Nu 7<sup>2</sup>, Dt 32<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>, &c., 1 S 4<sup>16</sup>, where it refers to the past. In 1 K 12<sup>8</sup> and 21<sup>11</sup> even in relative clauses אֲשֶׁר.

q 2. To give express emphasis to an action continuing in the *past*, the perfect הָיָה in the corresponding person is sometimes added to the participle, and similarly the imperfect יְהִי (or the jussive יִהְיֶה, or the imperfect consecutive) is used to emphasize an action continuing in the *future*, e.g. Jb 1<sup>14</sup> הַבָּקָר הָיָה חֹרֶשׁוֹ the oxen (cows) were plowing; Gn 37<sup>2</sup>, 39<sup>22</sup>, Ex 3<sup>1</sup>, Dt 9<sup>24</sup>, Ju 1<sup>7</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>0</sup>; the same occurs with a passive participle, e.g. Jos 5<sup>5</sup>, Ze 3<sup>3</sup>; יְהִיָּה with a participle is found e.g. in Is 2<sup>2</sup>; the jussive in Gn 1<sup>6</sup>, ψ 109<sup>12</sup>; 1 and יִהְיֶה with a participle in Ju 16<sup>21</sup>, Neh 1<sup>4</sup>.

s 3. The *personal pronoun* which would be expected as the subject of a participial clause is frequently omitted, or at least (as elsewhere in noun-clauses, cf. Is 26<sup>8</sup>, ψ 16<sup>8</sup>, Jb 9<sup>32</sup>) the pronoun of the 3rd pers. הוּא, e.g. Gn 24<sup>30</sup>, 37<sup>15</sup>, 38<sup>24</sup>, 41<sup>1</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>11</sup>, 15<sup>12</sup>, Is 29<sup>8</sup> (the participle always after הִנֵּה); cf., moreover, Gn 32<sup>7</sup>, Dt 33<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>25</sup>, 20<sup>1</sup>, Is 33<sup>5</sup>, 40<sup>10</sup>, ψ 22<sup>20</sup>, 33<sup>5</sup>, 55<sup>20</sup>, Jb 12<sup>17,19</sup> ff., 25<sup>2</sup>, 26<sup>7</sup>.—הוּא is omitted in Lv 18<sup>28</sup>; in Is 32<sup>12</sup>, Ez 8<sup>12</sup>, Neh 9<sup>3</sup>; in a relative clause, Gn 39<sup>22</sup>, Is 24<sup>2</sup>.—The *personal pronoun* of the 2nd pers. masc. (אַתָּה) is omitted in Hb 2<sup>10</sup>; the 2nd fem. (אַתְּ) in Gn 20<sup>16</sup> (where, however, for the participle וְנִשְׁחַת the 2nd fem. perf. וְנִשְׁחַתְּ is to be read); the pronoun of the 1st sing. in Hb 1<sup>5</sup> (?), Ze 9<sup>12</sup>, Mal 2<sup>16</sup>; the 2nd plur. (אַתֶּם) 1 S 24<sup>4</sup> (if the text be right), 6<sup>8</sup>, Ez 13<sup>7</sup> (?). But these passages are all more or less doubtful.

t Of a different kind are the cases in which some undefined subject is to be supplied with the participle; e.g. Is 21<sup>11</sup> אֲלֵי קָרָא there is one calling unto me (=one calleth; § 144 d); cf. Is 30<sup>24</sup>, 33<sup>4</sup>.—So with participles in the plur., e.g. Ex 5<sup>16</sup> (אֲמָרִים sc. the taskmasters); Jer 38<sup>23</sup> (in 33<sup>5</sup> the text is corrupt), Ez 13<sup>7</sup> (?), 36<sup>18</sup>, 37<sup>11</sup> (equivalent to *sunt qui dicant*).

<sup>1</sup> A jussive is practically to be supplied also in the formulae of blessing and cursing, בֵּרַךְ blessed be . . . Gn 9<sup>26</sup>, &c.; אָרַר cursed art thou . . . 3<sup>14</sup>, &c.

4. We must mention as a special class those noun-clauses which occur at the beginning of a period, and are intended to lay stress upon the fact that the first action still continues on the occurrence of the second (always introduced by וְ); e. g. Jb 1<sup>16 f</sup>. בָּא מְדַבֵּר וְהָא עוֹר he was yet speaking, and (= when) another came, &c.<sup>1</sup>; cf. Gn 29<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>11, 27</sup>, 2c<sup>36</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>17</sup> she was entering the threshold of the house, when the child died; 2 K 2<sup>23</sup>, 4<sup>5</sup>, Dn 9<sup>20 f.</sup>; also in Ju 19<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>14</sup>, 17<sup>23</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>2</sup>, Jb 1<sup>18 f.</sup>, in all which passages the apodosis is introduced by וְהָא.—On the other hand, in 1 K 14 the noun-clause itself is introduced by וְהָא (as in verse 22 by וְהָא), and denotes an action only just impending.<sup>2</sup> Finally, when the whole sentence is introduced by means of וְהָא (cf. § 111 g), and the apodosis by וְהָא, Gn 42<sup>25</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>21</sup>, 13<sup>21</sup>; without וְהָא in the apodosis, 1 S 7<sup>10</sup>, 2 K 19<sup>27</sup> (Is 37<sup>38</sup>).

Participles active, which are used in the sense of the perfect participle, and also participles passive, in accordance with their meaning, express in such noun-clauses a state still continuing on the occurrence of the principal action, e. g. Gn 38<sup>25</sup> וְהָא מֵבִיאתָּהּ she was being brought forth, when she sent, &c.; cf. Gn 50<sup>24</sup>. [See further in Driver, *Tenses*, §§ 166-169.]

5. Different from the examples treated in u and v are the instances in w which a participle (either alone or as the attribute of a noun) stands at the beginning of the sentence as a *casus pendens* (or as the subject of a compound noun-clause, see § 143 c) to indicate a condition, the contingent occurrence of which involves a further consequence; e. g. Gn 9<sup>6</sup> שֶׁפֶד דַּם הָאָדָם בְּאָדָם כָּמוֹ שֶׁפֶד שֶׁפֶד shedding man's blood, i. e. if any one sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; Ex 21<sup>12</sup>, ψ 75<sup>4</sup>, Pr 17<sup>14</sup>, Jb 41<sup>18</sup>; so especially if כָּל every precedes the participle, Gn 4<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>11</sup> (2 K 21<sup>12</sup>), 2 S 5<sup>8</sup> (whosoever smiteth), 1 Ch 11<sup>6</sup>. The apodosis is very often introduced by וְ (waw apodosis), e. g. Ex 12<sup>15</sup> (with a following perfect consecutive), Nu 35<sup>30</sup>; 1 S 2<sup>13</sup> וְכֵן בֵּלְאִישׁ זָבַח when any man offered sacrifice, the priest's servant came, &c.; 2 S 14<sup>10</sup> (participle with article); 22<sup>41</sup> (where, however, the text is to be emended in accordance with ψ 15<sup>41</sup>); 2 S 23<sup>3 f.</sup>, Pr 23<sup>24</sup> *Keth.*; 29<sup>9</sup>.—As in the instances discussed under u, such sentences are sometimes preceded by וְהָא, cf. 1 S 10<sup>11</sup>, 11<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>28</sup> וְהָא בָּלְהָא and it came to pass, that as many as came, &c. [or by וְהָא, frequentative, Ju 19<sup>30</sup>].—On the other hand, וְהַשְׁפֵּקֶת Dn 8<sup>22</sup> is a mere catchword (equivalent to and as for that which was broken) to call to mind the contents of verse 8.

6. On the use of the participle after the infinitive absolute cf. § 113 u.

7. Almost as a rule the participial construction beginning a sentence (like a the infinitival constructions according to § 114 r) is continued by means of a finite verb with or without וְ, before which the English construction requires us to supply the relative pronoun implied in the participle; thus,

<sup>1</sup> The independent noun-clause here lays stress upon the simultaneous occurrence (and consequently the overlapping) of the events far more forcibly than could be done by a subordinate expression of time (as e. g. וְהָא בְּדַבְּרוֹ). In English it may be represented by *scarcely had he finished speaking when*. ... As the above examples show, the apodosis also frequently consists of a noun-clause.

<sup>2</sup> At the same time the preceding עוֹר still shows that what is announced is not merely a future event, but a future event contemporaneous with something else; the case thus entirely differs from the examples given in § 112 t, where וְהָא refers to the following participle, while here it belongs properly to the apodosis, before which it is therefore generally placed; see the examples.

continued by means of a perfect, Is 14<sup>17</sup> וְעָרְיוּ בְּמִדְבָּר הָהָם that made the world as a wilderness, and overthrew the cities thereof<sup>1</sup>; 43<sup>7</sup>, Ez 22<sup>8</sup>, ψ 130<sup>13 π</sup>, Pr 21<sup>7</sup>; by a perfect without *Wāw*, Gn 49<sup>11</sup>; by a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae* in the present), Is 5<sup>28</sup>, 46<sup>6</sup>, Pr 7<sup>8</sup>, Jb 12<sup>17, 19 π</sup>, 24<sup>21</sup>; by an imperfect without *Wāw*, e.g. 1 S 2<sup>8</sup>, Is 5<sup>8</sup>, Pr 21<sup>4</sup>, 19<sup>20</sup>; by an imperfect consecutive, Gn 27<sup>33</sup>, 35<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>6</sup>, Jer 13<sup>10</sup> (after several participles); ψ 18<sup>33</sup>, 136<sup>10 f</sup>.

## C. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE VERB.

### § 117. The Direct Subordination of the Noun to the Verb as Accusative of the Object. The Double Accusative.

L. Kaila, *Zur Syntax des in verbaler Abhängigkeit stehenden Nomens im alttest. Hebr.*, Helsingfors, 1906.

- α 1. The simplest way in which a noun is subordinated to a verbal form is by the addition of an accusative of the object to a transitive verb.<sup>2</sup> In the absence of case-endings,<sup>3</sup> this accusative can now be recognized only from the context, or by the particle אֵת (את), before suffixes also אֵת, אִתּוֹ)⁴ prefixed to it. The use of this *nota accusativi*

<sup>1</sup> On the parallelism between the *external* and *internal* members, which appears here and in many other examples of this kind, see the note on § 114 r.

<sup>2</sup> The verb in question may either have been originally transitive, or only have become transitive by a modification of its original meaning. Thus the vocalization shows that חָפֵץ (to have pleasure, usually with ב) to desire, מָלֵא (to be full of something, also transitive) to fill, were originally intransitive. Cf. also such cases as נָחַם (generally with עַל-אֵל, or לְ-), but also to bewail with an accusative; יָשַׁב (usually with ב) to dwell (usually with אֵת), but also to inhabit with an accusative (cf. further, under u).—The examples are different in which verbs of motion such as בּוֹא intrare, also aggredi, יָצָא egredi (cf. § 116 h above), שָׁב redire, Is 52<sup>8</sup>, take an accusative of the aim of the motion, while בּוֹא according to the Old Semitic usage, even takes an accusative of the person (at least in poetry, equivalent to בּוֹא אֵל- in prose).

<sup>3</sup> On traces of these endings, especially the remains of a former accusative ending in a, cf. § 90 c.

<sup>4</sup> אֵת (toneless owing to the following Maqqeph), and אִתּוֹ (with a tone-long ē, אִתּוֹ only in Jb 41<sup>26</sup>), אִתּוֹ or אִתּוֹ before the light suffixes (on all these forms cf. § 103 b: the underlying form *āth* was obscured in Hebrew to *āth*, shortened to *āh* before suffixes beginning with a consonant and then modified to אֵת, whence finally the secondary form אִתּוֹ with the tone), Phoenician אִית i. e. probably *īyyāth* (for the Phoenician form, cf. G. Hoffmann, *Einige phönik. Inschriften*, Göttingen, 1889, p. 39 f.), Punic *yth* or (according to Euting) pronounced even as a mere prefixed t, Arabic, before suffixes, *īyyā*, Aram. יֵת, יִת. It was no doubt originally a substantive, meaning *essence, substance, self* (like the Syriac *yāth*; on the other hand, any connexion with the Hebrew אִתּוֹ, Syriac *āthā*, Arabic *āyat*, a sign, must, with Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xl. 738, be rejected), but now united in the construct state with a following noun or suffix stands for the pronoun *ipse, avrós*. In common use, however (cf. Wilson, 'The particle אֵת in Hebrew,' *Hebraica*, vi. 2, 3, and the precise statistics of the use

is, however, somewhat rare in poetry, and even in prose it is not invariably necessary but is restricted to those cases in which the accusative of the object is more closely determined by being a proper name, or by having the article, or by a following determinate genitive (hence also by the suffixes), or in some other way (see below, c), e. g. Gn 4<sup>1</sup> and she bare אֶת-חַוְוָה *Cain*; 6<sup>10</sup>, 1<sup>1</sup> God created אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ *the heaven and the earth* (but 2<sup>4</sup> וְשָׂרָץ הָאָרֶץ); 1<sup>25</sup> and God made אֶת-חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ *the beast of the earth*; 2<sup>24</sup>.

Rem. 1. The rare occurrence of the *nota accusativi* in poetic style (e. g. it b never occurs in Ex 15<sup>2-18</sup>, Dt 32, Ju 5, 1 S 2, &c., though it is frequent in the late Psalms) may be explained from the fact that in this as in other respects (cf. § 2 q) poetry represents a somewhat more archaic stage of the language than prose. The need of some external means of indicating the accusative could only have been felt after the case-endings had become wholly extinct. Even then the אֶת would probably have been used at first to indicate only an object placed before the verb (when it followed, it was already sufficiently characterized by its position as depending on the verb), or proper names.<sup>1</sup> Finally, however, the *nota accusativi* became so customary everywhere in prose, that even the pronominal object was expressed rather by אֶת with suffixes than by verbal suffixes, even when none of the reasons mentioned under c can be assigned for it; cf. Giesebrecht in ZAW. 1881, p. 258 ff., and the statistics of H. Petri, cited above at the head of § 58. Such examples as כָּבַל אֶשְׁרֵי-צִוְוֹנוֹ יְהוָה Gn 6<sup>22</sup> in the *Priestly Code*, beside אֶת-יְהוָה 7<sup>5</sup> in the *Jahvist*, are especially instructive.

2. As accusatives are determined in other ways, we have in the first place to c consider the collectives introduced by כָּל *entirely*, without a following article or determinate genitive, inasmuch as the meaning of כָּל includes a determinative sense, cf. e. g. Gn 1<sup>21-30</sup>, S<sup>21</sup>, Dt 2<sup>34</sup>, 2 K 25<sup>9</sup>. כָּל-אֶת-כָּל is used absolutely in Gn 9<sup>3</sup>, cf. 39<sup>23</sup>; similarly, מִי is determinate of itself, since it always denotes a person, hence אֶת-מִי *quem*? e. g. Is 6<sup>3</sup>, 37<sup>23</sup>, &c., but never אֶת-מָה *quid*? So also the relative אֲשֶׁר in the sense of *cum qui* or *quem*, &c., e. g. 1 S 10<sup>3</sup>, or *id quod*, Gn 9<sup>24</sup>, &c. Cf. also such examples as Jos 2<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 24<sup>19</sup>, where אֲשֶׁר אֶת is equivalent to the *circumstance*, *that*, &c.—Elsewhere אֶת stands before nouns which are determinate in sense, although the article is omitted, which according to § 126 h is very frequently the case in poetic or otherwise elevated style; thus Lv 26<sup>7</sup>, Jos 24<sup>14, 15</sup>, Is 41<sup>17</sup> (to distinguish the object from the subject); 5c<sup>4</sup> (with the title of two accusatives, also for the sake of clearness); Ez 13<sup>20</sup>, 43<sup>10</sup>, Pr 13<sup>21</sup> (where the צִדִּיקִים are to be regarded as a distinct class); Jb 13<sup>25</sup>

of אֶת on p. 140 ff.), it has so little force (like the oblique cases *αὐτοῦ, αὐτῶν, αὐτόν*, sometimes also *ipsius, ipsum*, and the Germ. *desselben*, &c.) that it merely serves to introduce a determinate object; אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם prop. *αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν* (cf. *αὐτὸν Χρυσήδα*, *Iliad* i. 143) is no stronger than the simple הַשָּׁמַיִם *τὸν οὐρανόν*. Cf., further, P. Haupt on Pr 18<sup>24</sup> in his *Rainbow Bible*, and also in the *Notes on Esther*, p. 191.

<sup>1</sup> Thus, in Dt 33, אֶת occurs only in verse 9 (twice, with an object preceding the verb), in Gn 49 in the blessing of Jacob only in verse 15 with a co-ordinate second object (consequently farther removed from the verb). Of the thirteen instances of אֶת in the Mēša' inscription, seven stand directly and four indirectly before proper names.

(unless, with Beer and others, we read וְאִתָּם for וְאִתָּךְ); also Ec 7<sup>7</sup> may be a quotation of an ancient maxim.

- d On the other hand הָאִשׁ occurs very seldom in prose before a noun actually or apparently undetermined. In 1 S 24<sup>6</sup> כַּנָּה is more closely defined by means of the following relative clause; in 2 S 4<sup>11</sup> אִישׁ צָדִיק refers to Ishbo-sheth (as if it were *him, who was an innocent man*); in 1 K 6<sup>16</sup> עֲשָׂרִים אַמָּה refers to the particular twenty cubits. In Ex 21<sup>28</sup> (otherwise in verse 29) perhaps the אִתָּךְ is used in order to avoid the combination נִשּׁוֹר אִישׁ (as in Nu 21<sup>9</sup> to avoid the cacophony אִישׁ הַנֶּחֱשׁ אִישׁ (?); in Lv 7<sup>8</sup> and 20<sup>10</sup> the accusatives are at any rate defined by the context.—In Nu 16<sup>15</sup> אֶת־אֶחָד מֵהֶם probably means *even a single one* (and then *ipso facto* a definite one) of them, as also in 1 S 9<sup>3</sup> אֶת־אֶחָד מִהַעֲבָדִים may refer to some definite one of the men-servants. In Gn 21<sup>30</sup> we should read אֶת־שֵׁבַע הַבָּקָשָׁת with the Samaritan, since the seven lambs have been already mentioned; in Ex 2<sup>1</sup> translate with Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, p. 79, אֶת־בֵּת־לֵוִי the daughter of Levi; in Ex 28<sup>9</sup> read הַשֵּׁהָם with the Samaritan; in Lv 20<sup>14</sup> אֶת־אִשָּׁה is probably a scribal error due to וְאֶת־אִמָּה; in 1 S 26<sup>20</sup> read נִפְשִׁי with the LXX for אֶחָד; in 2 S 5<sup>24</sup> read הַנְּעָרָה as in 1 Ch 14<sup>15</sup>; in 2 S 15<sup>16</sup> the אֶת־ is incorrectly inserted from 20<sup>8</sup>, where it refers to the women already mentioned; in 2 S 18<sup>18</sup> read הַמִּצְבֹּתָה, or omit both אֶת־ and אִשָּׁר with the LXX and Lucian; in 1 K 12<sup>31</sup> omit אֶת־; in 2 K 23<sup>20</sup> probably אֶת־עַמְּכֹתֶם is to be read; in 2 K 25<sup>9</sup> the text is corrupt. In Ez 16<sup>32</sup> אֶת־זָרִים might refer to the strangers in question; but see Smend on the passage.

- e 3. The pronominal object must be represented by אֹת with a suffix (instead of a verbal suffix), when (a) it precedes the verb, e.g. Nu 22<sup>33</sup> אֶתְּכָה הֲרֹגְתִּי I had slain thee and saved her alive; Gn 7<sup>1</sup>, Lv 22<sup>28</sup>, 1 S 8<sup>7</sup>, Is 43<sup>22</sup>, 57<sup>11</sup>, Jer 4<sup>17, 22</sup>, 7<sup>19</sup>; (b) when a suffix is already attached to the verb, and as a rule when a second accusative with ו follows, e.g. 2 S 15<sup>23</sup> וְהִרְאֵנִי אֹתוֹ and he will show me it; Ex 17<sup>3</sup> לְהָמִית אֹתִי וְאֶת־בָּנָי to kill us and our children; Nu 16<sup>32</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>16</sup> (but cf. also Dt 11<sup>9</sup>, 15<sup>16</sup>, &c., and Driver on 1 S 5<sup>10</sup>); (c) after an infinitive absolute, see above § 113 a note; (d) after an infinitive construct, when it is immediately followed by the subject, e.g. Gn 41<sup>39</sup>, or when the combination of a suffix with the infinitive might lead to a misunderstanding, e.g. Gn 41<sup>5</sup> לְבַלְתִּי הַבּוֹת־אֹתוֹ lest one should smite him, &c., where לְבַלְתִּי הַבּוֹת might also mean lest he should smite.

- f 4. The pronominal object is very frequently omitted, when it can be easily supplied from the context; so especially the neuter accusative referring to something previously mentioned (the English it) after *verba sentiendi* (שָׁמַעַ) and *dicendi*, e.g. Gn 9<sup>22</sup>, &c., וַיֹּדֶן and he told (it); also after נָתַן to give, Gn 18<sup>7</sup>, 24<sup>41</sup>, &c., לָקַח to take, הָבִיא to bring, שָׁם to lay, Gn 9<sup>23</sup>, &c., מָצָא to find, Gn 31<sup>33</sup>, &c. A personal object is omitted, e.g. in Gn 12<sup>10</sup>, 24<sup>51</sup> (after לָקַח.—The omission of the plural object is remarkable, because it leaves an opportunity for a misunderstanding, in Gn 37<sup>17</sup> שָׁמַעְתִּי אֲמָרִים<sup>1</sup> I heard them saying; perhaps, however, we should read שָׁמַעְתִּים with the Samaritan.

- g 5. In common formulae the substantival object is also sometimes omitted

<sup>1</sup> According to the ordinary rules of syntax (cf. § 116 t) we should translate, I heard men who said, &c.

(an elliptical expression); thus e.g. כָּרַת 1 S 20<sup>16</sup>, &c. (see the Lexicon) stands for כָּרַת בְּרִית like the English *to close* (sc. a bargain) with any one; נָטַר *to keep* (sc. אַף *anger*) equivalent to *to be resentful*, ψ 103<sup>9</sup>, &c.; so also שָׁמַר Jer 3<sup>5</sup> (beside נָטַר); נָשָׂא for נָשָׂא קוֹל *to lift up the voice*, Is 37<sup>7</sup>; נָשָׂא for נָשָׂא עוֹן *to take away any one's sin* (to forgive), Gn 18<sup>24, 25</sup>, Is 2<sup>9</sup>; שָׁלַח *to put forth* (sc. יָד *the hand*) equivalent to *to reach after something*, 2 S 6<sup>6</sup>, ψ 18<sup>17</sup>.

6. *Verba sentiendi* may take a second object, generally in the form of a participle or adjective and necessarily indeterminate, to define more exactly the action or state in which the object is perceived, e.g. Nu 11<sup>10</sup> וַיִּשְׁמַע מוֹשֶׁה וַיִּבְכֶּה and *Moses heard the people weeping*; Gn 7<sup>1</sup> וַיִּרְאֵהוּ צַדִּיק אֱתָהּ *thee have I seen righteous*. Frequently, however, the second object is expressed by a separate clause. This is especially frequent with רָאָה *to see*, e.g. Gn 1<sup>4</sup> and God saw the light, that it was good; Gn 6<sup>2</sup>, 12<sup>14</sup>, 13<sup>10</sup>, 49<sup>15</sup>, Ex 2<sup>2</sup>, ψ 25<sup>19</sup>, Pr 23<sup>31</sup>, Jb 22<sup>12</sup>, Ec 2<sup>24</sup>, 8<sup>17</sup>; so with יָדַע *to know*, Ex 32<sup>22</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>25</sup>, 17<sup>8</sup> (with two objects); 1 K 5<sup>17</sup>.

7. In certain instances אֵת serves apparently to introduce or to emphasize a nominative. This cannot be regarded as a reappearance of the original substantival meaning of the אֵת, since all unquestionable examples of the kind belong to the later Books of the Old Testament. They are rather (apart from textual errors or other explanations) cases of virtual dependence on an implied *verbum regens* understood. The constant use of אֵת to indicate a clause governed by the verb, necessarily led at length to the use of אֵת generally as a defining particle irrespective of a governing verb. So in the Hebrew of the Mishna<sup>1</sup> (see above, § 3 a) אֵתוֹ and אֵתָהּ are prefixed even to a nominative without any special emphasis.

Naturally the above does not apply to any of the places in which אֵת is not *the nota accusativi*, but a preposition (on אֵת *with*, cf. § 103 a), e.g. Is 57<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>24</sup> וַיִּאָּתֶרְדּוּב and *that, with a bear*; אֵת־ here, however, has probably been interpolated from verse 36, where it is wanting); nor the places in which the accusative is subordinate to a passive (according to § 121 c) or to a verb of wanting as in Jos 22<sup>17</sup> and Neh 9<sup>32</sup>, see below, z. In Ez 43<sup>17</sup> קִבִּיב אֵתֶּה about governs like a verb, being followed by אֵתֶּה.

Other cases are clearly due to attraction to a following relative pronoun in the accusative (Ez 14<sup>22</sup>, Zc 8<sup>17</sup>; but Hag 2<sup>5a</sup>, to מוֹמְצֵרִים, must be omitted, with the LXX, as a later addition), or the accusative depends on a verbal idea, virtually contained in what has gone before, and consequently present to the speaker's mind as governing the accusative. Thus Nu 3<sup>26</sup> (the verbal idea contained in וּמִשְׁמֶרֶת verse 25 is *they had to take charge of*); in Jos 17<sup>11</sup> לִי וְיָהוָּ implies *it was given up or they gave him*; 1 S 26<sup>16</sup> see where is equivalent

to *search now for*; in 2 S 11<sup>25</sup> אֶל־יָרֵעַ בְּעֵינַיִךְ is used in the sense of *noli aegre ferre*<sup>2</sup>; Jer 36<sup>33</sup> and he had the brazier before him; in Ec 4<sup>3</sup> a verb like *I esteem* is mentally supplied before אֵת. אֵת־ On Jos 22<sup>17</sup>, Neh 9<sup>32</sup>, see below, aa.—Apostrophe occurs in Dt 11<sup>2</sup> for *not your children* (do I mean); still more boldly in Zc 7<sup>7</sup>, where either שְׁמַעְתֶּם or הִשְׁמַעְנוּ is to be supplied.

Setting aside a few undoubtedly corrupt passages<sup>3</sup> there still remain the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Weiss, *משפט לשון המשנה* (Vienna, 1867), p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> So also in 1 S 20<sup>13</sup> the Qal (יִטֵּב) is, with Wellhausen, to be read instead of the Hiph'il.

<sup>3</sup> Thus 1 S 26<sup>16</sup>, where וְיָהוָּ is to be read for וְיָהוָּ; 1 K 11<sup>25</sup>, where at present the predicate of the relative clause is wanting; in 2 K 6<sup>5</sup> the אֵת is probably

following examples, in which אָת in the later Hebrew manner (almost in the sense of the Latin *quod attinet ad*) introduces a noun with more or less emphasis, Nu 3<sup>46</sup>, 5<sup>10</sup>, 35<sup>6</sup>, Ju 20<sup>44,46</sup>, Ez 17<sup>21</sup>, 20<sup>16</sup>, 35<sup>10</sup>, 44<sup>8</sup>, Neh 9<sup>13,34</sup>, Dn 9<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 31<sup>17</sup>.—In Ez 47<sup>17-19</sup> (cf. also 43<sup>7</sup>) it is simplest to omen אָת for אָתָּה, according to verse 20. However, even the LXX, who have ταῦτα only in verse 18, can hardly have known any other reading than אָת; consequently in all these passages אָת must be regarded as virtually dependent on some governing word, such as *ecce* (LXX 43<sup>7</sup> ἰδού), and 47<sup>17ff.</sup> as equivalent to *thou shalt have* as a border, &c.

**n** 8. Another solecism of the later period is finally the introduction of the object by the preposition לְ (prop. *in relation to, in the direction of*), as sometimes in Ethiopic<sup>1</sup> and very commonly in Aramaic.<sup>2</sup> Less remarkable is this looser connexion of the object with a participle, as with אָבֵל La 4<sup>5</sup>, אָמַף Nu 10<sup>25</sup>, וְנָחָה ψ 145<sup>14</sup> (but cf. 146<sup>8</sup>), צָרַר Nu 25<sup>18</sup>, הַשְׁנִיָּה and שְׁמֹחַ Jb 12<sup>23</sup>; before the participle Is 11<sup>9</sup>.—To introduce an object *preceding* the finite verb לְ is employed in Jb 5<sup>2</sup> (cf. also Dn 11<sup>31</sup>); also *after* אָהָב Lv 19<sup>18,24</sup>; הָאֲרִיָּה ψ 129<sup>3</sup>; הַבְּרִילִי Ezr 8<sup>24</sup>, 2 Ch 25<sup>10</sup>; הַבְּרִיָּן Jb 9<sup>11</sup>; בְּרָהּ 1 Ch 29<sup>20</sup> (immediately before with an accusative); הַנִּלְהָ 1 Ch 5<sup>26</sup>; דָּרַשׁ Ezr 6<sup>21</sup>, 1 Ch 22<sup>19</sup>, 2 Ch 17<sup>18</sup>; הַחֲרִיָּה Gn 45<sup>7</sup>, where, however, read פָּלִיטָה with the LXX for לַפְּלִיטָה and take לָכֵם as a *dativus commodi*; הַלֵּל 1 Ch 16<sup>36</sup>, 2 Ch 5<sup>13</sup>; הָרֶג 2 S 3<sup>30</sup>, ψ 135<sup>11</sup> (verse 10 with accusative), 136<sup>14f.</sup>; תָּבַשׁ (to bind up) Is 61<sup>1</sup> (Ez 34<sup>4</sup> before the verb); יָדַע ψ 69<sup>6</sup>; פָּבַד ψ 86<sup>9</sup>; לָקַח Jer 40<sup>2</sup>, 2 Ch 23<sup>1</sup>; הַמְּלִיָּה and מְשִׁחַה 1 Ch 29<sup>22</sup>; נָהַל 2 Ch 28<sup>15</sup>; שָׁמַד ψ 145<sup>14</sup>; עֹזֵב 1 Ch 16<sup>37</sup>; הָעֵלָה Ez 26<sup>8</sup>; פָּתַח ψ 116<sup>16</sup>; דָּרַךְ Jb 19<sup>28</sup>; הַצִּדִּיק Is 53<sup>11</sup>; שָׁכַר 2 Ch 24<sup>12</sup> (previously accusatives); שִׁים 1 S 22<sup>7</sup> (but probably וּבְלֶכֶם is to be read); הָשִׁיב (in the connexion לְ הָשִׁיב) 2 Ch 10<sup>6</sup> (but verso 9 and 1 K 12<sup>9</sup> with an accusative); שָׁחַת Nu 31<sup>25</sup>, 1 S 23<sup>10</sup>; שִׁית ψ 73<sup>18</sup>; שָׁלַח Ezr 8<sup>16</sup>, 2 Ch 21<sup>2</sup>, 17<sup>7</sup>; שָׁמַר 1 Ch 29<sup>18</sup>, 2 Ch 5<sup>11</sup>.

**o** 9. Sometimes the verb, on which an accusative of the object really depends, is contained only in sense in the verb which apparently governs, e.g. Is 14<sup>17</sup> אֲסִירָיו לֹא-פָתַח בֵּיתָהּ *his prisoners he let not loose nor sent them back to their home*. Cf. ψ 74<sup>15</sup> and on this *constructio praeagnans* in general, see § 119 ff.

**p** 2. With the proper accusatives of the object may also be classed what is called the *internal* or *absolute object* (also named *schema etymologicum* or *figura etymologica*), i.e. the addition of an object in the form

derived from a text which read the Hiph'il instead of נָפַל. In Jer 23<sup>38</sup> instead of the artificial explanation *what a burden* (is, do ye ask?) we should read with the LXX and Vulg. אָתָּם הַפְּעִיָּא *ye are the burden*. In Ez 10<sup>22</sup> מְרִאֵיהֶם וְאֹתָם is unintelligible; in 37<sup>18</sup> read with Hitzig אָל־ אָת; in Hag 2<sup>17</sup> for אָחֲכֶם read with the LXX שְׁכֶכֶם [or אֵינְכֶם; for the אָל cf. 2 K 6<sup>11</sup>, Jer 15<sup>1</sup>, Ez 36<sup>9</sup>].

<sup>1</sup> Dillmann, *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache*, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to Biblical Aramaic, see Kautzsch's *Grammatik des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 151 f. In other ways, also, a tendency may be observed in later Hebrew to make use of the looser connexion by means of prepositions instead of the closer subordination of the noun in the accusative.



of a noun derived from the same stem,<sup>1</sup> e.g.  $\psi$  14<sup>5</sup> פָּחַדוּ בְּחַדָּהּ *they feared a fear* (i.e. they were in great fear), Pr 15<sup>27</sup>; also with the object preceding, e.g. La 1<sup>8</sup> יְרוּשָׁלַם חָטְאָה חֲטָאָה *Jerusalem hath sinned a sin*; with a double accusative (see below, *cc*), e.g. 1 K 1<sup>12</sup> אֲנִי־עֲצָה לָךְ עֲצָה *let me, I pray thee, give thee counsel*; 4 S 16.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. (a) Strictly speaking the only cases of this kind are those in which the verbal idea is supplemented by means of an *indeterminate* substantive (see the examples above). Such a substantive, except in the case of the addition of the internal object to denominative verbs (see below), is, like the infinitive absolute, never altogether without force, but rather serves like it to strengthen the verbal idea. This strengthening is implied in the indeterminateness of the internal object, analogous to such exclamations as, *this was a man!*<sup>3</sup> Hence it is intelligible that some intensifying attribute is very frequently (as in Greek usually) added to the internal object, e.g. Gn 27<sup>84</sup> וַיַּעֲזֶב עֲצָקָה וְיִלְלָה *he cried (with) an exceeding great and bitter cry*; cf. the Greek *voséin yóson kakḗn, éxárhσαν χαρὰν μεγάλην* (Matt. 21<sup>10</sup>) = *magnam pugnare pugnam, tutiorem vitam vivere, &c.*

Examples of an internal object *after* the verb, and without further addition, are Ex 22<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>10</sup>, Is 24<sup>22</sup>, 35<sup>2</sup>, 42<sup>17</sup>, Ez 25<sup>15</sup>, 26<sup>18</sup>, 27<sup>35</sup>, Mic 4<sup>3</sup>, Ze 1<sup>2</sup>, Pr 21<sup>26</sup>; with an intensifying attribute, Gn 27<sup>38</sup>, Ex 32<sup>31</sup>, Ju 15<sup>8</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>36</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>40</sup> (cf. Jon 4<sup>6</sup>, 1 Ch 29<sup>8</sup>); Is 21<sup>7</sup>, 45<sup>17</sup>, Jon 1<sup>10</sup>, Ze 1<sup>14</sup>, 8<sup>2a</sup>, Du 11<sup>8</sup>; along with an object proper the internal object occurs with an attribute in Gn 12<sup>17</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>18</sup>; cf. also Is 14<sup>6</sup>, Jon 4<sup>1</sup>.—An internal object without an attribute *before* the verb: Is 24<sup>16</sup>, Jer 46<sup>6</sup>, Hb 3<sup>9</sup>, Jb 27<sup>12</sup>; with an attribute *before* the verb: Jer 14<sup>17</sup>, Ze 1<sup>16</sup> (cf. also Gn 30<sup>8</sup>, Jer 22<sup>19</sup>, 30<sup>14</sup>,  $\psi$  130<sup>22</sup>). Instead of the substantive which would naturally be expected, another of kindred meaning is used in Ze 8<sup>2</sup>.

(b) Only in a wider sense can the *schema etymologicum* be made to include <sup>7</sup> cases in which the denominative verb is used in connexion with the noun from which it is derived, e.g. Gn 11<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>14</sup>, 11<sup>3</sup>, 37<sup>7</sup>, Ez 18<sup>3</sup>,  $\psi$  144<sup>6</sup>, probably also Mi 2<sup>4</sup>, or where this substantive, made determinate in some way, follows its verb, e.g. Gn 30<sup>37</sup>, Nu 25<sup>11</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>12</sup>, 13<sup>14</sup>, Is 45<sup>17</sup>, La 3<sup>58</sup>, <sup>4</sup> and, determinate at least in sense, Jer 22<sup>16</sup>; or precedes it, as in 2 K 2<sup>16</sup>, Is 8<sup>12</sup>, 62<sup>5</sup>, Ze 3<sup>7</sup>; cf. also Ex 3<sup>9</sup>. In both cases the substantive is used, without any special emphasis, merely for clearness or as a more convenient way of connecting the verb with other members of the sentence.

3. Verbs which denote *speaking* (*crying out, weeping*), or any *s* external act, frequently take a direct accusative of the organ or means by which the action is performed. In this case, however, the accusative must be more closely determined by an attributive adjective or a noun in the genitive. This fact shows the close relation between these accusatives and the *internal objects* treated under *q*, which also,

<sup>1</sup> On a kindred use of the infinitive absolute as an *internal object*, see above, § 113 w.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *βουλάς βουλευέιν*, Iliad x. 147.

<sup>3</sup> The Arab grammarians assign to the indeterminate cases generally an intensive sense in many instances; hence the commentators on the Qorán usually explain such cases by adding *and what . . .*! see § 125 b.

<sup>4</sup> Also in  $\psi$  13<sup>4</sup> *lest I sleep the sleep of death*, הַמָּוֶת is only used pregnantly for שְׁנַת הַמָּוֶת (cf. Jer 51<sup>39</sup>), as צָרָה Is 33<sup>15</sup> for צָרָה. On the similar use of הַמָּוֶת in  $\psi$  15<sup>2</sup>, see § 118 n.

according to *q*, mostly take an intensifying attribute. On the other hand, they must not be regarded as adverbial (instrumental) accusatives, nor are they to be classed with the second (neuter) subjects treated below in § 144 l.

t Examples of the accusative following the verb are וַיִּזְעַק קוֹל־גְּדוֹל and I cried a loud voice, i.e. with a loud voice, Ez 11<sup>13</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>23</sup> (after the proper object, Dt 5<sup>19</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>55</sup>); ψ 109<sup>2</sup> they have spoken unto me לִשׁוֹן שֶׁקֶר a tongue of deceit, i.e. with a lying tongue; Pr 10<sup>4</sup> he becometh poor כַּף־מִיָּה עֹשֶׂה dealing a slack hand, i.e. who dealeth with a slack hand; cf. the German eine schöne Stimme singen, to sing a fine voice, eine tüchtige Klinge schlagen, to smite a trusty sword, Schlittschuhe laufen, to run skates (i.e. to skate), and our to write a good hand, to play ball, &c.—Examples of the accusative preceding are שִׁפְתֵי רִנְנוֹת יְהוֹלֵלֵי my mouth shall praise with joyful lips, ψ 63<sup>6</sup>; cf. ψ 12<sup>3</sup>, where a casus instrumenti with ב follows the accusative.

u 4. Many verbs originally intransitive (sometimes even in form; see a, note 2) may be used also as transitives, in consequence of a certain modification of their original meaning, which has gradually become established by usage; cf. e.g. רִיב to strive, but also with an accusative causam alicuius agere (so even in Is 1<sup>17</sup>, &c.; elsewhere with ל of the person for whom one strives); יָבֵל absolutely to be able, with an accusative to prevail over any one; הִפֵּץ to be inclined and רָצָה to have pleasure (usually with ב), with an accusative to wish for some one or something; שָׁכַב cubare, then in the sense of concumbere, originally joined with עִם cum, but quite early also with the accusative, equivalent to comprimere (feminam), &c. So in 2 S 13<sup>14</sup>, &c., unless in all or some of the passages the preposition אֶת is intended, e.g. אֶת־אִתָּה for אִתָּה; in the earlier passages עִם is the more usual.

v Rem. r. It is certainly difficult to decide whether some verbs, which were afterwards used absolutely or joined with prepositions, were not nevertheless originally transitive, and consequently it is only the supposed original meaning, usually assigned to them in English, which causes them to appear intransitive.<sup>1</sup> In that case there is of course no syntactical peculiarity to be considered, and a list of such verbs would at the most be requisite only for practical purposes. Moreover, it is also possible that certain verbs were originally in use at the same time both as transitive and intransitive, e.g. perhaps לָבַשׁ to be clothed along with לָבַשׁ to put on (a garment). Finally the analogy of certain transitives in constant use may have led to intransitives of kindred meaning being also united directly with the accusative, so that, in other words, whole classes of verbs came to be regarded in a particular aspect as transitives. See below, y.

<sup>1</sup> Thus e.g. עָנָה to reply to (ἀπεκρίσθαι τινα), to answer any one; צִוָּה to command (iubere aliquem); זָכַר to remember; קָנָה (also with ל) to wait for any one (to expect any one); בָּשֹׂר to bring glad tidings to any one (see the Lexicon); נָאָף and נִאָּף to commit adultery (adulterare matronam); עָבַד to serve (colere); עָרַב to become surety for . . . and many others.

2. The modification of the original meaning becomes especially evident *when even reflexive conjugations* (*Niph'al, Hithpa'al, &c.*) take an accusative (cf. § 57, note 2); e.g. נָבֵא to prophesy, Jer 25<sup>18</sup>; נָסַב (prop. to put oneself round) to surround, Ju 19<sup>28</sup>; נָלַחַם to fight, ψ 109<sup>8</sup> (where, however, the Qal יִלְחַמְמוּנִי should be read; cf. ψ 35<sup>1</sup>); also הִתְנַיֵּץ to shave (something) for oneself, Num 6<sup>10</sup>; הִתְנַחֵל to take some one for oneself as a possession, Is 14<sup>2</sup>; הִתְנַקֵּל to make some one an object of craft, Gn 37<sup>18</sup>; הִתְנַצֵּל to strip a thing off oneself, Ex 33<sup>6</sup>; הִתְעַבֵּר to bring on oneself the anger of any one, to anger him; הִתְבּוֹנֵן to consider something, Jb 37<sup>14</sup>; הִתְפַּרֵּק to break something off from oneself, Ex 32<sup>3</sup>. In Gn 34<sup>9</sup> after הִתְחַתְּנוּ make ye marriages, read אֲתָנּוּ instead of אֲתָנִי. Cf. § 54f.

3. So also it is only owing to a modification of the original meaning of *א* a verb (except where the expression is incorrect, and perhaps derived from the popular language), when sometimes the remoter object (otherwise introduced by ל) is directly subordinated in the form of an accusative suffix, e.g. זָעָה צִמְמוֹתַי אֵלַי did ye fast at all unto me, even to me? as though to say, have ye *be-fasted* me? have ye reached me with your fasting? Still more strange is Jb 31<sup>18</sup> נָרַנְנִי כָאֵב he (the orphan) grew up to me as to a father; cf. Is 27<sup>4</sup>, 65<sup>5</sup>, Jer 31<sup>3</sup>, and in Aramaic Dn 5<sup>6</sup>; but אֲרָרְךָ הַנֶּגֶב בְּתִתֵּנִי Jos 15<sup>19</sup> is to be regarded as a double accusative after a verb of giving, see *ff.* In I S 22<sup>25</sup> read הִפְלִי for הִפְלִי; in Is 44<sup>21</sup>, instead of the Niph'al, read הִתְנַשֵּׁי; in Ez 29<sup>8</sup> either עֲשִׂיתִי is to be read with Olshausen or עֲשִׂיתִים (and previously יִאֲרִי) with Smend; in ψ 42<sup>5</sup> אֶדְרֶה or אֶדְרֶם; in ψ 55<sup>28</sup> (where König takes יִהְיֶה as he has given it to thee) we must certainly assume יָהּ (= *fate?*).

4. Whole classes of verbs, which, according to *v* above, are regarded as *y* transitive, either on account of their original meaning or (for the sake of analogy) by a modification of that meaning, are—

(a) Verba induendi and exuendi, as לָבַשׁ to put on, הָשַׁם to put off a garment, עָדָה to put on ornaments, to adorn oneself with (cf. also מִשְׁבְּצִים וְהָב enclosed in gold, Ex 28<sup>20</sup>). Also in poetic expressions such as ψ 65<sup>14</sup> לְבָשׁוּ כְרִים הַצֹּאן the pastures are clothed with flocks, cf. ψ 109<sup>20</sup>; 104<sup>2</sup> (עֶמְקָה); 65<sup>14b</sup> (עֶמְקָה), &c.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Verba copiae and inopiae (also called verba abundandi and deficiendi), as מָלֵא, to be full of something, Ex 8<sup>17</sup>; here, and also frequently elsewhere, construed with אֶת, and hence evidently with an accusative; Gn 6<sup>13</sup>; with a personal object, Ex 15<sup>9</sup> my lust shall be satisfied upon them; with an accusative preceding the verb for the sake of emphasis, e.g. Is 1<sup>10</sup> your hands מָלֵאוּ are full of blood, cf. Is 22<sup>2</sup>; so also the Niph. מִלֵּא to fill oneself with something, e.g. Gn 6<sup>11</sup>, Ex 17 (where the object is connected by אֶת); Is 27<sup>1</sup>, 64, Pr 3<sup>10</sup>; מִרַע to be fructified with, Nu 5<sup>28</sup>; שָׂרִין to swarm with, Gn 120<sup>21</sup> Ex 7<sup>28</sup>; שָׂבַע (שָׂבַע) to be full of, Is 1<sup>11</sup>, Jo 2<sup>10</sup>, Pr 12<sup>11</sup>; הִגְבִּיר to become strong, to wax mighty in something, Jb 21<sup>7</sup>; פָּרַן to overflow with something, Pr 3<sup>10</sup> (with the object preceding); יָרַד prop. to descend, poetically also to pour down, to overflow with something (cf. in Greek προρέειν ὕδωρ, ἄκρα πλάττειν), e.g. La 3<sup>48</sup> מִן הַיָּרֵד יָרַד מִן הַיָּרֵד mine eye runneth

<sup>1</sup> From the idea of covering oneself with something, we might also, if necessary, explain Ex 30<sup>20</sup> יִרְחֲצוּ מִים יְרִיחֲצוּ they shall wash themselves with water; but the reading is simply to be emended to the ordinary בְּמִים.

down (with) rivers of water; 1<sup>16</sup>, Jer 9<sup>17</sup>, 13<sup>17</sup>, ψ 119<sup>130</sup>; so also הָלַךְ to run over with, to flow with, Jo 4<sup>18</sup>; נָזַל to gush out with, Jer 9<sup>17</sup>; נָטַף to drop, to overflow with, Ju 5<sup>4</sup>, Jo 4<sup>18a</sup>; פָּרַח to break forth, Ex 9<sup>9</sup>; נָשַׁף to overflow, but also (transitively) to overflow with, probably in Is 10<sup>22</sup>; נָבַד to bud forth, Pr 10<sup>31</sup>; so perhaps also עָבַר to pass over, to overflow with, Jer 5<sup>28</sup>; יָצָא to go forth with, Am 5<sup>8</sup>.—Especially bold, but still on the analogy of the above examples, is Is 5<sup>8</sup>, where it is said of a vineyard וְעֵלָה שְׁמִיר וְשִׁית but it shall come up (it shall be overgrown) with briars and thorns; cf. Pr 24<sup>31</sup>, and still more boldly, Is 34<sup>13</sup>.

aa With the opposite idea, חָסַר to be in want of, to lack, Gn 18<sup>23</sup>; נִשְׁכַּל to be bereaved of (as though it were to lose), Gn 27<sup>45</sup>.—In Jos 22<sup>17</sup> even הִמְעַט־לָנוּ (prop. was there too little for us of . . . ?) as being equivalent to a verbum inopiae (= had we too little of . . . ?) is construed with an accusative; cf. Neh 9<sup>32</sup>.

bb (c) Several verbs of dwelling; the accusative in this case expresses either the place or the thing at which or with which any one tarries; thus Gn 4<sup>20</sup>, ψ 22<sup>4</sup> after יָשַׁב, cf. § 118 g; Ju 5<sup>17</sup>, Is 33<sup>14</sup> after נָגַד; ψ 57<sup>8</sup> after שָׁכַב; ψ 68<sup>7</sup>, Pr 8<sup>12</sup>, Is 33<sup>16</sup> with שָׁבַן; or even the person (the people) with whom any one dwells or is a guest, as ψ 5<sup>5</sup>, 120<sup>5</sup> after נָגַד, Gn 30<sup>20</sup> after נָבַל, ψ 68<sup>19</sup> with שָׁבַן.

cc 5. Two accusatives (usually one of the person and one of the thing) are governed by—

(a) The causative conjugations (*Pi'el*, *Hiph'il*, sometimes also *Pilpel*, e.g. פָּלַגַל Gn 47<sup>12</sup>, &c.) of verbs which are simply transitive in *Qal*, and hence also of *verba induendi* and *exuendi*, &c. (cf. above a and u, and also y, z), e.g. Ex 33<sup>18</sup> הָרַאֲנִי נָא אֶת־כְּבוֹדֶךָ show me, I pray thee, thy glory. Thus very frequently הוֹדִיעַ to cause some one to know something; לָמַד docere aliquem aliquid, &c.; cf. further, Gn 41<sup>42</sup> וַיִּלְבֹּשׁ אוֹתוֹ וַיַּבְשֵׁשׁ בְּגָדֵי־רִשָׁשׁ and he caused him to put on vestures of fine linen (he arrayed him in vestures, &c.); cf. in the opposite sense, Gn 37<sup>23</sup> (both accusatives after הִפְשִׁיט introduced by אֵחָ); so with מָלֵא to fill, to fill up with something, Gn 21<sup>10</sup>, 26<sup>15</sup>, Ex 28<sup>3</sup>; אָזַר to gird some one with something, ψ 18<sup>33</sup>; עָטַר to crown, ψ 8<sup>6</sup>, &c.; חָסַר to cause some one to lack something, ψ 8<sup>6</sup>; הֵאָכִיל to feed some one with something, Ex 16<sup>32</sup>; הִשְׁקָה to make some one drink something, Gn 19<sup>32ff</sup>.

dd (b) Many verbs (even in *Qal*) which express an influence upon the object through some external means. The latter, in this case, is attached as a second object. They are especially—

ee (a) Verbs which express covering, clothing, overlaying, חָנַךְ Ex 29<sup>9</sup>, צָפָה Ex 26<sup>26</sup>, &c., טָוַח Ez 13<sup>10ff</sup>, עָטַר ψ 5<sup>13</sup>; cf. also אָבֵן Jos 7<sup>25</sup>, &c.; hence also verbs which express sowing (זָרַע Jud 9<sup>45</sup>, Is 17<sup>10</sup>, 30<sup>23</sup>), planting (Is 5<sup>8</sup>), anointing (ψ 45<sup>8</sup>) with anything.

ff (β) Expressions of giving, thus נָתַן Jos 15<sup>19</sup> where the accusative of the thing precedes; endowing, נָבַד Gn 30<sup>20</sup>; and its opposite taking away, as קָבַע Pr 22<sup>23</sup>; to bless some one with something, Gn 49<sup>25</sup>, Dt 15<sup>14</sup>; to give graciously, חָנַן Gn 33<sup>8</sup>; to sustain (i.e. to support, to maintain, to furnish) with anything,

e.g. Gn 27<sup>37</sup>, ψ 51<sup>14</sup> (כָּמָה); Ju 19<sup>5</sup> (סָעַר); to do something to one, גָּמַל Gn 50<sup>15,17</sup>, 1 S 24<sup>18</sup>; cf. also קָרַם to come to meet any one with something, ψ 21<sup>4</sup>, שָׁלַח to repay some one with something (with two accusatives, ψ 35<sup>12</sup>, Pr 13<sup>21</sup>), and for the accusative of the person cf. εἰς, καὶὼς παράτειν τινα. In a wider sense we may also include such phrases as they hunt every man his brother with a net, Mi 7<sup>2</sup>; to shoot at one with arrows, ψ 64<sup>8</sup> (though this is against the accents); Pr 13<sup>24</sup> seeks him early (with) discipline, i.e. chastises him betimes, &c.

(γ) Expressions of asking some one for something, desiring something from *gg* some one (שָׁאַל Dt 14<sup>26</sup>, ψ 137<sup>3</sup>); answering any one anything (עָנָה Mi 6<sup>8</sup>, &c.; cf. in the other conjugations הָשִׁיב דָּבָר prop. *verbum reddere*, with an accusative of the person, 1 K 12<sup>6</sup>, &c., also in the sense of *announcing*; sometimes also הָגִיד to declare something to some one, Jb 26<sup>4</sup>, &c., for לְ (הָגִיד לְ); צִוָּה to enjoin a person something, Ex 34<sup>32</sup>, Dt 1<sup>18</sup>, 32<sup>46</sup>, Jer 7<sup>28</sup>.

(δ) Expressions which mean to make, to form, to build something out of something; in such cases, besides the accusative of the object proper, another accusative is used for the material of which the thing is made, e.g. Gn 2<sup>7</sup> וַיִּצְרֶה יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם עֹפֶר מִן-הָאָדָמָה and the Lord formed man of the dust of the ground; so with יָצַר also in 1 K 7<sup>15</sup>; further Ex 38<sup>3</sup> בָּרֶזֶל־לֵיו עָשָׂה נְחֹשֶׁת all the vessels thereof made he of brass (for another explanation of the accusative נְחֹשֶׁת [into brass], linguistically possible but excluded by the context, see below, ii with *hkk*); cf. Ex 25<sup>18,28</sup>, 26<sup>1,14 f. 29</sup>, 27<sup>1</sup>, 36<sup>8</sup>, 1 K 7<sup>27</sup>; with a preceding accusative of the material, Ex 25<sup>20</sup>, 29<sup>2</sup>, Dt 27<sup>6</sup> אֲבָנִים שְׁלֵמוֹת תִּבְנֶה אֶת-מִזְבֵּחַ of unheaven stones shall thou build the altar of the Lord.

(e) Verbs which express making, preparing, forming into anything, *ii* along with the object proper, take a second accusative of the product, e.g. Gn 27<sup>9</sup> אֶעֱשֶׂה אֹתָם מִכְּעֹשִׂים I will make them (the kids) into savoury meat; cf. Gn 6<sup>14,16</sup>, Ex 26<sup>1b</sup>, 30<sup>25</sup>, 32<sup>4</sup>, Is 44<sup>15</sup>, Ho 8<sup>4</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>39</sup> וַיִּבְנֶה וַיִּבְנֶה אֶת-הָאֲבָנִים מִזְבֵּחַ and he built the stones (into) an altar; cf. 10<sup>12</sup>. So also אָפַה, with two accusatives, to bake something into something, Ex 12<sup>38</sup>, Lv 24<sup>5</sup>; שָׂם (prop. to set up for something, cf. Gn 27<sup>37</sup>, 28<sup>18</sup>, ψ 39<sup>9</sup>, and similarly הָרִים Gn 31<sup>45</sup>) to change into something, Jos 8<sup>28</sup>, Is 50<sup>2</sup>, 51<sup>10</sup>, Mi 1<sup>7</sup>, 4<sup>13</sup>; with two accusatives of the person (to appoint, promote any one to the position of a . . .), Is 3<sup>7</sup>; נָתַן is also used in the same sense with two accusatives, Gn 17<sup>5</sup>, and שִׁית 1 K 11<sup>34</sup>; as a rule, however, the description of the office, and also frequently of the product, is introduced by לְ to, § 119 *t*; also שִׁית to make a thing so and so (Is 5<sup>6</sup>, 26<sup>1</sup>; with a personal object, ψ 21<sup>7</sup>, 19<sup>8</sup>); הָחֹשֶׁךְ to make dark, Am 5<sup>8</sup>. Of the same class also are instances like Jb 28<sup>2</sup> וַיִּקְרְעֵה שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר אֲבָן a stone they smelt into brass; 1 K 11<sup>30</sup> וַיִּקְרַע וַיִּקְרַע אֶת-הַבְּגָד וַיִּקְרַע אֶת-הַבְּגָד וַיִּקְרַע אֶת-הַבְּגָד and rent it (the garment) into twelve pieces; cf. Is 37<sup>26</sup>, accusative of the product before the object proper, after לְהַשְׁמֹת to lay waste.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. a very pregnant expression of this kind in ψ 21<sup>18</sup> כִּי תִשְׁחַמּוּ לְעֻקְםָּ for thou shalt make them (as) a neck, i.e. thou shalt cause them to turn their necks (backs) to me; similarly ψ 184<sup>1</sup> (2 S 22<sup>41</sup>, Ex 23<sup>27</sup>) אֵיבֵי נִתְּמָה לִי עֲרָף; thou hast given mine enemies unto me as a back; cf. Jer 18<sup>17</sup>.

On a second object with *verba sentiendi* (as יָדַע *to know* something *to be* something, Ec 7<sup>25</sup>; רָאָה *to see, find to be*, Gn 7<sup>1</sup>; חָשַׁב *to esteem* one *to be* something, Is 53<sup>4</sup>, elsewhere always construed with לְ or בְ), cf. *h*.

*kk* Rem. At first sight some of the examples given above appear to be identical in character with those treated under *kk*; thus it is possible, e.g. in 1 K 18<sup>32</sup>, by a translation which equally suits the sense, *he built from the stones an altar*, to explain מִן־הַאֲבָנִים as the nearer object and אֶת־הָאֵלֹהִים as an accusative of the material, and the construction would then be exactly the same as in Dt 27<sup>6</sup>. In reality, however, the fundamental idea is by no means the same. Not that in the living language an accusative of the material in the one case, and in the other an accusative of the product were consciously distinguished. As Driver (*Tenses*, § 195) rightly observes, the remoter accusative in both cases is, strictly speaking, in apposition to the nearer. This is especially evident in such examples as Ex 26<sup>25</sup> *thou shalt not build them* (the stones of the altar) מִן־הָאֲבָנִים as *heaven stones*, cf. also Gn 1<sup>27</sup>. The main point is, which of the two accusatives, as being primarily affected (or aimed at) by the action, is to be made the more prominent; and on this point neither the position of the words (the nearer object, mostly determinate, as a rule follows immediately after the verb), nor even the context admits of much doubt. Thus in 1 K 18<sup>32</sup> the treatment of the stones is the primary object in view, the erection of the altar for which they were intended is the secondary; in Dt 27<sup>6</sup> the case is reversed.

*ll* (d) Finally, the second accusative sometimes more closely determines the nearer object by indicating the part or member specially affected by the action,<sup>1</sup> e. g. פָּצַע *for thou hast smitten all mine enemies* חֵמֶץ (as to) *the cheek bone*, equivalent to *upon the cheek bone*; cf. Gn 37<sup>21</sup> *let us not smite him* שֹׁפֵךְ in *the life*, i. e. *let us not kill him*; Dt 22<sup>26</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>27</sup>; also with שָׁחַד Gn 3<sup>15</sup>; with רָצַח Jer 2<sup>16</sup>; in poetry the object specially concerned is, by a bold construction, even placed first, Dt 33<sup>11</sup> (with מִן־הָאֲבָנִים).

### § 118. The Looser Subordination of the Accusative to the Verb.

*a* 1. The various forms of the looser subordination of a noun to the verb are distinguished from the different kinds of the accusative of the object (§ 117) by their specifying not the persons or things directly affected by the action, but some *more immediate circumstance* under which an action or an event takes place. Of such circumstances the most common are those of *place, time, measure, cause*, and finally the *manner* of performing the action. These nearer definitions are, as a rule, placed *after* the verb; they may, however, also precede it.

*b* Rem. That the cases thus loosely subordinated to the verb are to be regarded as *accusatives* is seen first from the fact that in certain instances the *nota accusativi* (אֶת) is prefixed; secondly from the fact that in one form of

<sup>1</sup> Analogous to this is the σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ κατὰ μέρος in Greek epic poetry, e. g. ποῦλον σε ἔπος φύγῃ ἕρκος ὀδόντων.

the *casus loci* a termination (הַלְּ) is employed, in which (according to § 90 c) the old accusative ending is preserved; and finally from the consistency with which classical Arabic puts these nearer definitions in the accusative (which may be recognized by its form) even under circumstances in which one would be rather inclined to expect a nominative in apposition.

The relation subsisting between the circumstantial accusative and the accusative of the object is especially apparent when the former (as e.g. in a statement of the goal after a verb of motion) is immediately connected with its verb. But even the more loosely connected circumstantial definitions are certainly to be regarded as originally objects of a governing word habitually omitted, only that the consciousness of this closer government was at length lost, and the accusative more and more acquired an independent value as a *casus adverbialis*.

2. The accusative serves to define more precisely the *place* (*accus. loci*), either (a) in answer to the question *whither?* after verbs of motion,<sup>1</sup> or (b) in answer to the question *where?* after verbs of *being, dwelling, resting, &c.* (but also after transitive verbs, see the examples), or finally (c) to define more precisely the *extent* in space, in answer to the question *how far? how high? how much?*, &c.

Instead of the simple accusative, the locative (see above, § 90 c)<sup>2</sup> is frequently found in the cases mentioned under f (sometimes also in those under g) or the preposition אֶל,<sup>3</sup> especially before persons as the aim of the movement, or ב, usually, to express being at a place.

Examples of (a): נֵצִיאָה־נָּא הָעָם to go out into the field, 1 S 20<sup>11</sup>; cf. Gn 27<sup>9</sup>, 31<sup>4</sup>, f Jb 29<sup>7</sup>; לָלֶכֶת תִּרְשִׁישׁ to go to Tarshish, 2 Ch 20<sup>26</sup>; cf. Gn 10<sup>11</sup>, 13<sup>9</sup>, 24<sup>27</sup>, 26<sup>23</sup>, 31<sup>21</sup>, Ex 4<sup>9</sup>, 17<sup>10</sup>, Ju 1<sup>26</sup>, 2 K 11<sup>18</sup>, Na 1<sup>8</sup> (?), ψ 134<sup>2</sup>; with לָקַח Nu 23<sup>14</sup>; with בָּתָּן Jos 6<sup>24</sup>; with the *accus. loci* emphatically preceding (cf. Driver on 1 S 5<sup>8</sup>), 1 K 2<sup>26</sup>, Is 23<sup>12</sup>, Jer 2<sup>10</sup>, 20<sup>6</sup>, 32<sup>5</sup>; with בּוֹא (in the sense of *aggređi*, equivalent to בּוֹא עָלַי, cf. § 117 a, note 2) the *personal aim* also is poetically added in the accusative, Ez 32<sup>11</sup>, 38<sup>11</sup>, Pr 10<sup>24</sup>, 28<sup>22</sup>, Jb 15<sup>21</sup>, 20<sup>22</sup>; but in the last passage it is better taken as an accusative of the object (cf. the German *einen ankommen, überkommen*). See also Nu 10<sup>36</sup> (where שׁוֹב can hardly be transitive); Ju 11<sup>29</sup>, 1 S 13<sup>20</sup> (where, however, אֶל- has probably fallen out after וְשִׂירָאֵל; so Strack).—Finally, cf. also the use of אֶשֶׁר לְשִׁמּוֹרָה . . . אֶשֶׁר whither, Nu 13<sup>27</sup>.—The *accus. loci* occurs after a passive, e.g. Gn 12<sup>18</sup>.

Examples of (b): Gn 38<sup>11</sup> remain a widow בֵּית אָבִיהָ in thy father's house; cf. Gr Gn 24<sup>28</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>15</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>22</sup>, Is 3<sup>6</sup>, Hos 12<sup>5</sup>, Mi 6<sup>10</sup>, 2 Ch 33<sup>20</sup>; פָּתַח הָאֹהֶל in the tent door, Gn 18<sup>1-10</sup>, 19<sup>11</sup>, and frequently. As observed by Driver on 1 S 2<sup>28</sup>, accusatives of this kind are almost without exception (but cf. 1 K 8<sup>32</sup>, Is 16<sup>4</sup>, 28<sup>7</sup>, 2 Ch 33<sup>9</sup>) connected with a noun in the genitive. In all the above examples, however, the accusative may have been preferred to the natural construction with ב (which is not rare even with בֵּית and פָּתַח) for euphonic reasons, in order to avoid the combination of such sounds as בָּבִי and בָּבִי; cf., moreover, Gn 21<sup>4</sup>, 4<sup>16</sup>, Ex 18<sup>5</sup>, Lv 6<sup>8</sup> (הַמִּזְבֵּיחַ) instead of the usual הַמִּזְבֵּיחַ).

<sup>1</sup> So commonly in Sanskrit; in Greek only poetically, e.g. *Iliad* i. 317 *ἄνθρωπος δ' ὀδυσσέων ἵκεν*: in Latin, e.g. *rus ire, Romanam proficisci*.

<sup>2</sup> Hence e.g. in 1 S 9<sup>26</sup> the Masora requires הִנֵּה instead of the K<sup>th</sup>. הִנֵּה.

<sup>3</sup> So in Ju 19<sup>18</sup> for אֶת-בֵּיתָי the better reading is אֶל-בֵּיתָי.



Ex 29<sup>13</sup>, &c.); Dt 1<sup>2,10</sup>, 1<sup>2</sup> S 17<sup>20</sup>, 1 K 7<sup>8</sup>, Pr 8<sup>3</sup>, 9<sup>14</sup>. On Is 13<sup>9</sup> see § 116 i; on יֵשֶׁב, with the accus. loci, see § 117 bb. On the other hand, in Dt 6<sup>8</sup>, according to the LXX, a verb of *giving* has dropped out before אָרַץ.

- h Examples of (c): Gn 7<sup>20</sup> fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; Gn 31<sup>23</sup>, 41<sup>40</sup> מִפְּנֵי אֱלֹהֵי מִצְרָיִם only in the throne will I be greater than thou; Dt 1<sup>19</sup> we went (through) all that great and terrible wilderness; cf. Jb 29<sup>3</sup>. Of the same kind also are such cases as Ex 16<sup>16</sup> (according to the number of your persons, for which elsewhere לְמִסְפַּר is used); 1 S 6<sup>4</sup> (with the accus. preceding); 6<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>20</sup>, Jb 15.—A statement of weight is put in the accusative in 2 S 14<sup>26</sup>.

- i 3. The accusative is employed to determine more precisely the time (*accus. temporis*), (a) in answer to the question *when?* e.g. הַיּוֹם the day, i.e. on the day (in question), at that time, but also on this day, i.e. to-day, or finally by day, equivalent to יוֹמָם, like עֶרֶב at evening, לַיְלָה noctu, בֹּקֶר in the morning, early, ψ 5<sup>4</sup>, &c., צַהֲרָיִם at noonday, ψ 91<sup>0</sup>; יוֹם אֶחָד on one and the same day, Gn 27<sup>45</sup>; שָׁנָא in sleep, ψ 127<sup>2</sup>; תְּחִלַּת קְצִיר שְׂעִירִים (Q<sup>re</sup> בְּתָ') at the beginning of barley harvest, 2 S 21<sup>9</sup>; in stating a date, Gn 11<sup>10</sup>, 14<sup>4</sup> in the thirteenth year.

- h (b) In answer to the question *how long?* e.g. Gn 3<sup>14</sup>, &c., כָּל-יְמֵי all the days of thy life; 7<sup>4</sup> forty days and forty nights; 7<sup>21</sup>, 14<sup>4</sup>, 15<sup>13</sup>, 21<sup>34</sup>, 29<sup>18</sup>, Ex 20<sup>0</sup> (for six days); 23<sup>15</sup>, 31<sup>17</sup>; עוֹלָמִים for ever, 1 K 8<sup>18</sup>; also with the accusative made determinate, Ex 13<sup>7</sup> אֶת שִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים throughout the seven days in question, mentioned immediately before; cf. Ju 14<sup>17</sup>, Dt 9<sup>25</sup>.

- l 4. The accusative is sometimes used of abstract ideas to state the reason (*accus. causae*), e.g. Is 7<sup>25</sup> thou shalt not come thither יִרְאֵת שְׁמִיר for fear of briers.

- m 5. Finally the accusative is used very variously (as an *accus. adverbialis* in the narrower sense), in order to describe more precisely the manner in which an action or state takes place. In English such accusatives are mostly rendered by *in*, *with*, *as*, *in the form or manner of* . . ., *according to*, *in relation to*, *with regard to*. For more convenient classification we may distinguish them as—

- n (a) Adjectives expressing state, placed after the verb to describe more accurately some bodily or other external condition, e.g. Is 20<sup>2</sup> walking עָרֹם וְיָחָף naked and barefoot; cf. verse 3, 8<sup>21</sup>, Gn 15<sup>2</sup>, 33<sup>18</sup> (שָׁלֵם), Ju 8<sup>4</sup>, Mi 1<sup>8</sup>, ψ 107<sup>5</sup> (but in 15<sup>2</sup> תָּמִים is rather a substantive directly dependent on הוֹלֵךְ = he that walketh in uprightness; cf. § 117 r, note); Jb 30<sup>28</sup>. After an accusative, e.g. Dt 15<sup>18</sup>; to specify some mental state, e.g. Gn 37<sup>35</sup> (אֲבֵל).—Before the verb (and then with a certain emphasis), Am 2<sup>16</sup>, Jb 1<sup>21</sup>, Ec 5<sup>14</sup>; Lv 20<sup>20</sup>, Jb 10<sup>25</sup>, 27<sup>19</sup>, 31<sup>26</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In ψ 21<sup>2</sup> דֶּרֶךְ is not to be taken as an accus. loci (on the way), but as an accus. of respect (with regard to the way); see below, m.

(unless יָקָר be a substantive); Ru 1<sup>21</sup> (מִלְאָה) parallel with the adverb רִיקָם). In Mi 2<sup>7</sup> the text is clearly corrupt.

Those examples are especially instructive in which the adjective expressing a state, although referring to several, is nevertheless used in the singular, e.g. Jb 24<sup>10</sup> עָרוֹם הֵלְכוּ *naked*, i.e. in the condition of one naked, *they go about*; cf. verse 7 and 12<sup>17</sup>. In Is 20<sup>4</sup> the singular occurs *after* a plural object, and in Is 47<sup>6</sup> the *masc.* after the 2nd sing. *fem.* imperative, which clearly proves that the term expressing the state is not conceived as being in apposition, but as an indeclinable adverb.

(b) Participles, again either *after* the verb, Nu 16<sup>27</sup>, Jer 2<sup>27</sup>, 43<sup>3</sup>, ψ 7<sup>3</sup>, Jb 24<sup>5</sup>, P Ct 2<sup>8</sup>, or *before* it, Gn 49<sup>11</sup>, Is 57<sup>19</sup>, Ez 36<sup>35</sup>, ψ 56<sup>2</sup>, 92<sup>14</sup>, Pr 20<sup>14</sup>; cf. also the substantival use of the participles Niph'al נִרְאָהוּ *in a fearful manner* (ψ 139<sup>14</sup>) and נִפְלְאוּ *in a wonderful manner*, Jb 37<sup>5</sup>, Dn 8<sup>24</sup>.—Also participles in connexion with genitives, as מְתַהַלֵּה Gn 3<sup>8</sup> (cf. also בָּטָה 1 K 14<sup>6</sup>), are to be regarded as expressing a state and not as being in apposition, since in the latter case they would have to take the article.—In 2 S 13<sup>20</sup>, 1 K 7<sup>1</sup> and Hb 2<sup>10</sup> the explicative Wāw (equivalent to *and that too*) is also prefixed to the participle. In ψ 69<sup>4</sup> for מְהִל read מִיִּחַל.—On 1 K 11<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 10<sup>6</sup>, 19<sup>2</sup>, Hag 1<sup>4</sup>, cf. the note on § 131 h.

(c) Substantives<sup>1</sup> in the most varied relations: thus, as describing an external state, e.g. Mi 2<sup>3</sup> וְלֹא תֵלְכוּ רוּמָה *neither shall ye walk haughtily* (as opposed to שְׁחוּחַ Is 60<sup>14</sup>); Lv 6<sup>3</sup> (accus. before the verb = *as unleavened cakes*), Dt 2<sup>9</sup>, 4<sup>11</sup>, Ju 5<sup>21</sup>, Is 57<sup>2</sup>, Pr 7<sup>10</sup>, Jb 31<sup>26</sup>, La 1<sup>9</sup>; as stating the position of a disease, 1 K 15<sup>23</sup> *he was diseased* אֶת־רַגְלָיו *in his feet* (2 Ch 16<sup>12</sup> בְּרַגְלָיו), analogous to the cases discussed in § 117 ll and § 121 d (d); as describing a spiritual, mental, or moral state, e.g. Nu 32<sup>14</sup>, Jos 9<sup>2</sup> פֶּה אֶחָד *with one accord*, 1 K 2<sup>13</sup>; cf. Ex 24<sup>3</sup>, Zp 3<sup>9</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>32</sup>, 2 S 23<sup>3</sup>, Is 41<sup>3</sup> (unless שְׁלֹם is adjectival, and the passage is to be explained as in n); Jer 31<sup>7</sup>, Ho 12<sup>15</sup>, 14<sup>5</sup>, ψ 56<sup>3</sup>, 58<sup>2</sup>, 75<sup>5</sup>, Pr 31<sup>9</sup>, Jb 16<sup>9</sup>, La 1<sup>9</sup>; Lv 19<sup>16</sup>, &c., in the expression הָלַךְ רָכִיל *to go up and down as a tale-bearer*; also בָּטָח *unawares*, Gn 34<sup>25</sup>, Ez 30<sup>8</sup>; מִישָׁרִים *uprightly*, ψ 58<sup>2</sup>, 75<sup>5</sup> (in both places *before* the verb); as stating the age, e.g. 1 S 2<sup>33</sup> (if the text be right) יָמוֹתָם אֲנָשִׁים *they shall die as men*, i.e. *in the prime of life*; cf. 1 S 2<sup>18</sup> (נָעַר), Is 63<sup>20</sup>, and Gn 15<sup>16</sup>; as specifying a number more accurately, Dt 4<sup>27</sup>, 1 S 13<sup>17</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>2</sup>, Jer 31<sup>8</sup> [in Jer 13<sup>10</sup> שְׁלֹמִים *wholly* (?) is corrupt; read שְׁלֵמָה *perfectly* with LXX for שֶׁ' הִגִּילָה]; as stating the consequence of the action, Lv 15<sup>13</sup>, &c.

The description of the external or internal state may follow, in poetry, in 7<sup>1</sup> the form of a comparison with some well-known class, e.g. Is 21<sup>8</sup> וַיִּקְרָא אֲרִיָּה *and he cried as a lion*; cf. ψ 22<sup>14</sup>, Is 22<sup>18</sup> (כִּדְרָה *like a ball*); Is 24<sup>22</sup>, Ze 2<sup>8</sup>, ψ 11<sup>1</sup> (unless יִצְפֹּר be vocative); 58<sup>9b</sup> (unless the force of the preceding בִּי is carried on, as in ψ 90<sup>4</sup>); ψ 144<sup>12</sup>, Jb 24<sup>5</sup> (פָּרָאִים, *before* the verb); 41<sup>7</sup> *shut up together as with a close seal*.<sup>2</sup>

6. To the expressions describing a state belong finally those nouns *s* which are introduced by the comparative particle בִּי,<sup>3</sup> since the בִּי is to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, § 100 c, on certain substantives which have completely become adverbs; and § 113 h and k on the adverbial use of the infinitive absolute.

<sup>2</sup> It is, as a matter of fact, permissible to speak of the above examples as *comparatio decurtata*, but it must not be assumed that the comparative particle בִּי, which is otherwise regularly prefixed (see s), has actually dropped out.

<sup>3</sup> On the use of בִּי as a prefix, cf. § 102 c.

be regarded as originally a substantive<sup>1</sup> in the sense of *amount, kind* (*instar*), standing in the accusative (so that  $\text{כִּי}$  is equivalent to *as a kind of, after the manner of, according to*), while the following noun represents a genitive governed by the  $\text{כִּי}$ . From this, which is the proper meaning of the  $\text{כִּי}$ , may be explained its power of representing a great many pregnant relations, which in English can only be rendered by the help of prepositions.<sup>2</sup> Thus the comparison may refer to—

t (a) The place, e.g. Is. 5<sup>17</sup>  $\text{כִּי־בָרֶכֶם}$  after the manner of, i.e. as in their pasture; 23<sup>15</sup> as (it is said) in the song of the harlot; 28<sup>21</sup>, 29<sup>7</sup>  $\text{כִּי־בְחֵלֹם}$  as in a dream.

u (b) The time, especially in the combination  $\text{כִּי־יוֹם}$  after the manner of the day, equivalent to *as in the day*, Is 9<sup>8</sup>, Ho 2<sup>6</sup>;  $\text{כִּי־יָמֵי}$  as in the days of . . . , Is 51<sup>9</sup>, Ho 2<sup>17</sup>, 9<sup>8</sup>, 12<sup>10</sup>, Am 9<sup>11</sup>; cf. moreover, Lv 22<sup>18</sup>, Ju 20<sup>39</sup>, Is 17<sup>6</sup>, Jb 5<sup>14</sup>, 29<sup>2</sup>, and the expressions  $\text{כִּי־יוֹם כִּי־יוֹם}$  as day by day = as in the former days, 1 S 18<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{כִּי־פָעַם בְּפָעַם}$  as at other times, 1 S 3<sup>10</sup>, &c.;  $\text{כִּי־שָׁנָה כִּי־שָׁנָה}$  as in former years, 2 K 17<sup>4</sup>; cf. § 123 c. Of a different character is the use of  $\text{כִּי}$  as a simple particle of time, e.g. Gn 18<sup>10</sup>  $\text{הֲיֵהָהּ כֵּעֵת}$  at this time (not about the time), when it lives again, i.e. at the end of a year;  $\text{כֵּעֵת מָחָר}$  to-morrow at this time; cf. Is 23<sup>5</sup>, and the frequent connexion of  $\text{כִּי}$  with the infinitive construct to express a definite time (in the sense of a pluperfect), Gn 12<sup>14</sup>, 27<sup>84</sup>, Ex 9<sup>29</sup>, &c.

u (c) The person, e.g. Gn 34<sup>31</sup> *should he deal with our sister as with a harlot?*

u (d) The thing, e.g. Is 10<sup>14</sup>,  $\psi$  33<sup>7</sup>, Jb 28<sup>6</sup>  $\text{כִּי־מֹדֵאֵשׁ}$  as a fire, i.e. as it were by fire (cf. Is 1<sup>25</sup>  $\text{כִּי־כַבֵּר}$  as with life); Jb 29<sup>28</sup>  $\text{כִּי־מָטָר}$  as for the rain (they waited for me); Jb 38<sup>14</sup> (as in a garment); 38<sup>30</sup>  $\text{כִּי־אֶבֶן}$  as to stone (the waters are solidified in freezing).

u Rem. According to the earlier grammarians,  $\text{כִּי}$  is sometimes used pleonastically, i.e. not to indicate a similarity (as in Lv 14<sup>35</sup> *as it were*, i.e. something like), but simply to introduce the predicate (*Kaph veritatis*), e.g. Neh 7<sup>2</sup> *for he was*  $\text{כִּי־אִמָּת}$  a faithful man; cf. 1 S 20<sup>8</sup>  $\text{כִּי־פִשֵּׁעַ}$ , La 1<sup>20</sup>  $\text{כִּי־מָוֶת}$ . Such a pleonasm is of course out of the question. At the most a *Kaph veritatis* can only be admitted in the sense that the comparison is sometimes introduced by  $\text{כִּי}$  with a certain emphasis (equivalent to *in every respect like*); thus  $\text{כִּי־אִמָּת}$  in Neh 7<sup>2</sup> means simply of the nature of a faithful man, i.e. as only a faithful man can be; cf. Nu 11<sup>1</sup>, Is 1<sup>7</sup>, 13<sup>6</sup>, Ho 4<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>10</sup>, Ob 11, Jb 24<sup>14</sup>, 27<sup>7</sup>, La 1<sup>20</sup>, 2<sup>4</sup>; also  $\text{כִּי־מְעַט}$  in such passages as  $\psi$  105<sup>12</sup> *yea, very few*; but e.g. in Is 1<sup>9</sup> *only just, a very small* . . .

<sup>1</sup> Schwabe ( $\text{כִּי}$  nach seinem Wesen und Gebrauch im alttestam. Kanon gewürdigt, Halle, 1883) contests this explanation (which is defended especially by Fleischer and is certainly indisputable). He, with Gesenius and Ewald, places  $\text{כִּי}$  as a preposition on the same footing as  $\text{כֶּן}$  and  $\text{כֵּן}$ , and believes it to be probably connected with the stem  $\text{כָּנַן}$  as well as with  $\text{כָּי}$  and  $\text{כֵּן}$ . The above view of  $\text{כִּי}$  as a substantive of course does not imply that the language as we have it is still in every case conscious of the substantival meaning.—On  $\text{כִּי}$  in numerical statements, in the sense of *about, nearly*, see the Lexicon.

<sup>2</sup> It would be altogether unsuitable here also (see above, note 2 on  $\text{כִּי}$ ) to assume a loss of the preposition. Such examples as Is 1<sup>20</sup>  $\text{כִּי־בְרָאֵשֶׁת}$  and  $\text{כִּי־בְרָאֵתָהּ}$ , Lv 26<sup>87</sup> ( $\text{כִּי־מִשְׁנֵי}$ ) are to be explained from the fact that here the

§ 119. *The Subordination of Nouns to the Verb by means of Prepositions.*

1. In general. As is the case with regard to the looser subordination of nouns to the verbal idea (§ 118), so also their subordination by means of prepositions is used to represent the more immediate circumstances (of place, time, cause, purpose, measure, association, or separation) under which an action or event is accomplished. In the case of most prepositions some idea of a relation of *space* underlies the construction, which then, in a wider sense, is extended to the ideas of time, motive, or other relations conceived by the mind.

On the origin of the prepositions and the original case-relation in which they stand to the nouns governed by them, cf. § 101, where a list of the prepositions is given with their original meanings. Cf. also § 102 on the prefixes, and § 103 on the union of prepositions with suffixes.

2. A not unimportant part is played in Hebrew by the *compounding* *b* of prepositions to represent more accurately the relations of place, which either precede or follow the action. In the former case כִּן, and in the latter (which is not so frequent) אֶל occurs before other prepositions of place; cf. e.g. Am 7<sup>15</sup> the Lord took me מֵאַחֲרֵי הַצֹּאן from behind the flock; 2 K 9<sup>18</sup> turn thee אֶל-אַחֲרַי to behind me, i.e. turn thee behind me; מֵעִם, מֵאִתּוֹ from being with . . ., as in French *de chez, d'après quelqu'un*.<sup>1</sup> For further examples, see c.

Rem. 1. We must *not* regard as combined prepositions in the above sense *c* either those *substantives* which have become prepositions only by their union with prefixes, as לִפְנֵי before, מִפְּנֵי, לְמַעַן on account of (but e.g. מִלְּפָנַי from before, Gn 4<sup>16</sup>, &c., is such a compound); nor *adverbs*, which are also formed by combining words which were originally substantives (also used as prepositions) with prepositions, as מִחוּץ without, מִתַּחַת in the sense of below,<sup>2</sup> מֵעַל

preposition and substantive had already become simply *one* word before the פ was prefixed. We find also מֵעַל Is 59<sup>18</sup>, 63<sup>7</sup>, ψ 119<sup>14</sup>, and 2 Ch 32<sup>19</sup>; cf. Driver on 1 S 14<sup>14</sup> (פִּבְחָצִי), where the text is wholly corrupt.

<sup>1</sup> In other cases French, as well as English and German, can only emphasize *one* of the two combined ideas; thus, such expressions as *il prend le chapeau sur la table*, German *er nimmt den Hut vom Tisch*, *he takes his hat from the table*, all regard the action from one point of view only; the Hebrew here brings out both aspects of it by means of מֵעַל from upon, cf. e.g. Is 6<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Hence not to be confounded with מִתַּחַת from under, in such examples as Pr 22<sup>27</sup>, which is a real compound preposition. In the above-mentioned adverbs also the מִן was originally by no means pleonastic; מִתַּחַת denotes properly the locality, regarded primarily as a place from beneath which something proceeds, and so on. This original sense of the מִן, however, has become so much obscured by its regular combination with words of place to form independent adverbs, that it is even prefixed (evidently only on the analogy of such common adverbs as מֵעַל, מִתַּחַת) in cases where it is really inadmissible, owing to the meaning of the adverb, e.g. in מִלְּבַד, מִלְּפָנַי

above (so also in Gn 27<sup>30</sup>, 49<sup>25</sup>; not *from above*). These adverbs of place, however, may become prepositions by the addition of לְ, e.g. לְמִחוּץ *outside as regards* . . . , i.e. *outside of something*, in 1 K 21<sup>13</sup> even after a transitive verb of motion; לְמִתַּחַת *below as regards* . . . , i.e. *under something* (cf. עָרַם מִתַּחַת לְ until they came under . . . , 1 S 7<sup>11</sup>), מֵעַל לְ *over something*, &c.; לְבַד *prop. in separation*; לְבַד מִן *in separation from*, i.e. *apart from*, besides. Only rarely in such a case is the לְ omitted for the sake of brevity, e.g. Jb 26<sup>5</sup> מִתַּחַת מֵימַם *beneath the waters*; Neh 3<sup>23</sup> (מֵעַל).

d 2. Real combinations of prepositions (each retaining its full force) occur—

(a) With מִן, in מֵאַחֲרֵי (see above) *from behind something*; מֵאַחַת *and from with* (see above); מִבֵּין or מִבֵּינֹת *from between something* (with motion in either direction, see e.g. Gn 49<sup>10</sup>); מִלְפָּנֵי *from before* (see above); sometimes also מִמּוּל Lv 5<sup>8</sup>, &c.; מֵעַל *from upon*, i.e. *off from*; מִתַּחַת *away from under* (see footnote 2 on p. 377).

c (b) With אֶל־, in אֶל־אַחֲרֵי *to behind*, אֶל־בֵּינֹת *to between*; אֶל־מִבֵּית *forth between* 2 K 11<sup>13</sup>; אֶל־מִחוּץ *forth without*, i.e. *out in front of*, Nu 5<sup>3</sup>; אֶל־תַּחַת *down under*.<sup>1</sup>—In Jb 5<sup>5</sup> the two prepositions of motion are combined in a peculiarly pregnant construction, אֶל־מִצְּנִים (he goes thither and takes it) *out of the thorns*, i.e. *he taketh it even out of the thorns*, but the text is hardly correct.

f 3. A general view of the union of certain verbs, or whole classes of verbs, with particular prepositions, especially in explanation of certain idioms and pregnant expressions.<sup>2</sup>

g (a) אֶל־ (אֵלַי) <sup>3</sup> *towards*, properly an expression of *motion* or at least *direction* towards something (either in the sense of *up to* = עַד, or *into* = אֶל־תּוֹךְ), is used after verbs not only in answer to the question *whither?* but by a specially pregnant construction, in answer to the question *where?* e.g. Jer 41<sup>12</sup> *they*

*without*, cf. also such examples as מִבֵּלִי, מִמּוּל, מִלְפָּנֵי, מִשָּׁם (there), &c. Since a מִן is not usually repeated after מִלְבַּד, it appears as if מִלְבַּד by a transposition of the מִן stood for the usual מִן. In reality, however, the preposition which forms the adverb into a preposition is omitted here, as in מֵעַל, מִתַּחַת, without a following לְ (see above). Properly מִלְבַּד has a purely adverbial meaning = *taken by itself*, like מִלְמַעְלָה מִמֶּעַל (Syriac *men le'el*) *above* (adv.), as distinguished from מִמֶּעַל לְ or מֵעַל־לְ (Syriac *le'el men*), *over, upon something*.—Also לָמוֹן *from . . . onward* is not for מִן־לְ, but the לְ serves merely (just like the Latin *usque* in *usque a, usque ad, usque ex*) to indicate expressly the starting-point, as an exact *terminus a quo* (of place or time).

<sup>1</sup> Also in 1 S 21<sup>5</sup> אֶל־תַּחַת by a pregnant construction is virtually dependent on the idea of *coming into*, contained in the preceding אֵין.

<sup>2</sup> A summary of all the relations and senses in which a preposition may be used, belongs not to the Grammar but to the Lexicon.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mitchell, 'The preposition *el*,' in the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1888, p. 143 ff., and especially A. Noordtzijs, *Het hebreuwsche voorzetsel אל*, Leiden, 1896, a thorough examination of its uses, and especially of the relation between אֶל־ and עַל־.

found him אֶל־מַיִם רַבִּים *by the great waters*; cf. Dt 16<sup>6</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>20</sup>, and a still more remarkable instance in §30 אֶל־מִקְוֵה שְׁבַתְךָ אֶל־הַשְּׂמִימִים. This combination of two different ideas, of motion to a place and being or acting in the place (very plainly seen in Dt 16<sup>6</sup> but to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose . . . shalt thou bring thine offering and there shalt thou sacrifice, &c.), is the same as the Greek use of εἰς for ἐν, the Latin in potestatem, in amicitiam ditionemque esse, manere (Cic. Verr. 5, 38; Div. 2, 14, &c.); cf. also the common German expressions zu Hause, zu Leipzig sein, zu Bette liegen, &c.

(b) בְּ Underlying the very various uses of this preposition is either the *idea of being or moving within some definite region, or some sphere of space or time* (with the infinitive, a simultaneous action, &c.), or else the *idea of fastening on something, close connexion with something* (also in a metaphorical sense, following some kind of pattern, e.g. the advice or command of some one בְּצַלְמִי כְּרַמְיָאֲנִי in Gn 1<sup>26</sup> בְּצַלְמִי כְּרַמְיָאֲנִי *in our image, after our likeness*; cf. 1<sup>27</sup>, 5<sup>1-3</sup>), or finally the *idea of relying or depending upon . . .*, or even of merely *striking or touching* something.

Thus the use of בְּ is explained—

(1) In the sense of *among* (in the domain of), e.g. Mi 7<sup>2</sup> יֵשֶׁר בְּאֶדָם אֲנִי *there is none upright among men*; in the sense of *consisting of*, in specifying the constituents of a collective idea, e.g. Gn 7<sup>21</sup> and all flesh died . . . in (=consisting of) fowl, &c. 8<sup>7</sup>, 9<sup>10</sup>, Ho 4<sup>3</sup>. Also after ideas of *appearing, manifesting oneself, representing, being*, in the sense of *as, in the capacity of* (prop. in the sphere, after the manner of, see above), *consisting of . . . , inquam*, the בְּ *essentiae* of the earlier grammarians, corresponding to the Greek ἐν, the Latin in,<sup>2</sup> and the French en, e.g. Ex 6<sup>3</sup> I appeared unto Abraham . . . בְּאֵל שַׁדַּי as El Shaddai; Jb 23<sup>18</sup> וְהוּא בְּאֶחָד *but he is (manifests himself as) one*, i.e. he remains always the same; Dt 26<sup>5</sup>, 28<sup>62</sup> בְּמִוְתֵּי מַעַט *in the condition of being few*, cf. 1c<sup>22</sup> to the number of seventy; Is 40<sup>10</sup>, ψ 39<sup>7</sup>.—Cf. also such examples as Ex 18<sup>4</sup> (ψ 35<sup>2</sup>, 146<sup>8</sup>) בְּעֻזִּי *as my help*; Dt 26<sup>14</sup> *being unclean*; Is 28<sup>16</sup> in Sion (i.e. I make Sion a foundation); Ez 20<sup>41</sup> as a sweet savour; Pr 3<sup>28</sup>, perhaps also Ex 3<sup>2</sup> in (i.e. as) a flame of fire; Is 66<sup>15</sup> with (i.e. like) fire; ψ 31<sup>22</sup>, 37<sup>20</sup> (102<sup>4</sup>). For the origin of all these forms of expression ψ 54<sup>9</sup> is especially instructive, since אֲדֹנִי בְּקִמְיָי נַפְשִׁי is not meant to refer to the Lord as *belonging to* the לִבִּי, but only to ascribe to him a similar character, i.e. the Lord is one who upholds my soul; so also ψ 99<sup>6</sup>, 118<sup>7</sup>, Ju 11<sup>38</sup> [the plur. as in § 124 g-i].<sup>3</sup>—Cf. Gesenius, *Thes. Linguae Hebr.*, i. 174 f., and Delitzsch on ψ 35<sup>2</sup>.

(2) To introduce the object after transitive verbs, which denote *touching, striking, reaching to* (thus to some extent a fastening on, see above) something, in English sometimes rendered by *at, on, &c.*, and in German generally by compounds with *an*, e.g. *anfassen* = בְּ אָחַז, *anrühren* = בְּ נָגַע, &c. To the same category belongs also the construction of verbs denoting *authority* (מָשַׁל, מָלַךְ), the last prop. to tread on . . .) with בְּ, inasmuch as the exercise of the authority is regarded as a laying hold of the person ruled; so also, the introduction of the object by בְּ after certain *verba dicendi*, or when the mental action is to be represented as extending to some one or something: e.g.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wandel, *De particulae Hebr. בְּ indole, vi, usu*, Jena, 1875.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. *res in praeda captae*, i.e. things taken as spoil; see Nägelsbach, *Lat. Stilistik*, § 123<sup>4</sup>. On the Hebrew בְּ *essentiae*, see Hauschild in the *Festschrift zur Einweihung des Goethegymn.* Frankf. a. M. 1897, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> Other instances formerly cited here (Is 26<sup>4</sup>, ψ 55<sup>19</sup>, where בְּ is used before the subject) as well as ψ 68<sup>6</sup> בְּיָהּ שְׁמוֹ *Jah is his name*, are textually very uncertain. Cf. Cheyne, *SBOT. Isaiah*, p. 173, on Is 26<sup>4</sup>.

כָּרָא to call on some one, נִשְׁבַּע *jurare per aliquem*, שָׁאַל to enquire of some one. Again, רָאָה to look upon, שָׁמַע to hearken to (but cf. also *m*), generally with the secondary idea of participation, or of the pleasure with which one sees or hears anything, especially pleasure at the misfortunes of others, hence רָאָה to see his desire on any one or anything; cf. however, Gn 21<sup>16</sup> let me not look upon the death of the child; 1 S 6<sup>13</sup> because they had looked [irreverently] at the ark of the Lord.

Closely related to this is the use of בָּ:

- l (3) To introduce the person or thing, which is the object of a mental act, e.g. בָּ הָאֱמִין to trust in (to cleave trustingly to) somebody or something; בָּ לִבָּא to have confidence in . . . ; שָׂמַח to rejoice in or at something, &c.; דִּבֶּר to speak of (about) some one or something, Dt 6<sup>7</sup>, 1 S 19<sup>3 f</sup>, &c.
- m (4) The idea of an action as extending to something, with at the same time the secondary idea of participation in something, underlies finally the partitive use of בָּ, e.g. בָּ אָכַל to share in eating something, Ex 12<sup>43 f</sup>, Lv 22<sup>11</sup>; also simply to eat, to taste of something, Ju 13<sup>16</sup>, Jb 21<sup>26</sup>; so also בָּ לָחַם to eat of, and בָּ שָׁתָה<sup>1</sup> to drink of something, Pr 9<sup>5</sup>; שָׁמַע to hear a whisper of something, Jb 26<sup>14</sup>; מָצְאָה they found remaining of her only . . . , 2 K 9<sup>35</sup>; נָשָׂא to bear a share of something, Nu 11<sup>17</sup>, Ez 18<sup>20</sup>, Jb 7<sup>13</sup>. Cf. also בָּ הִלַּךְ to give a share of something, Jb 39<sup>17</sup>; בָּ בָּנָה to do building to, Neh 4<sup>4</sup>.
- n (5) With the idea of touching, striking against anything is naturally connected that of proximity and vicinity near, and further that of association with something; cf. Gn 9<sup>4</sup> בְּנַפְשִׁי with the life thereof; 15<sup>14</sup>, 32<sup>11</sup> בְּמִקְלִי with my staff. Sometimes בָּ combined with a verb of motion (to come with something), expresses the idea of bringing, e.g. Ju 15<sup>1</sup> Samson visited his wife with a kid, i.e. he brought her a kid; Dt 23<sup>6</sup>, ψ 66<sup>18</sup>, 1 Ch 15<sup>19 f</sup>, 16<sup>9</sup>.
- o (6) From the idea of connexion with something, being accompanied by something (see n), is developed, finally, the instrumental use of בָּ, which represents the means or instrument (or even the personal agent), as something with which one has associated himself in order to perform an action; cf. Mi 4<sup>14</sup> בַּיִטְבֵּט they smile with the rod; Is 10<sup>24</sup>; ψ 18<sup>30</sup> בְּךָ by thee (so also 44<sup>6</sup>, parallel with בְּשִׁמְךָ); Is 10<sup>34</sup>, Ho 1<sup>7</sup>, 12<sup>14</sup>; cf. also עָבַד to labour by means of some one, i.e. to cause him to labour at it, Ex 1<sup>14</sup>, &c. On בָּ with the passive to introduce the means or the author, see § 121 f.
- p A variety of the בָּ instrumenti is בָּ pretii (the price being considered as the means of acquiring a thing), cf. Gn 23<sup>9</sup>, 29<sup>18</sup> (בְּרֶחֶל); 30<sup>16</sup>, 33<sup>19</sup>, 34<sup>15</sup> (בְּזֶמֶת on this condition); 37<sup>28</sup>; also, in a wider sense, Gn 18<sup>28</sup> בָּ for the sake of; 1 S 3<sup>13</sup>.
- q Rem. The use of בָּ instrumenti to introduce the object is peculiar in such expressions as ψ 44<sup>20</sup> and thou coveredst over us בְּצִלְמוֹת with the shadow of death; Jb 16<sup>10</sup> עָלֵי בְּפִיהֶם they have opened wide their mouth against me (prop. have made an opening with their mouth); cp. ψ 22<sup>8</sup>, Ex 7<sup>20</sup> he lifted up בַּמֶּזֶה the rod; Lv 16<sup>4</sup> וְהָנֵה וְהָנֵה followed by בָּ; Jos 8<sup>18</sup>, La 1<sup>17</sup>. Analogous to some English expressions we find both to gnash the teeth, ψ 35<sup>16</sup>, and to gnash with the teeth, Jb 16<sup>9</sup>; to wink the eye, Pr 10<sup>10</sup>, and to wink with the eye, Pr 6<sup>18</sup>; shake the head, ψ 22<sup>8</sup>, and to shake with the head, Jer 18<sup>18</sup>, Jb 16<sup>4</sup>.—In all these instances

<sup>1</sup> To be distinguished from בָּ שָׁתָה = to drink from (a cup, &c., Gn 44<sup>5</sup>, Am 6<sup>6</sup>), as in Arabic and Aramaic (Dn 5<sup>2</sup>). Cf. also ἐν ποτήριος (Xen. Anab. vi. 1, 4), ἐν χρυσάματι πίνειν (3 Ezr 3<sup>6</sup>), venenum in auro bibitur, Seneca, Thyestes 453, and the French boire dans une tasse.



the verb (intransitive) construed with **ב** has a greater independence, and consequently more emphasis than the verb construed with a direct accusative; the latter conveys a sort of necessary specification of the action, while the noun introduced by **ב** is used rather as a merely adverbial complement.

An instructive example of this is **נָתַן קוֹל** *vocem emittere, to utter a voice*, also to thunder, while in **נָתַן בְּקוֹלוֹ** *ψ 46<sup>7</sup> (68<sup>34</sup>, Jer 12<sup>8</sup>)*, **נָתַן** has an independent sense = *he thundered with his voice* (i.e. mightily).

(c) **ל**<sup>1</sup> to, a very general expression of *direction towards* anything, is used to represent the most varied relations of an action or state with regard to a person or thing. On the use of **ל** as a periphrasis for the *genetivus possessoris* or *auctoris* (the idea of belonging to), see § 129; on **ל** with the passive, to introduce the author or the cause, see § 121 f; on **ל** in a purely local sense (e.g. **לְיָמִינָהּ** *at thy right hand*, prop. *towards thy right hand*), or temporal (e.g. **לְעֶרֶב** *at evening*, &c.) or distributive, see the Lexicon.

The following uses of **ל** properly belong to the government of the verb :

- (1) As a *nota dativi*<sup>2</sup> to introduce the remoter object; also S
- (2) To introduce the *dativus commodi*. This *dativus commodi* (or *incommodi*, e.g. Ez 37<sup>11</sup>) is used—especially in colloquial language and in later style—in the form of a pronoun with **ל**, as an apparently pleonastic *dativus ethicus*, with many verbs, in order to give emphasis to the significance of the occurrence in question for a particular subject. In this construction the person of the pronoun must always agree with that of the verbal form.<sup>3</sup> By far the most frequent use of this **ל** is with the pronoun of the 2nd person after imperatives, e.g. **לֵךְ-לֵךְ** *go, get thee away*, Gn 1<sup>1</sup>, 22<sup>2</sup>, Dt 2<sup>12</sup> (also in the feminine, Ct 2<sup>10,13</sup>); **לֵךְ נִטֵּה** *turn thee aside*, 2 S 22<sup>1</sup>; **לֵךְ סֵעֵה** *take your journey*, Dt 17<sup>1</sup>; **לָכֶם עֲבְרוּ** *pass ye over*; **לָכֶם בְּרוּחֵךְ** *flee (to save thyself)*, Gn 27<sup>43</sup>; **עֲלֵי-לָךְ** *get thee up*, Is 40<sup>9</sup>; **לָכֶם פְּנוּ** *turn you*, Dt 14<sup>6</sup>; **לָכֶם שׁוּבוּ** *return ye*, Dt 5<sup>27</sup>; **לָךְ קוּמִי** *rise up*, Ct 2<sup>10</sup>; **לָכֶם נִשְׁבוּ** *abide ye*, Gn 22<sup>6</sup>; **לָךְ חַרֵּל** *forbear thee*, 2 Ch 35<sup>21</sup> (in the plural, Is 22<sup>2</sup>); **לָכֶם תִּקְחוּ** *take you*, Dt 1<sup>13</sup>, Jos 18<sup>4</sup>, Ju 20<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>20</sup>, and so almost regularly **לָךְ הִשָּׁמֶר** (see above, § 51 n) *cave tibi!* and **לָכֶם הִשָּׁמְרוּ** *take heed to yourselves*; **לָךְ דְּמָה** *be thou like*, Ct 2<sup>17</sup> (cf. verse 9), S<sup>14</sup>, is remarkable; after a perfect consecutive, 1 K 17<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 22<sup>5</sup>; after an imperfect consecutive, e.g. Is 36<sup>9</sup> **לָךְ וַתִּבְטַח** *and puttest thy trust*.—In the 3rd person, e.g. **לָהּ וַתֵּשֶׁב** *and sat her down*, Gn 21<sup>18</sup>, cf. 22<sup>5</sup>, Ex 18<sup>27</sup>, *ψ 120<sup>6</sup>, 123<sup>4</sup>, Jb 61<sup>9</sup>*; even after a participle, Ho 8<sup>9</sup>.—In the 1st person plural, Ez 37<sup>11</sup>.
- (3) To introduce the result after verbs of making, forming, changing, *t* appointing to something, esteeming as something; in short, in all those cases in which, according to § 117 ii, a second accusative may also be used.
- (4) In loose connexion with some verbal idea in the sense of *in reference to*, *u* with regard to ... (§ 143 e); so after a *verbum dicendi*, Gn 20<sup>13</sup>; 1 K 10<sup>23</sup>, cf.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Giesebrecht, *Die hebr. Präpos. Lamed*, Halle, 1876.

<sup>2</sup> Just as in the Romance languages the Latin preposition *ad* (Italian *a*, before vowels *à*, French *à*, Spanish *a*) and in English *to* are used as a periphrasis for the dative.—On the introduction of the nearer object by **ל**, cf. § 117 n.

<sup>3</sup> Such expressions as the analogous English *he plucked me ope his doublet*, but *me no buts*, and the like, are accordingly inadmissible in Hebrew.

Is 36<sup>9</sup>; even before the verb, Jer 9<sup>2</sup>.—To the same class belongs also the *Lamedh inscriptionis* (untranslatable in English, and hardly more than a mere quotation-mark) which introduces the exact wording of an inscription or title; thus Is 8<sup>1</sup> *write upon it* . . . (the words) מִהֵרָא שָׁלָל וְגו' (cf. verse 3, where the ל naturally is not used); Ez 37<sup>16</sup>.

v) (א) מִן, originally (according to § 101 a) *separation*,<sup>1</sup> represents both the idea of *distance, separation or remoteness from something*, and that of *motion away from something*, hence also *descent, origin from a place*, Am 1<sup>1</sup>.

v) (1) From the idea of *separation* is naturally derived on the one hand the sense of (*taken*) *from among* . . ., e. g. Gn 3<sup>1</sup> *subtil as none other of the beasts*, &c.; cf. 3<sup>14</sup>, Dt 33<sup>24</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>33</sup>, Ju 5<sup>24</sup> (so especially after the idea of choosing out of a larger class, 1 S 2<sup>28</sup>; cf. Ex 19<sup>6</sup>, &c.), and on the other hand, the sense of *without* (separated, free from . . .), e. g. Is 22<sup>8</sup> כִּמְשֵׁשֶׁת אֶפְרַיִם *without the bow* (i. e. without one needing to bend a bow against them) *they were made prisoners*; cf. Jer 48<sup>45</sup> מְבַחַת *without strength*; Ho 6<sup>6</sup>, as the first half-verse shows, *not more than burnt offerings* (as R. V.), but *and not burnt offerings*; Mi 3<sup>6</sup>, ψ 52<sup>6</sup>, Jb 11<sup>15</sup>, 19<sup>26</sup>, 21<sup>9</sup>, also such examples as Nu 15<sup>24</sup> *far from the eyes*, i. e. unobserved by the congregation; Pr 20<sup>8</sup>.

v) Here also belongs the use of מִן after the ideas of *restraining, withholding from, refusing to any one*, frequently in pregnant expressions, which we can render only by complete final or consecutive clauses, e. g. 1 S 15<sup>23</sup> *he hath rejected thee* מִמְּלָכָה *away from* (being) *king*, instead of מִלְּכֹהֹת כִּי (as in verse 26), *that thou be no longer king*; cf. 1 K 15<sup>18</sup>, Is 17<sup>1</sup> מִעִיר *so that it is no longer a city*; Jer 17<sup>16</sup>, Jb 28<sup>11</sup> *he bindeth the streams* מִמִּבְּכֵי *that they trickle not*; Gn 16<sup>2</sup>, 23<sup>6</sup> מִקְבֵּר *that thou shouldst not bury thy dead*; Is 24<sup>10</sup>.

y) The מִן has a still more pregnant force in those examples in which the idea of precluding from anything is only indirectly contained in the preceding verb, e. g. Gn 27<sup>1</sup> *his eyes were dim* מִרְאֵה *away from seeing*, i. e. *so that he could not see*; Is 7<sup>8</sup> *Ephraim shall be broken in pieces* מִנֶּחֱם *that it be not a people* (just as in Is 23<sup>1</sup>, Jer 48<sup>2,42</sup>, ψ 83<sup>5</sup>); Lv 26<sup>13</sup>, Is 5<sup>6</sup>, 49<sup>15</sup>, 54<sup>9</sup>, Ezr 2<sup>12</sup> (for other pregnant constructions with מִן see below, f)<sup>2</sup>; on כִּמְשֵׁשֶׁת and מִיָּמִין *without*, cf. § 152 y.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. Molin, *Om prepositionen min i Bibelshebreiskan*, Upsala, 1893, and especially N. Zerweck, *Die hebr. Praep. min*, Leipzig, 1893, who, instead of the partitive meaning (formerly accepted by us also), more correctly takes 'separation' as the starting-point of its various uses.

<sup>2</sup> All the partitive uses of מִן also come most naturally under this idea of separation out of a larger class. Thus מִן is used in the sense of *some, something*, and even *one*, in such expressions as *and he slew* . . . also מִשְׁעֵרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (*divers*) *of the princes of Israel*, 2 Ch 21<sup>4</sup>; מִבְּלֵי Lv 4<sup>2</sup>; 1 K 18<sup>5</sup>; מִדַּם הַבֶּקָר *some of the blood of the bullock*, Ex 29<sup>12</sup>, &c.; Jb 27<sup>6</sup> *my heart doth not reproach me* מִיָּמִי *for any*, i. e. *for one, of my days*; 38<sup>12</sup> מִכִּמְיֹם *one of thy days*, i. e. *ever in thy life* (this explanation is confirmed by 1 K 1<sup>6</sup>; cf. also 1 S 14<sup>45</sup>, 25<sup>28</sup>). In this way also, the frequently misunderstood Hebrew (and Arabic) idiom is to be explained, by which מִן before אַחַד, אֶחָד is equivalent to *ulius*; e. g. Lv 4<sup>2</sup> *and shall do* מֵאַחַת מֵהֵנָּה *any one of these things*; 5<sup>13</sup>, Dt 15<sup>7</sup>, Ez 18<sup>10</sup>; so before a *nomen unitatis* (see § 122 t), 1 S 14<sup>45</sup> (2 S 14<sup>41</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>62</sup>) מִשְׁעֵרַת רֹאשׁוֹ *not one hair of his head*.—מִן is used in the sense of the Arabic *min el-beyān* or explicative *min* (often to be simply translated by *namely*), e. g. in Gn 7<sup>22</sup> *of all that was*, i. e. *so far as it was*, probably also Gn 6<sup>2</sup> (= *whomsoever they chose*).

<sup>3</sup> On the use of מִן to express the comparative, which likewise depends on the idea of *distance from* . . ., cf. below, § 133 a; on כִּן as expressing the

(2) On the sense of *motion away from* anything depends the use of  $\text{מן}$  after  $\text{זע}$  such ideas as to *take away from*, to *becare*, to be *afraid of*, to *flee*, to *escape*, to *hide oneself from* (cf.  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\pi\tau\omega$  ἀπό, *custodire ab*), sometimes again in pregnant expressions, e.g. Is 33<sup>15</sup>. On the idea of *startling from* anything depends finally the very frequent *causative* use of  $\text{מן}$  on account of, in consequence of (cf. *car that comes from . . .*), *prae*, e.g.  $\text{מִרְבָּב}$  for *multitude*, 1 K 8<sup>5</sup>.

(e)  $\text{על}$ <sup>1</sup> The two original local meanings of this preposition are *upon aa* ( $\text{ἐπὶ}$ )<sup>2</sup> and *over* ( $\text{ὐπέρ}$ , *super*).

(1) From the original meaning *upon* is explained the use of  $\text{על}$  after ideas of *commanding*, *commissioning* ( $\text{בְּקֹרַעַל}$ ), &c., inasmuch as the command, obligation, &c., is *laid upon* the object. The construction is self-evident in the case of *to lie, rest, lean, rely, press upon* something; cf. also, for the last, such examples as Is 1<sup>14</sup>, Jb 7<sup>20</sup>, 23<sup>2</sup>, and especially 2 S 18<sup>11</sup>  $\text{עָלַי}$  prop. *upon me* would it have been, it would have been incumbent *upon me*, &c.

(2) From the original meaning *over* is explained the use of  $\text{על}$  after ideas *bb* of *covering*, *protecting*, *guarding*  $\text{בְּכַסּוֹעַל}$ ,  $\text{בְּגִנּוֹעַל}$ ; also the combinations  $\text{רַחֵםעַל}$  *to have compassion upon . . .*,  $\text{הוֹסֵםעַל}$ ,  $\text{הִמְלֵעַעַל}$  *to spare some one*, arise from the idea of a compassionate or protective *bending over* something. Cf. also  $\text{נִלְחַםעַל}$  Ju 9<sup>17</sup> = *to fight for* some one, i.e. in his defence.

(3) Moreover  $\text{על}$  is used after verbs of *standing* and *going*, to express *cc* a towering *over* some one or something, sometimes in phrases, in which the original local idea has altogether fallen into the background, and which are therefore to be rendered in English by means of other prepositions (*by, with, before, near*), e.g. Gn 41<sup>1</sup>, &c., *Pharaoh . . . stood על־הַיָּאֵר* *by the Nile* (above the water level; cf.  $\psi$  1<sup>3</sup>), and so especially  $\text{עָמַדעַל}$  in the pregnant sense *to stand serving before* some one (prop. *over* one who sits or reclines at table) Zc 4<sup>14</sup> (cf. Is 6<sup>2</sup>, where  $\text{מִפְּעַלֹּה}$  is used for  $\text{עַל־}$ );  $\text{הִתְיַצַּבעַל־}$  *to present oneself by command before* some one, Jb 1<sup>6</sup>, &c. Cf. also  $\text{עָלֶיךָעַל־יָדֶיךָ}$  (Jb 1<sup>14</sup>) *near, at (on) the side of* some one or something.

(4) From the original meaning *abore* (not, as formerly explained, *on to dd* something, *at* something) there arise finally all the various constructions with  $\text{עַל־}$  in the sense of *towards, against*. The original idea (which in many of these constructions has become wholly unrecognizable) starts from the view that the assailant endeavours to take up his position *over* the person attacked, so as to reach him from above, or to overpower him; cf. especially  $\text{קָםעַל־}$  *to rise up over*, i.e. *against* some one, then with a transference of

distance of time from a fixed limit, in the sense of *after*, e.g.  $\psi$  73<sup>20</sup>  $\text{מִתְקִיןעַל־}$  *after awaking* (cf.  $\xi\grave{\gamma}$  ἀπὸ τοῦ, *ab itinere*), or *after the lapse of . . .*, e.g. Gn 38<sup>24</sup>, Ho 6<sup>2</sup>, and very frequently  $\text{מִכֵּץעַל־}$  *from the end of, i.e. after the lapse of . . .*, see the Lexicon; also for the use of  $\text{בֵּן}$  to represent *resting beside* anything, like the Latin *prope abesse ab . . .*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Budie, *Die hebr. Präpos. 'Al* ( $\text{עַל}$ ), Halle, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> Since the placing *upon* anything is an addition to it,  $\text{עַל־}$  also implies *in addition to* something, cf. Gn 28<sup>9</sup> (31<sup>60</sup>); 30<sup>40</sup>, 32<sup>12</sup> (probably a proverbial saying = *mother and children*); Dt 22<sup>6</sup>. Also  $\text{עַל־}$  notwithstanding is no doubt properly *in addition to*, e.g. Jb 16<sup>7</sup> *although thou knowest, prop. in addition to thy knowing*.—From the original meaning *upon* is also derived that of *on account of* (prop. *upon the ground of*) and *in agreement with, according to*, since the pattern is regarded as the foundation *upon* which a thing stands or rests.

thought applied to any kind of hostile approach, **לָלַחֵם עַל־** to fight against . . . , **עַל־** **לְהִנָּחֵם** to encamp against . . . , **עַל־** **לְהִתְקַבֵּץ** to be gathered together, to assemble against (Mi 4<sup>11</sup>; cf.  $\psi$  2<sup>2</sup>), &c. ; even after verbs which express a mental action, e.g. **עַל־** **לְהִשָּׁב רָעָה** to imagine evil against any one, &c.

ee 4. Sometimes a preposition appears to be under the immediate government of a verb, which, by its meaning, excludes such a union. In reality the preposition is dependent on a verb (generally a verb of motion), which, for the sake of brevity, is not expressed, but in sense is contained in what is apparently the governing verb.

ff Various examples of this *constructio praeagnans* have been already noticed above in x and y under **מִן**; for **מִן** cf. also  $\psi$  22<sup>22</sup> **וּמִקְרָנֵי רִמִּים עֲנִיתָנִי** and thou hast answered and saved me from the horns of the wild oxen (in Is 38<sup>17</sup>, which Delitzsch translates by *thou hast loved and delivered my soul from the pit*, read **הִשְׁכַּחְתָּ** with the LXX); Gn 25<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>19</sup>, Jb 28<sup>12</sup>; cf. also  $\psi$  73<sup>27</sup> **וְזָנָה מִן־** to go a whoring from any one i.e. to be unfaithful to him;  $\psi$  18<sup>22</sup> **וְרָשָׁע מִן־** to depart wickedly from God;  $\psi$  28<sup>1</sup> **וְהָרֵשׁ מִן־** to be silent from one (to turn away in silence); cf. Jb 12<sup>13</sup> [; so with **מֵעַל** Jb 30<sup>17.20</sup>].

gg Pregnant constructions with **אַחֲרַי**: Nu 14<sup>24</sup> equivalent to **וַיִּמְלֵא לְלֶכְתָּ אַחֲרַי** and he made full to walk i.e. walked fully after me; in 1 S 13<sup>7</sup> read with the LXX **וַיִּתְרַדּוּ מֵאַחֲרָיו** they trembled, i.e. went trembling away from him; with **דָּרַשׁ אֶל־** Gn 43<sup>33</sup> **וְהָמָה אֶל־** to turn in astonishment to some one (cf. Is 13<sup>8</sup>); **דָּרַשׁ אֶל־** Is 11<sup>10</sup>, &c., to turn inquiringly to some one; **וְהָרַשׁ אֶל־** Is 41<sup>1</sup> to turn in silence to some one; **וְהָרַד אֶל־** Gn 42<sup>28</sup> to turn trembling to some one (cf. **וְהָרַד לְקָרְאָתָא** to come trembling to meet, 1 S 21<sup>2</sup> [also with **שָׂמַח**, **הִרְיִן**, and other verbs, Ju 14<sup>5</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 16<sup>8</sup>; see Lexicon]); cf. further Jer 41<sup>7</sup>,  $\psi$  7<sup>7</sup>, 2 Ch 32<sup>1</sup>; with **בָּ**  $\psi$  55<sup>19</sup> he hath redeemed and hath put my soul in peace, exactly like  $\psi$  118<sup>5</sup>; with  $\psi$  74<sup>7</sup> they have profaned and cast . . . even to the ground; cf. 89<sup>40</sup>.

hh 5. In poetic parallelism the governing power of a preposition is sometimes extended to the corresponding substantive of the second member; <sup>1</sup> e.g.  $\psi$  Is 40<sup>19</sup>, 48<sup>14</sup> **וְהָיָה בְּבָבֶל** on Babylon, and his arm shall be **בְּשָׁדִים** (for **בְּבָשָׁדִים**) on the Chaldeans; Jb 15<sup>3</sup>;  $\psi$  Is 28<sup>6</sup>, 42<sup>22</sup> (but probably  $\psi$  has fallen out after another  $\psi$ ), Ez 39<sup>4</sup>, Jb 34<sup>10</sup> (perhaps also Gn 45<sup>8</sup>; **מִיָּלַד** may, however, be taken here as a second accusative according to § 117 ii);  $\psi$  Is 48<sup>9</sup>; **מִן־** Is 58<sup>13</sup>,  $\psi$  141<sup>9</sup> (unless **וַיִּמְקְשֻׁתָּ** is to be read); **עַד־** Is 15<sup>8</sup>; Is 61<sup>7</sup>.

ii 6. Adverbs which have acquired a substantival value are sometimes governed by prepositions, e.g. **אַחֲרֵיהֶם** in vain, Ez 6<sup>10</sup>; **אַחֲרֵיהֶם** after this; **כִּכֵּן** (Ec 8<sup>10</sup>, Est 4<sup>16</sup>) then, on this condition; **לָכֵן** and **עַל־כֵּן** therefore; **עַד־כֵּן** hitherto.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly the force of a negative is sometimes extended to the parallel member; see § 152 z.

§ 120. *Verbal Ideas under the Government of a Verb.*  
*Co-ordination of Complementary Verbal Ideas.*

1. When a *relative verb* (incomplete in itself) receives its necessary *a* complement in the form of a verbal idea, the latter is, as a rule, subordinated in the infinitive construct (with or without הַ), less frequently in the infinitive absolute, in a few instances in the form of a participle (or verbal adjective), or finally in the imperfect without the copula. In these combinations the principal idea is very frequently represented by the subordinate member of the sentence, whilst the governing verb rather contains a mere definition of the manner of the action; cf. *d* and *g* below, and § 114 n, note 2.

(a) On the subordination of an infinitive construct as an accusative of the *b* object, and as the complement of relative verbal ideas, see above, § 114 c, and the numerous examples given in § 114 m; on the infinitive absolute as object, see § 113 d.—The complement in the form of a participle (as in Greek, and also frequently in Syriac) occurs in Is 33<sup>1</sup> בְּהַחֲמֶקֶה שׁוֹרֵר (cf. for the form, § 67 v) *when thou hast ceased as a spoiler, i.e. to spoil*; Jer 22<sup>30</sup> יֵשֵׁב . . . לֹא יִצְלַח *he shall never prosper, sitting, i.e. so as to sit, &c.*; Jon 1<sup>8</sup> *what meanest thou, sleeping? i.e. that thou sleepest*; <sup>1</sup> by a verbal adjective, 1 S 3<sup>2</sup> *now his eyes* חִתּוֹת הָיָהּ *had begun being dim, i.e. to wax dim* (unless we read כְּחֹת = לְכָחַת, cf. § 114 m); by a substantive, Gn 9<sup>20</sup> *and Noah began to be an husbandman* (omitting the article before אֲדָרְמֶה).

(b) Examples of the subordination of the complementary verbal idea in the *c* imperfect<sup>2</sup> (in English usually rendered by *to, in order to or that*) are—(1) with both verbs in the same person: after the perfect, Is 42<sup>21</sup> יִגְדִּיל . . . יַהֲוֶה הַפֶּזַי *it pleased the Lord . . . to magnify, &c.*; Jb 30<sup>28</sup>, 32<sup>22</sup> לֹא יִדְעָתִי אֲכַבֶּה *I know not to give flattering titles*; after a perfect consecutive, 1 S 20<sup>18</sup> (where for תָּרַד we should read with the LXX תִּפְקֹד); after an imperfect, ψ 88<sup>11</sup>, 102<sup>14</sup>, Jb 19<sup>3</sup>, 24<sup>14</sup>; after an imperf. consec., Jb 16<sup>8</sup>; after a participle, Is 5<sup>11a</sup>.—(2) with a difference in the persons: after a perfect, Lv 9<sup>6</sup> *this is the thing* אֲשֶׁר-צִוָּה *which the Lord commanded* (that) *ye should do*; a negative imperfect follows צִוָּה in La 1<sup>10</sup>; after the imperfect, Is 47<sup>1</sup> (פ) *thou shalt no longer be called, &c.*; Ho 1<sup>6</sup> לֹא אֲסִיף עוֹד אֲרַחֵם *I will no longer continue* (and) *have mercy, i.e. I will no more have mercy*; Is 52<sup>1</sup>, Pr 23<sup>35</sup>.—Nu 22<sup>6</sup> *peradventure I shall prevail* (that) *we may smite them, and* (that) *I may drive them out of the land* (אֵינִי, however, be a scribal error for נִכְבֵּל, due to the preceding *אֵינִי*), and in that case the example would belong to No. 1); after a participle,

<sup>1</sup> In יִדְעַ כִּנְנָן 1 S 16<sup>6</sup>, which appears to be a case of this kind, two different readings are combined, יִדְעַ כִּנְנָן and the simple כִּנְנָן.

<sup>2</sup> This kind of subordination is frequent in Arabic and in Syriac (cf. e.g. the Peshittā, Luke 18<sup>18</sup>); as a rule, however, a conjunction (corresponding to our *that*) is inserted. Cf. moreover, the Latin *quid vis faciam?* Terence; *volo hoc oratori contingat*, Cicero, Brut. 84; and our *I would it were; I thought he would go*.

thought applied to any kind of hostile approach, **נִלָּחֵם עַל־** to fight against . . . , **עָלָה עַל־** to encamp against . . . , **נִגְאָקוּ עַל־** to be gathered together, to assemble against (Mi 4<sup>11</sup>; cf. ψ 2<sup>2</sup>), &c.; even after verbs which express a mental action, e.g. **הִשָּׁבַע עַל־** to imagine evil against any one, &c.

ee 4. Sometimes a preposition appears to be under the immediate government of a verb, which, by its meaning, excludes such a union. In reality the preposition is dependent on a verb (generally a verb of motion), which, for the sake of brevity, is not expressed, but in sense is contained in what is apparently the governing verb.

ff Various examples of this *constructio praeagnans* have been already noticed above in x and y under **מִן־**; for **מִן־** cf. also ψ 22<sup>22</sup> **וּמִן־רַגְלֵי רִמִּים עֲנִיתָנִי** and thou hast answered and saved me from the horns of the wild oxen (in Is 38<sup>17</sup>, which Delitzsch translates by *thou hast loved and delivered my soul from the pit*, read **הִשָּׁבַת** with the LXX); Gn 25<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>19</sup>, Jb 28<sup>12</sup>; cf. also ψ 73<sup>27</sup> **וְנָהָה מִן־** to go a whoring from any one i.e. to be unfaithful to him; ψ 18<sup>22</sup> **וְרָשָׁע מִן־** = to depart wickedly from God; ψ 28<sup>1</sup> **וְהָרַשׁ מִן־** to be silent from one (to turn away in silence); cf. Jb 13<sup>13</sup> [; so with **מֵעַל** Jb 30<sup>17,30</sup>].

gg Pregnant constructions with **אַחֲרַי**: Nu 14<sup>24</sup> equivalent to **וַיֵּמְלֵא לִלְכֹּת אַחֲרַי** and he made full to walk i.e. walked fully after me; in 1 S 13<sup>7</sup> read with the LXX **הָרָדוּ מֵאַחֲרָיו** they trembled, i.e. went trembling away from him; with **אֶל־** Gn 43<sup>33</sup> **וְהָמָה אֶל־** to turn in astonishment to some one (cf. Is 13<sup>8</sup>); **וְהָרַשׁ אֶל־** Is 11<sup>10</sup>, &c., to turn inquiringly to some one; **וְהָרַשׁ אֶל־** Is 41<sup>1</sup> to turn in silence to some one; **וְהָרַשׁ אֶל־** Gn 42<sup>28</sup> to turn trembling to some one (cf. **וְהָרַשׁ לִקְרֹאת** to come trembling to meet, 1 S 21<sup>2</sup> [also with **שָׁמַח**, **הָרִיץ**, **שָׂאֵף** and other verbs, Ju 14<sup>5</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 16<sup>3</sup>; see Lexicon]); cf. further Jer 41<sup>7</sup>, ψ 7<sup>7</sup>, 2 Ch 32<sup>1</sup>; with **כִּי** ψ 55<sup>19</sup> he hath redeemed and hath put my soul in peace, exactly like ψ 118<sup>5</sup>; with **כִּי** ψ 74<sup>7</sup> they have profaned and cast . . . even to the ground; cf. 89<sup>40</sup>.

hh 5. In poetic parallelism the governing power of a preposition is sometimes extended to the corresponding substantive of the second member; <sup>1</sup> e.g. **כִּי** Is 40<sup>19</sup>, 48<sup>14</sup> he shall perform his pleasure **וְהָיָה בְּבָבֶל** on Babylon, and his arm shall be **וְהָיָה בְּשָׁרֵיהֶם** (for **בְּבָבֶלֵיהֶם**) on the Chaldeans; Jb 15<sup>3</sup>; **כִּי** Is 28<sup>6</sup>, 42<sup>22</sup> (but probably **כִּי** has fallen out after another **כִּי**), Ez 39<sup>4</sup>, Jb 34<sup>10</sup> (perhaps also Gn 45<sup>8</sup>; **וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵי** may, however, be taken here as a second accusative according to § 117 ii); Is 48<sup>9</sup>; **כִּי** Is 58<sup>13</sup>, ψ 141<sup>9</sup> (unless **וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵי** is to be read); **כִּי** Is 15<sup>8</sup>; **כִּי** Is 61<sup>7</sup>.

ii 6. Adverbs which have acquired a substantival value are sometimes governed by prepositions, e.g. **וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵי** in vain, Ez 6<sup>10</sup>; **וְהָיָה אַחֲרָיו** after this; **וְהָיָה בְּכֵן** (Ec 8<sup>10</sup>, Est 4<sup>10</sup>) then, on this condition; **וְהָיָה לְכֵן** and **וְהָיָה עַד־כֵּן** therefore; **וְהָיָה עַד־כֵּן** hitherto.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly the force of a negative is sometimes extended to the parallel member; see § 152 z.

§ 120. *Verbal Ideas under the Government of a Verb.*  
*Co-ordination of Complementary Verbal Ideas.*

1. When a *relative verb* (incomplete in itself) receives its necessary *α* complement in the form of a verbal idea, the latter is, as a rule, subordinated in the infinitive construct (with or without לְ), less frequently in the infinitive absolute, in a few instances in the form of a participle (or verbal adjective), or finally in the imperfect without the copula. In these combinations the principal idea is very frequently represented by the subordinate member of the sentence, whilst the governing verb rather contains a mere definition of the manner of the action; cf. *d* and *g* below, and § 114 *n*, note 2.

(*a*) On the subordination of an infinitive construct as an accusative of the *β* object, and as the complement of relative verbal ideas, see above, § 114 *c*, and the numerous examples given in § 114 *m*; on the infinitive absolute as object, see § 113 *d*.—The complement in the form of a participle (as in Greek, and also frequently in Syriac) occurs in Is 33<sup>1</sup> בָּתְחָמְךָ שׁוֹרֵד (cf. for the form, § 67 *v*) *when thou hast ceased as a spoiler*, i.e. to spoil; Jer 22<sup>30</sup> לֹא יִשֵּׁב . . . יֹשֵׁב *he shall never prosper, sitting*, i.e. so as to sit, &c.; Jon 1<sup>6</sup> *what meanest thou, sleeping?* i.e. that thou sleepest; <sup>1</sup> by a verbal adjective, 1 S 3<sup>2</sup> *now his eyes* חָלָלְךָ *had begun being dim*, i.e. to wax dim (unless we read בְּחֹל = לחָל, cf. § 114 *m*); by a substantive, Gn 9<sup>20</sup> *and Noah began to be an husbandman* (omitting the article before אֲרָמָה).

(*b*) Examples of the subordination of the complementary verbal idea in the *γ* imperfect<sup>2</sup> (in English usually rendered by *to*, *in order to* or *that*) are—(1) with both verbs in the same person: after the perfect, Is 42<sup>21</sup> יִהְיֶה קִפְצִי . . . יִגְדִּיל *it pleased the Lord . . . to magnify*, &c.; Jb 30<sup>28</sup>, 32<sup>22</sup> לֹא יִדְעֵנִי אֲכַבֶּה *I know not to give flattering titles*; after a perfect consecutive, 1 S 20<sup>13</sup> (where for תָּרַד we should read with the LXX תִּפְסֹק); after an imperfect, ψ 88<sup>11</sup>, 102<sup>14</sup>, Jb 19<sup>8</sup>, 24<sup>14</sup>; after an imperf. consec., Jb 16<sup>8</sup>; after a participle, Is 5<sup>11a</sup>.—(2) with a difference in the persons: after a perfect, Lv 9<sup>8</sup> *this is the thing* אֲשֶׁר-צִוָּה יְהוָה *which the Lord commanded* (that) *ye should do*; a negative imperfect follows צִוָּה in La 1<sup>10</sup>; after the imperfect, Is 47<sup>1</sup> (ו) *thou shalt no longer be called*, &c.; Ho 1<sup>6</sup> *I will no longer continue* (and) *have mercy*, i.e. *I will no more have mercy*; Is 52<sup>1</sup>, Pr 23<sup>35</sup>.—Nu 22<sup>6</sup> *peradventure I shall prevail* (that) *we may smite them*, and (that) *I may drive them out of the land* (אֲכַלֵּי may, however, be a scribal error for נִכַּל, due to the preceding אֲכַלֵּי, and in that case the example would belong to No. 1); after a participle,

<sup>1</sup> In 1 S 16<sup>6</sup>, which appears to be a case of this kind, two different readings are combined, יִדְעֵנִי לִנְנוּ and the simple יִדְעֵנִי.

<sup>2</sup> This kind of subordination is frequent in Arabic and in Syriac (cf. e.g. the Peshitta, Luke 18<sup>18</sup>); as a rule, however, a conjunction (corresponding to our *that*) is inserted. Cf. moreover, the Latin *quid vis faciam?* Terence; *volo hoc oratori contingat*, Cicero, Brut. 84; and our *I would it were*; *I thought he would go*.



2 S 21<sup>4</sup>.—A perfect is possibly subordinated in La 11<sup>0</sup>; but the explanation of אֲנִי as a relative clause is preferable.

d 2. Instead of subordination (as in the cases mentioned in a-c), the co-ordination of the complementary verbal idea in the finite verb (cf. above, c) frequently occurs, either—

(a) With the second verb co-ordinated in a form exactly corresponding to the first (but see below, e) by means of וְ (ו, וּ).<sup>1</sup> As a rule, here also (see above, a) the principal idea is introduced only by the second verb, while the first (especially שָׁבָה, שָׁפַר, הוֹסִיף,<sup>2</sup> הוֹסִיף) contains the definition of the manner of the action, e.g. Gn 26<sup>18</sup> וַיָּשָׁב וַיַּחְפֹּר and he returned and digged, i.e. he digged again; 2 K 11<sup>13</sup>; in the perfect consecutive, Is 6<sup>13</sup>; with הוֹסִיף, e.g. Gn 25<sup>1</sup> and Abraham added and took a wife, i.e. again took a wife; Gn 38<sup>3</sup> and frequently; with הוֹאִיל in the jussive, Jb 6<sup>9</sup>; in the imperative (cf. § 110 h), Ju 19<sup>6</sup> הוֹאִל־לָנָח be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night (cf. the English he was persuaded and remained, for to remain); 2 S 7<sup>29</sup>; with מָהַר Gn 24<sup>18,20</sup>, &c.; with חָזַר Ct 2<sup>3</sup>.

e Rem. 1. Instead of an exact agreement between co-ordinate verbal forms, other combinations sometimes occur, viz. imperfect and perfect consecutive (cf. § 112 d), e.g. Dt 31<sup>12</sup> that they וַיִּלְמְדוּ וַיִּירָאוּ אֶת־יְהוָה may learn, and fear the Lord, i.e. to fear the Lord; Is 1<sup>19</sup>, Ho 2<sup>11</sup>, Est 8<sup>8</sup>, Dn 9<sup>25b</sup>; perfect and imperfect, Jb 23<sup>3</sup> (O that I knew how I might find him); perfect and imperfect consecutive, Jos 7<sup>7</sup>, Ec 4<sup>1-7</sup>; jussive and imperative, Jb 17<sup>10</sup>; cf., finally, Gn 47<sup>6</sup> וְאִם־יִדְעָה וְאִם־יִשָּׁבֶם and if thou knowest and there are among them, &c., i.e. that there are among them.

f 2. Special mention must be made of the instances in which the natural complement of the first verb is suppressed, or is added immediately after in the form of an historical statement, e.g. Gn 42<sup>28</sup> then Joseph commanded and they filled<sup>3</sup> (prop. that they should fill, and they filled ...; cf. the full form of expression in Gn 50<sup>2</sup>); a further command is then added by means of וְ and the infinitive; Ex 36<sup>6</sup>; another instance of the same kind is Gn 30<sup>27</sup> I have divined and the Lord hath blessed me, &c., i.e. that the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake.

g (b) With the second verb (which, according to the above, represents the principal idea) attached without the copula<sup>4</sup> in the same mood, &c. In this construction (cf. § 110 h) the imperatives קִיַּם (קִיְּמָה) קִיְּמִי,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the English colloquial expression *I will try and do it*.

<sup>2</sup> Of a different kind are the cases in which יִסָּף with a negative is co-ordinated with a verb to emphasize the non-recurrence of the action; cf. Nu 11<sup>26</sup> they prophesied and added not, sc. to prophesy, i.e. but they did so no more; Dt 5<sup>19</sup>, Jb 27<sup>19</sup> (reading יִסָּף וְאִם־יִשָּׁבֶם).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the analogous examples in Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 102.

<sup>4</sup> To be distinguished, of course, from the cases in which two equally important and independent verbs are used together without the copula in vigorous poetic imagery, e.g. Ex 15<sup>9</sup>, Jb 29<sup>8</sup>, &c.



b Other examples are: after Niph., Gn 4<sup>18</sup> וַיֵּלֶךְ לְחֹנֹךְ אֶת־עֵינָיו and *unto Enoch was born Irad* (cf. Nu 26<sup>60</sup>, and after an infinitive, Gn 21<sup>5</sup>); Gn 17<sup>5</sup>, 21<sup>8</sup> (after an infinitive); 29<sup>27</sup> (unless וַיִּנָּחֵם is 1st plur. cohortative); Ex 21<sup>28</sup>, 25<sup>28</sup>, Lv 6<sup>13</sup>, Nu 7<sup>10</sup> (after an infinitive); 26<sup>55</sup> (cf. verse 53); Dt 20<sup>8</sup> (where, however, for יָמָם the Hiph. יָמַם should be read, according to 1<sup>28</sup>); Jos 7<sup>15</sup>, Is 16<sup>10</sup>; with the object preceding, Ex 13<sup>7</sup>, Lv 2<sup>8</sup>, 19<sup>20</sup>, Nu 16<sup>28</sup>, Dan 9<sup>24,1</sup>.—Also after Pu'al, Jer 50<sup>20</sup>; before Pu'al, Is 14<sup>3</sup> אֲשֶׁר equivalent to the internal object עֲבָרָה = *which they have caused to be served by thee*; Jb 22<sup>9</sup>; according to the Masoretic text also Gn 46<sup>22</sup>, where, however, the Samaritan and LXX read יִלְדָה לְיִלְדָה; the Samaritan in Gn 35<sup>20</sup> and 46<sup>27</sup> also reads יִלְדָה, and this (or יִלְדָה) should certainly be read instead of יִלְדָה in 2 S 21<sup>22</sup>.—After Hoph., Ex 10<sup>8</sup>, 27<sup>7</sup>, Lv 10<sup>18</sup>, 16<sup>27</sup>, Nu 32<sup>5</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>21</sup>, Pr 16<sup>33</sup>, Jb 30<sup>15</sup>; after the infinitive Hoph., Gn 40<sup>20</sup>, Ez 16<sup>44</sup>, 27<sup>7</sup>; before Hoph., Is 17<sup>1</sup>, 21<sup>2</sup>, Ho 10<sup>6</sup>, Ze 13<sup>6</sup>; after the infinitive Hothpa'el, Lv 13<sup>55</sup>.

c 2. Verbs which in the active take two accusatives (§ 117 cc) retain in the passive construction at least *one* accusative, namely that of the second or remoter object, whilst the nearer object now becomes the subject. Thus, corresponding to אֲשֶׁר אֶרְאֶה *which I will show thee* (Gn 12<sup>1</sup>) the passive is אֲשֶׁר אֶתָּה מְרָאָה (Ex 25<sup>40</sup>) *which thou hast been shown*, i.e. which has been shown to thee; cf. Ex 26<sup>30</sup> (but in Lv 13<sup>40</sup> with an accusative of the person); Jb 7<sup>3</sup>. In ψ 22<sup>16</sup> מְרַבֵּץ מִלִּקְוֹתַי depends on an assumed transitive הִרְבִּית governing two accusatives (= *my tongue is made to cleave to my jaws*); also in Is 1<sup>20</sup> הָרֶב הַמֵּאֲכִילֵךְ *ye shall be devoured with the sword*, הָרֶב is not an accus. instrumenti, but most probably an accusative of the object retained from the active construction.<sup>2</sup>

d Rem. 1. Examples of the retention of the second accusative are—(a) with *verba induendi* and *exuendi* (§ 117 cc), ψ 80<sup>11</sup>, הָרִים צֶלֶם *the mountains were covered with the shadow of it* (the vine); Pr 19<sup>28</sup>. So also some of the examples in § 116 k of passive participles of these verbs, Ju 18<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>18</sup>, 17<sup>5</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>10</sup>,

naturally cannot be determined whether the construction is really impersonal. The construction itself can only be explained by supposing that while using the passive form the speaker at the same time thinks of some author or authors of the action in question, just as on the theory of the Arab grammarians a *concealed agent* is included in every passive. This accounts for the possibility (cf. § 144 g) of using the active without a specified subject as a periphrasis for the passive.

<sup>1</sup> In 2 K 18<sup>30</sup> יִנָּחֵם is to be read or אֶת־ is to be omitted, as in the parallel passage Is 36<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> In the active, the sentence would be *I will cause the sword to devour you*; by the rule stated above, under c, this would become in the passive, *the sword (nom.) shall be made to devour you (acc.)*. Instead of this, the remoter object is here made the subject, and the nearer object is retained in the accusative. Otherwise, the only possible explanation would be, according to the Arabic idiom, *to cause one to devour the sword* (remoter object), i.e. to give him over to it. It would then be simplest to read הָרֶב הַמֵּאֲכִילֵךְ.

Ez 9<sup>2,3</sup>; <sup>1</sup> with the accusative preceding, Neh 4<sup>12</sup>.—(b) with *verba copiae* and *inopiae*, Ex 17, Is 38<sup>10</sup> (equivalent to *I must forego the residue of my years*); Is 40<sup>20</sup>.—(c) an accusative of the result (§ 117 ii) with the passive, Is 61<sup>1</sup>, Ze 14<sup>4</sup>, Jb 28<sup>2</sup>; with the accusative preceding, Is 24<sup>12</sup>, Mi 3<sup>12</sup> (Jer 26<sup>18</sup>), Jb 15<sup>7</sup>, 22<sup>10</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Also in Ez 40<sup>17</sup> and 46<sup>28</sup>, the accusative preceding עָשִׂי (in 41<sup>18</sup> following it) can only be taken as the accusative of the result; some general idea, such as that of *place*, is to be understood as the subject of עָשִׂי.—(d) an accusative of the member or part specially affected by the action (§ 117 ii), Gn 17<sup>11</sup>, 14<sup>24</sup>, Ju 17 (accusative *before* part. pass.); 2 S 15<sup>32</sup> (accusative with suffix after the part. pass.).

2. Both accusatives are retained in an unusual manner after the passive of *e* a *verbum implendi* in Nu 14<sup>21</sup>; instead, however, of the *Niph.* יִפְלֵא the *Qal* (which is sometimes used transitively elsewhere) should simply be read with the LXX; similarly in ψ 72<sup>19</sup>, although there the LXX also translate the passive.

3. The efficient cause (or personal agent) is, as a rule, attached to the passive by לְ (thus corresponding to the Greek and Latin dative), e.g. Gn 25<sup>21</sup> יְהוָה לֹא יִעָדֶר לוֹ the Lord let himself be intreated by him; cf. Lv 26<sup>23</sup>, ψ 73<sup>10</sup> and the blessing בְּרִיךְ הוּא לַיהוָה blessed be he of the Lord Ru 2<sup>20</sup>; cf. Gn 14<sup>19</sup>, Ju 17<sup>26</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>13</sup>; also in the plural, 1 S 23<sup>21</sup> (2 S 2<sup>5</sup>, ψ 115<sup>15</sup>).—Before the verb, Pr 14<sup>20</sup> and frequently; less commonly by מִן (called מִן of origin = *coming from*), e.g. Gn 9<sup>11</sup>; before the verb, ψ 37<sup>23</sup>, Jb 24<sup>1</sup>; by בְּ (*instrumenti*) [rarely, König § 106], Gn 9<sup>6</sup> (בְּאָדָם *by man*); Nu 36<sup>2</sup>, Is 14<sup>3 b</sup> [but ? = *wherewith it was worked* (§ 52 e) with thee; cf. Dt 21<sup>3</sup>, König § 106; and see בְּ עָבַר in the Lexicon], Ho 14<sup>4</sup>, always to introduce a personal agent.—On the connexion of the passive participle with a genitive of the agent, cf. § 116 l.

## II. Syntax of the Noun.

### § 122. Indication of the Gender of the Noun.

Cf. F. Schwabe, *Die Genusbestimmung des Nomens im bibl. Hebr.*, Jena, 1894, and especially the thorough investigation by K. Albrecht, 'Das Geschlecht der hebr. Hauptwörter,' in *ZAW.* 1895, p. 313 ff., and 1896, p. 61 ff. H. Rosenberg, 'Zum Geschlecht der hebr. Hauptwörter,' in *ZAW.* 1905, p. 325 ff. (supplementing Albrecht's work by a treatment of the gender of many nouns in the Mishna); and his 'Notizen aus der tannaitischen Literatur...' *ZAW.* 1908, p. 144 ff.

1. According to § 80 a, Hebrew, like the other Semitic languages, *a* distinguishes only a *masculine* and *feminine* gender. To indicate the

<sup>1</sup> Analogous to הַלְבָּשׁ הַבְּדִים who was clothed in linen, Ez 9<sup>8</sup>, would be הַנְּעִיבָה הָאֵתֶרֶת הַחֲמֹן 2 Ch 31<sup>10</sup>; but we must certainly read there נְעִיבָה with the LXX.—Still less can ψ 87<sup>3</sup> be so explained, נִכְבְּדוֹת being not an accusative, but the subject of a noun-clause. On the other hand, שָׁלַחַן 1 K 14<sup>6</sup> may be explained with Ewald in the sense of *being charged with* something, so that, like צִנֵּה, it may be construed with an accusative.

<sup>2</sup> In reality יָרַם Ex 16<sup>20,26</sup> (*it became putrid*) is equivalent to a passive (*it was changed*), to which תִּלְעִים is added as an accusative of the result.

latter a special feminine ending is generally used (§ 80 b and § 87 i) both in the singular and plural (see, however, § 87 p), its use being most consistent in adjectives and participles; cf. § 87 r. The employment of these special endings is most natural when by means of them the feminine names of persons or animals are distinguished from the masculine of the same stem and the same formation, e. g. *אָח* brother, *אָחוּת* sister; *עָלָם* a young man, *עָלְמָה* a young woman, maid; *פָּר* iuvencus, *פָּרָה* iuvencu; *עֵזֶל* vitulus, *עֵזְלָה* vitula. On the other hand, the feminine plays an important part in denoting the gender of whole classes of ideas (see below, p, &c.), which the Hebrew regards as feminine. The language, however, is not obliged to use the feminine ending either for the purpose of distinguishing the sex of animate objects (see b), or as an indication of the (*figurative*) gender of inanimate things which are regarded as feminine (see h).

- b 2. The distinction of sex may be effected even without the feminine ending, (a) by the employment of words of different stems for the masculine and feminine; (b) by the different construction (either as masculine or feminine) of the same word (*communia*). But the distinction may also, (c) in the case of names of animals, be entirely neglected, all examples of a species being included under one particular gender, either masculine or feminine (*epicoena*).

c Examples of (a) are: *אָב* father, *אִם* mother; *רָמ* ram, *רְחֵל* ewe; *הַיֵּשׁ* he-goat, *עֵז* she-goat; *חֲמֹר* he-ass, *אֲחוּת* she-ass; *אֲרִיָּה* lion, *לְוִיָּה* lioness. Sometimes with the feminine ending as well, e. g. *עֶבֶד* male slave, man-servant, *אֲמָה* or *נְשִׁפָּחָה* female slave, maid; *חָתָן* bridegroom, *כַּלָּה* bride.

d Of (b): *גַּמֶּל* camel. Plur. *גַּמְלִים* construed as masculine, Gn 24<sup>68</sup>; as feminine, Gn 32<sup>16</sup>; *בָּקָר* collect. *oxen*, Ex 21<sup>37</sup>, construed as masculine, but in Gn 33<sup>13</sup>, Jb 1<sup>14</sup> as feminine. In Jer 2<sup>24</sup> the construction of *פָּרָה* wild ass, changes directly from the masculine (intended as epicene) to the feminine. Cf. the Greek *ὁ, ἡ πῆλιξ* *δ, ἡ βόδις*.

e Of (c): analogous to the epicene nouns of other languages, many species of animals which are strong and courageous, are regarded in Hebrew as always masculine, while the weak and timid are feminine; cf. *ὁ λέων*, *ἡ χελιδὼν*, and the German *der Löwe*, *der Adler*, &c., but *die Katze*, *die Taube*, &c. Similarly in Hebrew, e. g. *אֶלֶנָּה* *ox* (ψ 144<sup>14</sup> even referring to cows when pregnant), *דָּב* bear, Ho 13<sup>8</sup> *דֹּב שְׁכַחֵל* (a bear that is bereaved of her whelps; cf., however, 2 K 2<sup>24</sup>, Is 11<sup>7</sup>), *זָאֵב*, *כֶּלֶב* dog, all masculine; but *אֲרֶנֶת* hare, *יוֹנָה* dove, *חֲסִידָה* stork, *דְּבוּרָה* bee, *נְמֶלָה* ant, &c., feminine.

f Rem. 1. Masculine nouns which either have a separate feminine form or might easily form one, are but seldom used as epicene; such are, *חֲמֹר* ass, 2 S 19<sup>27</sup> for *אֲחוּת*; *אֵיל* hart, ψ 42<sup>2</sup> for *אֵיִלָּה*. In Gn 23<sup>37</sup> *מֵת* a dead body, refers more especially to the body of a woman; *אֲמֹן* a master workman, in Pr 8<sup>30</sup> refers to wisdom *חֲכָמָה* feminine, cf. Plin. 2, 1 *natura omnium artifex*; and our

use of *friend, teacher, servant, neighbour*, either as masculine or feminine; in German, *Gemahl*<sup>1</sup> spouse, also for fem. *Gemahlin*, &c.).

2. Of words denoting persons נָעָר נַאִיס, according to the formerly common *g* opinion, was in early times used as epicene (see, however, above, § 2 n). The use of the plural נַעָרִים in Jb 1<sup>19</sup> and Ru 2<sup>21</sup> in the sense of *young people* (of both genders) does not, however, prove this. In this and in similar cases (cf. e.g. אֲתָם Gn 1<sup>27</sup> and אֲתָהֶם 32<sup>1</sup>) the masculine as *prior gender* includes the feminine.<sup>2</sup>

3. The following classes of ideas are usually regarded as feminine,<sup>3</sup> *h* although the substantives which express them are mostly without the feminine ending:<sup>4</sup>

(a) Names of *countries and towns*, since they are regarded as the mothers<sup>5</sup> and nurses of the inhabitants; e.g. אֲשׁוּר *Assyria*, אֲדָם *Idumaea*, צֹר *Tyre*; cf. also such expressions as בַּת בָּבֶל daughter of *Babylon*, בַּת צִיּוֹן daughter of *Zion*, &c. On the other hand appellatives which are originally masculine, remain so when used as place-names, e.g. Am 5<sup>5</sup> בֵּית־אֵל, בֵּית־לֵל, &c.

Rem. The same proper nouns, which as names of countries are regarded *i* as feminine, are frequently used also as names of the people, and may then, like national names in other languages, be construed as masculine (the national name almost always being used also as the personal name of the supposed ancestor of the people); thus יְהוּדָה masc. Is 3<sup>8</sup>, &c., *Judaei*; but

<sup>1</sup> So in early Arabic, *ba'l* (lord) and *zawg* (conjux) are used both for *maritus* and *uxor*; '*arūs* for *bridegroom* and *bride*; the later language, however, distinguishes the feminine from the masculine in all these cases generally by the ending *a* (*at*). In early Arabic also the feminine ending is commonly omitted in such participles as *hamū*, *bāṭin* (*gravida*), and the like, which from the nature of the case can only be used of females. Thus also אֵאָן, at least in Nu 11<sup>12</sup> (Is 49<sup>28</sup>?), probably means *nurse* (for אֵמָנָה 2 S 4<sup>4</sup>, &c.), not *nursing-father*.

<sup>2</sup> The Arab grammarians call this use of the masculine plural and dual (e.g. *al-abawāni*, the two fathers, i.e. *parentes*) *taghlīb* or the *making* (the masculine) *prevail* (over the feminine).—Cf. M. Grtner, *Die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab.*, Vienna, 1886.

<sup>3</sup> The masculine gender is attributed 'by the Hebrews and the Semites generally to whatever is dangerous, savage, courageous, respected, great, strong, powerful...; the feminine to whatever is motherly, productive, sustaining, nourishing, gentle, weak, ... subject, &c.' (Albrecht, *ZA W.* 1896, p. 120 f.).

<sup>4</sup> When, on the other hand, words with a feminine-ending, such as קֶשֶׁת *a bow* (stem קִיש), מָח *time* (see the *Lexicon*), are sometimes construed as masculine, this is owing probably in some cases to a misunderstanding of the formation of the word, the ה of the feminine being regarded as a radical.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *a city and a mother* (אֵם) in Israel, 2 S 20<sup>19</sup>. In the same way אֵם (like μηρ, *mater*) on Phoenician coins stands for *mother-city*, μητροπόλις. The same figure is used in such expressions as *sons of Zion*, ψ 149<sup>2</sup>; *sons of Babylon*, Ez 23<sup>15</sup>, &c., as also in speaking of the suburbs of a city as its *daughters*, e.g. Jos 15<sup>45</sup> ff., &c.—The comparison of Jerusalem to a woman is especially frequent in allegorical descriptions, e.g. Ez 16<sup>23</sup>, La 1<sup>1</sup>, &c.

Is 7<sup>6</sup>, fem., *Judaea*; אֲדָמָה masc., *Idumaei*, Nu 20<sup>20</sup>; fem., *Idumaea*, Jer 49<sup>17</sup>. Nevertheless, it sometimes happens that by a very common transference of thought (just as we say *Turkey concludes peace*) these names are construed as feminine, even when they denote not the country but the inhabitants; so יְהוּדָה La 1<sup>3</sup>; cf. Gn 41<sup>8</sup>, Ex 10<sup>7</sup>, 12<sup>33</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>21</sup>, 2 S 8<sup>2</sup>, 24<sup>9</sup>, Is 7<sup>2</sup>, 21<sup>2</sup>, 42<sup>11</sup>, Jer 50<sup>40</sup>, Jb 1<sup>15</sup>. Hence the frequent personification of nations (as well as of countries and towns, see *h*, note 5) as female beings, e.g. Is 50<sup>1</sup>, 54<sup>1 ff.</sup>, and the use of the expressions בְּבָל Is 47<sup>1 ff.</sup>, בֵּית צִיּוֹן &c. (see above) as collective poetical personifications of the people.

*k* (b) Appellative nouns, which denote a *circumscribed space*, such as אֶרֶץ *earth, land*, עוֹלָם *world*, שְׂאֵל *the abode of the dead*, כְּכָר *circle* (of the Jordan valley), עִיר *a town*, בְּאֵר *a well*, צָפוֹן *the north*, תֵּימָן *the south*.

*l* In the majority of nouns denoting place the gender is variable, e.g. אֶלֶךְ and דֶּרֶךְ *a way* (usually feminine; the masculine gender only begins to predominate with Ezekiel; cf. Albrecht, l. c., 1896, p. 55), נָחַל (נֵי) *valley*, גַּן *garden* (fem. Gn 2<sup>15</sup>, unless לְעִבְדָּה &c., is to be read), הַיְכָל *palace, temple*, חֲצֵר *court*, כְּרָם *vineyard*, שַׁעַר *door*,<sup>1</sup> &c.; also מְקוֹם *place*, at least in Gn 18<sup>24</sup> (referring to Sodom), Jb 20<sup>9</sup>, and 2 S 17<sup>12</sup> *Kēllābh*, is construed as feminine. The mountains and hills commanding the surrounding country are almost without exception masculine (see Albrecht, l. c., p. 60 f.).

*m* (c) The names of *instruments, utensils*, and (on the same analogy) *members and parts of the body* in man or beast, since these are all regarded as subservient and subordinate (consequently as feminine).

*n* Thus חֶרֶב *sword*, יֵתֶד *tent-peg*, בַּד *bucket*, כוֹס *cup*, נֶעֱלַל *shoe*, עֶרֶשׁ *bed*, &c.; in other cases, as אֲרוֹן *chest, ark* (with the article הָאֲרוֹן), תַּנּוּר *oven*, the gender is variable. ('Instruments for binding or holding, girdles and the like, as constraining and mastering, are masculine,' Albrecht, l. c., p. 89.)—Also אוֹז *ear* (and in general, members occurring in pairs, Albrecht, l. c., p. 73 f.), אֶצְבָּע *finger* (and so probably בֶּהֱן *thumb, great toe*), יָד and כַּף *hand*, יָמִין *right hand*, רֶגֶל *foot*, בִּרְךָ *knee*, יֵרֶךְ *thigh*, כַּתֵּף *shoulder*, לֶחִי *cheek*, בֶּטֶן *belly*, כַּנֶּף *wing*, קֶרֶן *horn*, שֵׁן *tooth*; as a rule also זְרוּעַ *arm* (masc. Is 17<sup>5</sup>, &c.), לְשׁוֹן *tongue* (masc. ψ 22<sup>16</sup>, Pr 26<sup>28</sup>, &c.), עֵין *eye* (masc. Ze 3<sup>9</sup>, &c.), שׁוֹק *thigh* (masc. Ex 29<sup>27</sup>).<sup>2</sup>

*o* (d) Certain names of natural forces or substances are feminine, being probably regarded as instruments, while in the names of the heavens, the heavenly bodies and natural phenomena, the masculine generally predominates (cf. Albrecht, l. c., p. 323 ff.); thus feminine are שֶׁשֶׁשׁ *sun* (but often also masc., ψ 19<sup>6</sup>, 104<sup>19</sup>); אֵשׁ (*Ethiopic 'ēsāt*)

<sup>1</sup> מְקוֹמָה *camp* is feminine only when it is a collective, denoting the persons in a camp.

<sup>2</sup> אָף *nose*, נִיד *sinew*, זָנָב *tail*, חֶף *palate*, כִּבֵּד *liver*, לֵב *heart*, רֶחֱמִים *bowels*, מִצְחָה *forehead*, עוֹר *skin*, עֲרֵךְ *back of the neck*, פֶּה *mouth*, צְנַאֲר *neck*, רֹאשׁ *head*, שֶׁכֶם *shoulder*, also רֶחֶם *womb*, except in Jer 20<sup>17</sup>, are invariably construed as masculine.—עֶצֶם *bone* is common.



fire (rarely *masc.*);  $\text{נֹרָא}$  *brightness*,  $\text{אֶבֶן}$  *a stone*, as a rule also  $\text{רוּחַ}$  *wind*, *spirit*;  $\text{נֶפֶשׁ}$  *breath, soul*; also  $\text{אוֹר}$  *light* in Jer 13<sup>16</sup>, Jb 36<sup>32</sup>, and others.

4. The following classes of ideas, which are also regarded as *feminine* in Hebrew (see above, *h*), are usually indicated by the *feminine form*, notwithstanding their occasional transference to masculine persons (see *r* and *s*):

(a) Abstracts<sup>1</sup> (sometimes along with masculine forms from the same stem, as  $\text{נִקְמָה}$  *vengeance*, as well as  $\text{נָקַם}$  *עֲזָרָה* *help*, as well as  $\text{עָזַר}$ ), e.g.  $\text{אֲמוּנָה}$  *firmness, faithfulness*,  $\text{גְּבוּרָה}$  *strength*,  $\text{גְּדֻלָּה}$  *greatness*,  $\text{מְלֵאָה}$  *fullness*,  $\text{מְשָׁלָה}$  *dominion*, &c. Similarly, the feminine (sing. and plur.) of adjectives and participles is used substantively in the sense of the Latin and Greek *neuter*, e.g.  $\text{נְבוּזָה}$  *stedfastness*,  $\psi$  5<sup>10</sup>,  $\text{טוֹבָה}$  *goodness*,  $\text{רָעָה}$  *evil*, Gn 50<sup>20</sup>,  $\text{נֶאֱלָה}$  *a light thing* (i. e. a trifling thing), Jer 6<sup>14</sup>; so especially in the plural, e.g.  $\text{גְּדֻלּוֹת}$  *great things*,  $\psi$  12<sup>4</sup>;  $\text{הַנְּחָרְסוֹת}$  *the ruined places*, Ez 36<sup>36</sup>, along with  $\text{הַשְׁמָמָה}$  *that which was desolate*,  $\text{טוֹבוֹת}$  *kindnesses*, 2 K 25<sup>28</sup>,  $\text{נְכוֹנֻת}$  *uprightness, honesty*, Is 26<sup>10</sup>,  $\text{נְעִימוֹת}$  *amoenae*,  $\psi$  16<sup>11</sup> (but in verse 6 in the same sense  $\text{נְעִימִים}$  *wonderful things*, Ex 34<sup>10</sup> and frequently,  $\text{קָשׁוֹת}$  *hard things, roughly*, Gn 42<sup>7,30</sup> (but cf. also  $\text{רֵיקִים}$  *vain things*, Pr 12<sup>11</sup>, 28<sup>19</sup>). Cf. moreover, the very frequent use of  $\text{זָאת}$  *זֶה* (as well as  $\text{זֶה}$  and  $\text{הַזֶּה}$ ), Ju 14<sup>4</sup>,  $\psi$  118<sup>23</sup>, &c., in the sense of *hoc, illud* (also  $\text{הֵנָּה}$  equivalent to *illa*, Is 51<sup>10</sup>): also the use of the feminine form of the verb in Is 7<sup>7</sup>  $\text{וְלֹא תָקִים וְלֹא תָבוֹא}$  *it shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass*; Ju 14<sup>41</sup>, Jer 10<sup>7</sup>; so too the suffixes Gn 15<sup>6</sup>, Ex 10<sup>11</sup>, Jb 38<sup>18</sup>, referring back to a whole statement.<sup>2</sup>

(b) Titles and designations of office, properly a subdivision of the abstract<sup>3</sup> ideas treated above, under *g*, and specially noticed here only on account of their peculiar transference to concrete male persons. Thus we have  $\text{קֹהֵלֶת}$  Ec 1<sup>1</sup>, &c. (as a title of Solomon), properly no doubt that *which takes part in or speaks in a religious assembly*, hence  $\text{ΛΟΓΟΤΕΛΕΣΙΑΣΤΗΣ}$ , i. e. *concionator, preacher*; the proper names  $\text{סָפֶרֶת}$  Ezr 2<sup>65</sup>, Neh 7<sup>67</sup>, and  $\text{פָּכֶרֶת}$  Ezr 2<sup>67</sup>, Neh 7<sup>68</sup>, and the foreign word  $\text{פָּקָה}$  *vicerey*; in the plural  $\text{בְּנוֹת}$  prop. *cognomina*, then *like-named, colleagues*;  $\text{פְּרָעוֹת}$  *princes* (if this be the true meaning).<sup>3</sup> All these words, in accordance with their meaning, are construed as masculine (in Ec 7<sup>27</sup> instead of  $\text{אִמְרָה}$  the words should rather be divided as  $\text{אִמְרָה קִי}$ ; cf. 12<sup>8</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the list of masculine and feminine abstracts in Albrecht, l. c., 1896, p. 111 ff.

<sup>2</sup> While in all these instances it is simplest to speak of the *feminine* in Hebrew as being used for the *neuter* (which in Latin, Greek, and German is commonly employed for similar purposes), it must yet not be forgotten that since the language is wholly wanting in *neuters*, the Semitic mind regarded the above-mentioned forms primarily as actual feminines. Hence the Arab commentators are accustomed to explain the feminines of adjectives and participles (which would be neuter in Latin, &c.) by supplying a feminine substantive.

<sup>3</sup> This use of the feminine form is far more frequent in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Aramaic; cf. e.g. in Arabic *ḥalīfa* (fem. from *ḥalīf*, following after, taking the place of) in the sense of the successor or representative (of Muḥammad), and *ʿallāma* (*great wisdom*) as a title of learned men. Analogous to this is the Latin *magistratus, magistracy, for magistrate*, and our *his Majesty, Excellency, Highness, &c.*

**S** Abstract ideas include also—

(c) *Collectives* in the fem. form,<sup>1</sup> generally fem. participles used substantively, especially as the comprehensive designation of a number of persons, e.g. אֲרֻרָה (fem. of travelling), prop. the travelling (company), i.e. travelling persons (a caravan); גִּלְגָּל (fem. of גָּלָה one going into exile) the company of exiles (also frequently used of those who had returned home again); יוֹשְׁבֵיבָת (that which inhabits) i.e. the population, Is 12<sup>6</sup>, Mi 11<sup>11</sup>; אֲבֵבֶת (prop. that which is hostile) the enemy, Mi 7<sup>8-10</sup> (cf. Mi 4<sup>6</sup> f. the halting, cast off, driven away, i.e. those who halt, &c.); דָּלָה (the abject) the poorest sort; of living beings which are not persons, cf. חַיָּה (that which lives) in the sense of cattle, beasts; דָּגָה a shoal of fish, Gn 1<sup>26</sup> (but in Jon 2<sup>2</sup> as a *nomen unitatis*, cf. t, for דָּג a fish, which in verses 1 and 11 is used as the *nomen unitatis*). Cf., moreover, נִבְלָה dead body, Is 26<sup>19</sup>, &c. (construed as masculine), for a heap of dead bodies.—On the collective poetic personification of a nation, by means of בַּת daughter, in בְּבָל, בַּת עַמִּי (equivalent to בְּנֵי עַמִּי my countrymen, see above, i).

t (d) Conversely the feminine form of substantives is sometimes used (as in Arabic) as a *nomen unitatis*, i.e. to indicate a single example of a class which is denoted by the masculine form; cf. אֲנִי a fleet (1 K 9<sup>26</sup>), אֲנִיָּה a single ship (Jon 1<sup>3</sup> π.); צִיד hunting, game, צִידָה Gn 27<sup>3</sup> K<sup>th</sup>. (צִיד Q<sup>re</sup>) a piece of venison; שֵׁעַר hair (coll.), שֵׁעָרָה a single hair (Ju 20<sup>16</sup>; in the plural, ψ 40<sup>13</sup>, 69<sup>5</sup>); שִׁיר a poem, frequently collective, שִׁירָה a single song; so probably also תִּנְאֻף a fig (the corresponding masculine תֵּן is collective in Arabic); נְשִׁינָה a lily (also נְשִׁינָה); לִבְנָה a brick (Arab. libīna, but libīn collective), &c.

u (e) The feminine is also used for things without life (as being weaker or less important), which are named from their resemblance to organic things expressed by the corresponding masculine form; cf. יָרֵךְ side (of the body), thigh, יָרֵכָה or יֵרֶכָה back part, border (of a country, house, &c.); מִצְחָה forehead, מִצְחָה greaves. On a similar distinction between the masculine for natural, and the feminine for artificial objects, see § 87 o.

v Rem. The juxtaposition of the masculine and feminine from the same stem serves sometimes to express entirety; e.g. Is 3<sup>1</sup> מִשְׁעָנָה וּמִשְׁעָנָה stay and staff, i.e. every kind of support (unless we omit verse 1<sup>b</sup> as a gloss and take staff as = staff-bearer, official; the list of officials begins in verse 2); cf. Is 16<sup>6</sup>, Pr 8<sup>13</sup>. For similar groupings in the case of persons, see Is 43<sup>3</sup>, 49<sup>22</sup>, 60<sup>4</sup> (sons and daughters); 49<sup>23</sup>, Ec 2<sup>8</sup>.

### § 123. The Representation of Plural Ideas by Means of Collectives, and by the Repetition of Words.

a Besides the plural endings treated in § 87 a-i, the language employs other means to express a plurality of living beings or things:

(a) Certain words employed exclusively in a collective sense, while the individual members of the class are denoted by special words (*nomina unitatis*, but not in the same sense as in § 122 t).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in Greek ἡ ἵππος, the cavalry (as well as τὸ ἵππικόν), ἡ κάμηλος, Hdt. 1, 80, &c., the camel corps.

Thus **בָּקָר** *cattle, oxen*<sup>1</sup> (even joined with numerals, e.g. Ex 21<sup>37</sup> **בָּקָר חֲמִשָּׁה** *five head of cattle*), but **שׁוֹר** *an ox*; **צֹאן** *small cattle*, i.e. sheep and goats (*μῆλα*), cf. Jb 1<sup>3</sup> **שִׁבְעַת אֲפִירֵצֶאן** *seven thousand sheep*; but **יָחַד** *a single head of small cattle* (a sheep or a goat). Other more or less common collectives are: **יָיִן** (prop. that which prowls or roams) *wild beasts*, **מָרָה** (perhaps prop. *tripping*) *a number of little children*; **יָרֵשָׁא** *fresh green herb*, i.e. young plants, **יָרֵךְ** *green*, i.e. vegetation in general; **עוֹף** *birds, fowl*; **רֶכֶב** *chariots or cavalcade*, **רֶמָּה** *worms*, **רֶמֶשׂ** *creeping things* (of small creatures), **שֹׁרֵץ** *swarming things*.

(b) The collective use of substantives which at the same time serve *b* as *nomina unitatis*; thus, **אָדָם** (never in plur.) means both *man* (*homo*) and *men* (*homines*); **אִישׁ** *a man* (*vir*) and *men* (*viri*); **אִשָּׁה** *woman* and *women* (Ju 21<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 21<sup>6</sup>); **אַרְבֶּה** *a locust*, but usually *a swarm of locusts*; **נַפֶּשׁ** *soul* and *souls* (persons); **מַגָּל** *staff* and *staves* (Gn 30<sup>37</sup>); **עֵלֶם** *a bird of prey* and *birds of prey*; **עֵלֶף** *a leaf* and *foliage*; **עֵשֶׂב** *a plant* and *plants, herbs*; **עֵץ** *a tree* and *trees* (as it were *foliage*); **פֵּרִי** *fruit* and *fruits*; **שִׁיחַ** *a shrub* and *shrubs*; in isolated instances also nouns like **עֶבֶד** *man-servant*, **שִׁפְחָה** *maid-servant*, **חֲמֹר** *ass*, **שׁוֹר** *ox* (cf. Gn 32<sup>6</sup>).—On the singular (especially of gentilic names) with the article (which may, however, be omitted in poetry, cf. e.g. ψ 12<sup>2</sup> **הַמֶּלֶךְ**, Pr 11<sup>14</sup> **יֹעֲזֵץ**) to include all individuals of the same species, cf. § 126 l. On the special meaning of the plurals formed from certain collectives, see § 124 l.

(c) The feminine ending; see § 122 s.

(d) The repetition of single words, and even of whole groups of *c* words, especially to express entirety, or in a distributive sense. The following cases are more particularly to be noticed:

1. The repetition of one or more words to express the idea of *every, all*, as **יוֹם יוֹם** Gn 39<sup>10</sup>, &c., *day by day, every day*; **שָׁנָה שָׁנָה** *year by year*, Dt 14<sup>22</sup>; **אִישׁ אִישׁ** *every man*, Ex 36<sup>4</sup>; with **כֹּ** before each, as **בֹּקֶר בֹּקֶר** Ex 16<sup>21</sup> *every morning* (and similarly before a group of words, Lv 24<sup>8</sup>), for which the distributive **לְ** is also used, **לְבֹקֶר לְבֹקֶר** 1 Ch 9<sup>27</sup>, and with one plural **לְבֹקְרִים** ψ 73<sup>14</sup>, **לְבֹקְרִים** Jb 7<sup>18</sup> parallel with **לְרִגְעִים** *every moment*. Somewhat different are the instances with **כֹּ** before the second word only, e.g. **יוֹם בְּיוֹם** *day by day*, 1 Ch 12<sup>22</sup>; **שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה** *year by year*, Dt 15<sup>30</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>7</sup> (but in verse 3 **בְּשָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה**); **בְּפֶעֶם בְּפֶעֶם** Nu 24<sup>1</sup>, Ju 16<sup>20</sup>, 20<sup>30 f.</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>10</sup> *as at other times*. Also with the two words united by means of *wāw* copulative, e.g. **אִישׁ וְאִישׁ** ψ 87<sup>5</sup>, or **אִישׁ וְאִישׁ** Est 1<sup>8</sup>; **דּוֹר וָדּוֹר** *all generations*, Dt 32<sup>7</sup>; **יוֹם וָיוֹם** Est 3<sup>4</sup>; cf. Est 8<sup>9</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> The plural form **בִּקְרִים** from **בָּקָר** is found only in very late Hebrew, Neh 10<sup>87</sup> (where according to the Mantua edition, Ginsburg, &c., even **צֹאֲנֵינוּ** *our sheep*, is also to be read; Baer, however, has **צֹאֲנֵנוּ**), and 2 Ch 4<sup>3</sup>. In Am 6<sup>12</sup> read, with Hitzig, **בִּבְקָר יֵם**.

Ezr 10<sup>14</sup>, 1 Ch 26<sup>13</sup> and often (cf. Cheyne, *Bampton Lectures*, 1889, p. 479, according to whom the use of the 1 copulative with the second word is especially common in Ch and Est, and therefore belongs to the later language; Driver, *Introd.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 538, No. 35); sometimes (but with the exception of  $\psi$  45<sup>18</sup> only in very late passages) with a pleonastic פֶּלֶל preceding,  $\psi$  145<sup>13</sup>, Est 2<sup>11</sup>, 9<sup>28</sup>, 2 Ch 11<sup>12</sup>, &c.

d 2. Repetition of words in an expressly distributive sense<sup>1</sup> (which may to some extent be noticed in the examples under c) equivalent to *one each*, &c., e. g. Nu 14<sup>34</sup> *forty days* יוֹם לְשָׁנָה יוֹם לְשָׁנָה *counting for every day a year*; cf. Ez 24<sup>6</sup>, Ex 28<sup>34</sup> (three words repeated); also with the addition of לְבַד *apart*, לְבַדּוֹ עָרָר עָרָר *every drove by itself*, Gn 32<sup>17</sup>; cf. Ze 12<sup>12</sup>. Most frequently with the addition of a numeral (for the simple repetition of numerals for the same purpose, cf. § 134 g), and with the words not only in groups of two (Lv 24<sup>8</sup>, Nu 13<sup>2</sup>, 31<sup>4</sup>) or three (Nu 7<sup>11</sup>, 17<sup>21</sup>), but even of six (Ex 26<sup>3</sup>) or seven (Ex 25<sup>33</sup>, 26<sup>10, 21, 25</sup>); in Ex 25<sup>35</sup> five words even three times repeated.<sup>2</sup>

e 3. Repetition to express an exceptional or at least superfine quality; e. g. 2 K 25<sup>15</sup> *which were of gold, gold, of silver, silver*, i. e. made of pure gold and pure silver; Dt 27<sup>7</sup> בְּדֶרֶךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ *only along by the high way*; cf. Nu 3<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>16</sup> *they are given, given to him*, i. e. given exclusively for his service, for his very own. Also with a certain hyperbole in such examples as 2 K 3<sup>16</sup> בָּיִים בָּיִים *nothing but trenches*; Gn 14<sup>10</sup> בְּאֵרֹת בְּאֵרֹת הַחֵמֶר *all asphalt-pits*.—Repetition serves to intensify the expression to the highest degree in Ju 5<sup>22</sup> *by reason of the violent pransings of his strong ones*, Ex 8<sup>10</sup> (countless heaps), and Jo 4<sup>14</sup> (countless multitudes); cf. also מְעוֹט מְעוֹט Ex 23<sup>30</sup> *by little and little, very gradually*; cf. § 133 k.

f 4. Repetition with the copula to express *of more than one kind*; thus Dt 25<sup>13</sup> (Pr 20<sup>19</sup>) וָאֵלֶּךְ וָאֵלֶּךְ *a weight and a weight*, i. e. two kinds of weight (hence the addition *great and small*);  $\psi$  12<sup>8</sup> בְּלֵב וּבְלֵב *with two kinds of heart*, i. e. *with a double-dealing heart*; cf. the opposite וּלֵב וּלֵב 1 Ch 12<sup>33</sup>.

## § 124. The Various Uses of the Plural-form.<sup>3</sup>

a 1. The plural is by no means used in Hebrew solely to express a number of individuals or separate objects, but may also denote them collectively. This use of the plural expresses either (a) a combination of various external constituent parts (plurals of *local extension*), or (b) a more or less intensive focusing of the characteristics inherent in the idea of the stem (*abstract plurals*, usually rendered in English by forms in *-hood*, *-ness*, *-ship*). A variety of the plurals described under (b), in which the secondary idea of *intensity* or of an *internal*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in the New Testament St. Mark 6<sup>39</sup> ὁμοῦσιν ὁμοῦσιν, πρᾶσαι πρᾶσαι (Weizsäcker, *tischweise*, *beethweise*).

<sup>2</sup> These repetitions of larger groups of words belong entirely to the *Priestly Code* in the Pentateuch, and are unquestionably indications of a late period of the language. Of quite a different kind are such examples as Ez 16<sup>6</sup>, where the repetition of four words serves to give greater solemnity to the promise, unless here, as certainly in 1<sup>20</sup>, it is a mere *ditto-graphy*; the LXX omit the repetition in both passages.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dietrich, 'Über Begriff und Form des hebr. Plurals,' in the *Abhandl. zur hebr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 2 ff.

*multiplication of the idea of the stem may be clearly seen, is (c) the pluralis excellentiae or pluralis maiestatis.*

Examples of (a): Plurals of *local extension* to denote localities in general, but especially level surfaces (the *surface-plural*), since in them the idea of a whole composed of innumerable separate parts or points is most evident, as שָׁמַיִם (§ 88 d) *heaven* (cf. also מְרוֹמִים *heights of heaven*, Is 33<sup>18</sup>, Jb 16<sup>18</sup>; elsewhere (מְרוֹם); מַיִם *water*; יָמִים (the broad surface of the sea) poetically for יָם *sea*; פָּנִים (prop. the side *turned towards* any one, then) *surface* in general, usually *face*; אַחֲרִים *the back*, Ex 26<sup>12</sup>, 33<sup>23</sup>, &c., צְוֹאֲרִים *neck, nape of the neck*<sup>1</sup>; also מִרְאֲשֹׁת *the place at the head*, מִרְגְּלוֹת *place at the feet*; עֲבָרִים *place on the other side* (of a river); מַעְמָקִים *depth*, מִרְחָקִים (also מִרְחָק *distance*, מִשְׁכְּבִים *bed*, Gn 49<sup>4</sup> (unless, with Dillmann, it is to be explained in the sense of *double bed*, i.e. *torus*), מִשְׁכְּבִים, ψ 46<sup>5</sup>, and מִשְׁכְּנוֹת 43<sup>3</sup>, 84<sup>2</sup>, 132<sup>5</sup>, *dwelling* (perhaps also אֶהְיֶה *encampment*, in passages like 1 S 4<sup>10</sup>). The last four belong, however, to poetic style, and are better reckoned amongst the *plurals of amplification* treated under d-f. So perhaps יַצְעִים *bed* (ψ 63<sup>7</sup>, Jb 17<sup>18</sup>; but Gn 49<sup>4</sup>, ψ 132<sup>3</sup>, &c., in the singular); probably, however, יַצְעִים (prop. *strata*) refers to a number of coverings or pillows.

The plural of extension is used to denote a lengthened period of time in עוֹלָמִים *eternity* (everlasting ages).

Rem. The plural of extension includes also a few examples which were formerly explained as simply poetic plurals, e.g. Jb 17<sup>1</sup> לִי קְבָרִים *graves* are (ready) for me, i.e. the place where there are many of them (as it were the *graveyard*) is my portion, Jb 21<sup>32</sup>, 2 Ch 16<sup>14</sup>; cf. 2 K 22<sup>20</sup>.

Of (b): the tolerably numerous abstract plurals, mostly of a particular d form (*qātūlīm, qātūlīm, &c.*), may be divided into two classes. They sum up either the *conditions or qualities* inherent in the idea of the stem, or else the various single *acts* of which an action is composed. Cf. for the first class, בְּחַיִּים and בְּחַיִּוֹת *youth*, זְקֵנִים and זְקֵנוֹת *old age*, נְעֻרִים *youth*; בְּתוּלִים *maidenhood*, בְּלִלוֹת *bridal state*; מְגוּרִים *condition of a sojourner*, בְּשָׂרִים *fleshliness* (only in Pr 14<sup>30</sup>), חַיִּים *life* (the abstract idea of the qualities of a living being); יְשׁוּבִים *childlessness*, סְנוּרִים *blindness*, עֲוִיעִים *perverseness*.

There are also a number of plurals, found almost exclusively in poetry e (sometimes along with the singular), which are evidently intended to intensify<sup>2</sup> the idea of the stem (plural of amplification), as אוֹנִים *might*, Is 40<sup>26</sup>; אֱמוּנִים (as well as אֱמוּנָה) and אֱמוּנוֹת *faithfulness*; אֲשֵׁרִי (according to § 93 l, only in the construct state plural or with suffixes = *the happiness of*), happy; בִּשְׁוֹרֹת (complete) *prosperity*, ψ 68<sup>7</sup>; בִּינוֹת Is 27<sup>11</sup> and תְּבוֹנוֹת Is 40<sup>14</sup>, &c. (keen) *understanding*; עֲצוֹת (true) *counsel*, Dt 32<sup>28</sup>; דְּעִים Jb 37<sup>16</sup> and דְּעוֹת

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the same use of the plural in τὰ στέφνα, τὰ νῶτα, τὰ πλάχηλα, *præcordia, cervices, fauces*; on plurals of extension in general, cf. the prepositions of place and time in the plur. form, § 103 n. סִפְרִים is not a case in point, in the sense of *letter* (properly a sheet folded into several pages; elsewhere also סִפְרִי) 1 K 21<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 10<sup>1</sup>, 19<sup>14</sup> (Is 37<sup>14</sup>; referred to afterwards by the singular suffix); Is 39<sup>1</sup>, Jer 29<sup>25</sup>, 32<sup>14</sup> (after being folded, previously סִפְרִי).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Ember, 'The pluralis intensivus in Hebrew,' *AJSL* 1905, p. 195 ff.

1 S 2<sup>8</sup> (thorough) *knowledge*; בְּטָחוֹת Jb 12<sup>10</sup> and מִבְּטָחִים Is 32<sup>18</sup> (full) *confidence*; בְּרָכוֹת (abundant) *blessing*, ψ 21<sup>7</sup>; גְּבוּרוֹת (exceptional) *strength*, Jb 41<sup>4</sup>; הָיוֹת ψ 5<sup>10</sup> (very) *wickedness*; חֲמוּדוֹת Dn 9<sup>28</sup> (greatly) *beloved*; חֲמוֹת ψ 76<sup>11</sup>, &c. (fierce) *wrath*; חֲרָפוֹת Dn 12<sup>2</sup> (utter) *contempt*; יִשְׁעוֹת (real) *help*, Is 26<sup>18</sup>, &c.; מִרְאָה Gn 46<sup>2</sup> (an important) *vision*; מִישְׁרִים מִישְׁרִים uprightness; תַּהֲפֻכוֹת perversity; נִקְמוֹת (complete) *vengeance*, Ju 11<sup>36</sup>, &c.; חֲשֵׁכִים and חֲשֵׁכִים (thick) *darkness*; מִסְתָּרִים a (close) *hiding-place*; נִיבִירִים nobility; שְׁמָנִים Is 28<sup>1</sup> *futness*; צִהְצִחוֹת (complete) *aridity*; מִמְתָּקִים sweetness; מְחֻמְדִּים preciousness; שְׂשֻׁעִים delight; עֲרִיבִים and תַּעֲנִיגִים pleasure; רַחֲמִים compassion; מְנוּחָה ψ 23<sup>2</sup> *rest, refreshment*; מוֹהֲלוֹת Am 3<sup>9</sup> *tumult*. Probably also יְדִידוֹת (heartfelt) *love*, ψ 45<sup>1</sup>; מְרוֹרוֹת (extreme) *bitterness*, Jb 13<sup>28</sup>; מְרֻמוֹת (base) *deceit*, ψ 38<sup>13</sup>; צְדָקוֹת (true) *righteousness*, Is 33<sup>15</sup>, &c.; שִׂמְחוֹת (the highest) *joy*, ψ 16<sup>11</sup>. On the other hand, חֲכָמוֹת *wisdom* (Pr 1<sup>20</sup>, &c.) can hardly be a plural (= the essence of wisdom, or wisdom personified), but is a singular (see § 86 i).

A further extension of this plural of amplification occurs according to P. Haupt's very probable suggestion (SBOT. Proverbs, p. 40, line 50, &c.) in יְאִירִים *the great river* (of the Nile, generally יָאֵר) Is 7<sup>18</sup>, 19<sup>6</sup> (though with the predicate in the plural), Ez 30<sup>12</sup>, ψ 74<sup>4</sup>, but in Is 37<sup>25</sup>, Ez 29<sup>8</sup> the usual explanation, *arms or channels of the Nile*, can hardly be avoided; also in נְהָרוֹת ψ 24<sup>2</sup> of the ocean, which encircles the earth, 137<sup>1</sup> of the *great river*, i.e. the Euphrates, but in Is 18<sup>1</sup> נְהָרֵי בֹשֶׁשׁ is evidently a numerical plural.—In Pr 16<sup>13</sup> מֶלֶכִּים (acc. to P. Haupt = the *great king*) is very doubtful. In נְשִׂאֵי Ez 19<sup>1</sup> the second *yôdh* is evidently due to dittography, since יִשְׂרָאֵל follows.

f The summing up of the several parts of an action is expressed in חֲנֻמִּים *embalming*, כְּפָרִים *atonement*, מְלֵאִים (prop. *filling*, sc. of the hand) *ordination to the priesthood*, שְׁלָחִים *dismissal*, נִשְׁלָמִים *retribution*, פְּתָחִים *engraving* (of a seal, &c.); אֲהָבִים *formication*, זִנְנִים *whoredom*, נֶאֱדָפִים *adultery*; נְחָמִים (prop. no doubt, warm compassion) *consolation*, תַּחֲנֻנִּים *supplication*, נִדְרִים Jb 7<sup>4</sup> (restless) *tossing to and fro*, עֲלִלוֹת *gleaning*; perhaps also בְּנִילוֹת ψ 4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, &c., if it means *the playing on stringed instruments*, and שְׁלֻמִּים Is 1<sup>23</sup> *bribery*, unless it be a plural of number.<sup>1</sup>

g Of (c): the *pluralis excellentiae* or *majestatis*, as has been remarked above, is properly a variety of the abstract plural, since it sums up the several characteristics<sup>2</sup> belonging to the idea, besides possessing the secondary sense of an *intensification* of the original idea. It is thus closely related to the plurals of amplification, treated under e, which are mostly found in poetry.

<sup>1</sup> Mayer Lambert in *REJ.* xxiv. 106 ff., enumerates no less than ninety-five words ending in *im*, which in his opinion are to be regarded as *pluralia tantum*.

<sup>2</sup> The Jewish grammarians call such plurals רִבּוּי הַחֹזֶק *plur. virium* or *virtutum*; later grammarians call them *plur. excellentiae*, *magnitudinis*, or *plur. maiestaticus*. This last name may have been suggested by the *we* used by kings when speaking of themselves (cf. already 1 Mac. 10<sup>19</sup>, 11<sup>31</sup>); and the plural used by God in Gn 1<sup>26</sup>, 11<sup>7</sup>, Is 6<sup>8</sup> has been incorrectly explained in this way. It is, however, either *communicative* (including the attendant angels; so at all events in Is 6<sup>8</sup>, cf. also Gn 3<sup>22</sup>), or according to others, an indication of the *fullness of power and might* implied in אֱלֹהִים (see Dillmann on Gn 1<sup>26</sup>); but it is best explained as a plural of *self-deliberation*. The use of the plural as a form of respectful address is quite foreign to Hebrew.

So especially אֱלֹהִים *Godhead, God* (to be distinguished from the numerical plural *gods*, Ex 12<sup>12</sup>, &c.). The supposition that אֱלֹהִים is to be regarded as merely a remnant of earlier polytheistic views (i.e. as originally only a numerical plural) is at least highly improbable, and, moreover, would not explain the analogous plurals (see below). That the language has entirely rejected the idea of numerical plurality in אֱלֹהִים (whenever it denotes *one* God), is proved especially by its being almost invariably joined with a singular attribute (cf. § 132 *h*), e.g. אֱלֹהִים צָדִיק ψ 7<sup>10</sup>, &c. Hence אֱלֹהִים may have been used originally not only as a numerical but also as an abstract plural (corresponding to the Latin *numen*, and our *Godhead*), and, like other abstracts of the same kind, have been transferred to a concrete single god (even of the heathen).

To the same class (and probably formed on the analogy of אֱלֹהִים) belong *h* the plurals קְדוּשִׁים *the Most Holy* (only of Yahweh), Ho 12<sup>1</sup>, Pr 9<sup>10</sup>, 30<sup>3</sup> (cf. אֱלֹהִים קְדוּשִׁים Jos 24<sup>19</sup>, and the Aram. עֲלִיוֹנִי *the Most High*, Dn 7<sup>18.22.25</sup>); and probably הַרְפָּאִים (usually taken in the sense of *penates*) the image of a god, used especially for obtaining oracles. Certainly in 1 S 19<sup>13.16</sup> only *one* image is intended; in most other places a single image *may* be intended<sup>1</sup>; in Zc 10<sup>2</sup> alone is it most naturally taken as a numerical plural. In Ec 5<sup>7</sup> בְּבָהִים *supremus* (of God) is doubtful; according to others it is a numerical plural, *superiores*.

Further, אֲדָנִים, as well as the singular אֲדֹנָי, (*lordship*) *lord*, e.g. אֲדָנִים קָשָׁה *i* a cruel lord, Is 19<sup>4</sup>; אֲדָנִי הָאָרֶץ *the lord of the land*, Gn 42<sup>30</sup>, cf. Gn 32<sup>19</sup>; so especially with the suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd persons אֲדָרְיָה, אֲדָרְיָהָ, ψ 45<sup>12</sup>, אֲדָרְיָה, &c., also אֲדָרְיָהּ (except 1 S 16<sup>16</sup>); but in 1st sing. always אֲדָרְיָה.<sup>2</sup> So also בָּעָלִים (with suffixes) *lord, master* (of slaves, cattle, or inanimate things; but in the sense of *maritus*, always in the singular), e.g. בָּעָלִי Ex 21<sup>20</sup>, Is 1<sup>3</sup>, &c.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, we must regard as doubtful a number of participles in the plural, which, being used as attributes of God, resemble *plurales excellentiae*; thus, עֹשֵׂי *my Maker*, Jb 35<sup>10</sup>; עֹשֵׂיָהּ Is 54<sup>5</sup>; עֹשֵׂי ψ 149<sup>2</sup>; עֹשֵׂיָהּ Is 22<sup>11</sup>; נֹטְיָהֶם *stretching them out*, Is 42<sup>5</sup>; for all these forms may also be explained as singular, according to § 93 ss.<sup>4</sup>—נֹשֵׂי Is 3<sup>12</sup> might also be regarded as another instance, unless it be a numerical plural, *their oppressors*; moreover, מְרִימוֹ *him who lifteth it up*, Is 10<sup>15</sup> (but read probably מְרִימוֹ); מְשַׁלְּחֵי *him who sendeth him*, Pr 10<sup>26</sup>, 22<sup>21</sup> (so Baer, but Ginsburg מְשַׁלְּחֵה), 25<sup>13</sup> (in parallelism with מְרִימוֹ). These latter plurals, however (including מְרִימוֹ), may probably be more simply explained as indicating an indefinite individual, cf. *o* below.—For שְׂמֵרָיָה ψ 121<sup>5</sup> (*textus receptus*) and בּוֹרְאֵיָהּ Ec 12<sup>1</sup> (*textus receptus*) the singular should be read, with Baer.

<sup>1</sup> Even in Gn 31<sup>34</sup>, notwithstanding the plural suffix in וְהַשִּׁמָּם and וְהַיִּלִּים, since the construction of these abstracts as numerical plurals is one of the peculiarities of the E-document of the Hexateuch; cf. Gn 20<sup>13</sup>, 35<sup>7</sup>, and § 145 *i*.

<sup>2</sup> On אֲדָרְיָה (for אֲדָרְיָה) as a name of God, cf. § 135 *g*.

<sup>3</sup> Euting, *Reise in Arabien*, p. 61, mentions the interesting fact that the subjects of the Emir of Hâyel commonly speak of their ruler as *Syûlkh*, a plur. majestatis = *the great sheikh*.

<sup>4</sup> בָּעָלִיָּהּ, which in Is 54<sup>5</sup> is in parallelism with עֹשֵׂיָהּ, must then be explained as merely formed on analogy.



**l** Rem. 1. (a) Coherent substances, &c., are mostly regarded as *single*, and are, accordingly, almost always represented by nouns in the singular, cf. אֶפֶק *fine dust*, אֶפֶר *ashes*, בֵּד *linen*, בְּרִיל *lead*, זָהָב *gold*, כֶּסֶף *silver*, נְחָשֶׁת *brass*, חֵלֶב *milk*, יַיִן *wine*, עֶפֶר *dust, the ground*, עֵץ *wood*. Plurals are, however, formed from some of these words expressing materials in order to denote separate portions taken from the whole in manufacture (*plurals of the result*) or parts otherwise detached from it; thus, בְּרִים *linen garments*; כְּסָפִים *silver pieces*, Gn 42<sup>25,35</sup>; נְחָשִׁים (dual) *fetters of brass*; עֵצִים *ligna (timber for building or sticks for burning)*; also in a wider sense, בְּרִילִים particles of *alloy* to be separated by smelting, Is 1<sup>26</sup>; עֲפָרוֹת *fragments of earth*, Pr 8<sup>26</sup>, cf. Jb 28<sup>6</sup> עֲפָרֹת זָהָב *dust of gold*.

**m** (b) To the class of *plurals of the result* belong also a few names of natural products, when represented in an artificial condition; thus, חִטִּים *wheat* in grain (threshed wheat), as distinguished from חֵמֶת *wheat* (used collectively) in the ear; cf. the same distinction between בִּסְמִים and בִּסְמָה *spelt*; עֲרִשִׁים and עֲרִשָּׁה (the singular preserved only in the Mishna) *lentils*; שְׁעִירִים and שְׁעִירָה *barley*; also בִּשְׁתִּים *linen*, בִּשְׁתָּה (to be inferred from בִּשְׁתִּי) *flax*.

**n** (c) Finally, the distinction between דָּם *blood* and דְּמַיִם requires to be specially noticed. The singular is always used when the blood is regarded as an organic unity, hence also of menstrual blood, and the blood of sacrifices (collected in the basin and then sprinkled), and in Nu 23<sup>24</sup> of the blood gushing from wounds. On the other hand, דְּמַיִם as a sort of plural of the result and at the same time of local extension, denotes *blood which is shed*, when it appears as blood-stains (Is 1<sup>16</sup>) or as blood-marks (so evidently in Is 9<sup>4</sup>). But since blood-stains or blood-marks, as a rule, suggest blood shed in murder (although דְּמַיִם also denotes the blood which flows at childbirth or in circumcision), דְּמַיִם acquired (even in very early passages) simply the sense of a *bloody deed*, and especially of *bloodguiltiness*, Ex 22<sup>1f</sup>, &c.

**o** In some few cases the plural is used to denote an indefinite singular; certainly so in Dt 17<sup>5</sup> אֶל-שַׁעֲרֶיךָ *unto one of thy gates*; Ze 9<sup>9</sup> בְּרֹאֲתָנֹת (cf. Ct 2<sup>9</sup>); Ex 21<sup>22</sup> יִלְדֶּיָּהּ (where evidently only *one* child is thought of, though certainly in connexion with a contingency which may be repeated); cf. also Ec 4<sup>10</sup> (if one of them fall).—So probably also Gn 8<sup>4</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>48</sup>, Dn 2<sup>1</sup>, Neh 3<sup>8</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>; but not Gn 19<sup>20</sup>, since the same document (Gn 13<sup>12</sup>) makes Lot dwell in the cities of the Jordan valley; in Gn 21<sup>7</sup> בְּנֵים denotes the class with which the action is concerned. In Ju 12<sup>7</sup> instead of the unusual בְּעָרֵי גִלְעָד in the cities of Gilead (formerly explained here as in one of the cities of Gilead) we should most probably read, with Moore (SBOT, Judges, p. 52), בְּעִירוֹ בְּמִצְפָּה גִלְעָד in his city, in Mizpeh (in) Gilead.

**p** 2. When a substantive is followed by a genitive, and the compound idea thus formed is to be expressed in the plural, this is done—

(a) Most naturally by using the plural of the *nomen regens*, e. g. גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִּל *mighty men of valour* (prop. heroes of strength), 1 Ch 7<sup>2,9</sup>; so also in compounds, e. g. בְּנֵי יַמִּי 1 S 22<sup>7</sup>, as the plur. of בְּנֵי יַמִּי *Benjamite*; but also

**q** (b) By using the plural of *both* nouns,<sup>1</sup> e. g. גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִּל 1 Ch 7<sup>5</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 438 f.; according to whom the plural of the principal word exercises an influence on the determining genitive.

שְׁנֵי לָחֶט אֲבָנִים and in prison houses, Is 42<sup>22</sup>; cf. Ex 34<sup>1</sup>, &c., שְׁנֵי לָחֶט אֲבָנִים two tables of stone (but Ex 31<sup>18</sup> לָחֶט אֶבֶן); Nu 13<sup>32</sup>, Dt 1<sup>28</sup>, Jos 5<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 14<sup>14</sup>, 25<sup>23</sup>, Is 51<sup>9</sup>, Jer 41<sup>16</sup>, Ezr 3<sup>3</sup>, &c. הָעָרְצוֹת the people of the country; 2 Ch 26<sup>14</sup>; so perhaps אֱלֹהִים בְּנֵי sons of God, ψ 29<sup>1</sup>, 89<sup>7</sup> (according to others sons of gods); or finally even

(c) By using the plural of the *nomen rectum*;<sup>1</sup> e.g. בֵּית אָבוֹת Ex 6<sup>14</sup>, r Nu 1<sup>2, 4<sup>fr</sup></sup>, &c., as plur. of בֵּית אָב father's house, family; בֵּית הַבָּמוֹת the houses of the high places, 2 K 17<sup>29</sup> (also בֵּית הַבָּמוֹת 23<sup>19</sup>); בֵּית עֲצִבְיָם the houses of their idols, 1 S 31<sup>9</sup>, Ez 46<sup>24</sup>; cf. also Ju 7<sup>25</sup> the head of Oreb and Zeeb, i.e. the heads, &c.

Rem. When a substantive (in a distributive sense) with a suffix refers S back to a plural, the singular form of the substantive suffices, since the idea of plurality is already adequately expressed by the suffix, e.g. בְּיָמָם os (for ora) eorum, ψ 17<sup>10</sup>; יְמֵינָם their right hand, ψ 144<sup>8</sup> [so in the English RV.], for hands.

## § 125. *Determination of Nouns in general. Determination of Proper Names.*

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 466 ff.

1. A noun may either be determinate in itself, as a proper name *a* or pronoun (see below, *d* and *i*), or be made so by its context. In the latter case, the determination may be effected either by prefixing the article (see § 126), or by the connexion of the noun (in the construct state) with a following determinate genitive, and consequently also (according to § 33 c) by its union with a pronominal suffix (§ 127 a). It is to be taken as a fundamental rule, that the determination can only be effected in *one* of the ways here mentioned; the article cannot be prefixed to a proper name, nor to a noun followed by the genitive, nor can a proper name be used in the construct state. Deviations from this rule are either only apparent or have arisen from a corruption of the text.

Rem. Only in a few passages is a noun made expressly *indeterminate* by the addition of אֲחֵר in the sense of our indefinite article; cf. Ex 16<sup>33</sup>, Ju 9<sup>33</sup>, 13<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 11<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>12</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>11</sup>, 19<sup>4</sup>, 20<sup>13</sup>, 22<sup>9</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>9</sup>, 12<sup>10</sup>, Ez 8<sup>8</sup>, Dn 8<sup>8</sup>, 10<sup>8</sup> (in 8<sup>13</sup> אֲחֵר קִדְרָשׁ i.e. one, viz. a holy one, is opposed to another).

It is further to be noticed, that in Hebrew the phenomenon sometimes C occurs, which the Arab grammarians call *indeterminateness for the sake of amplification*; e.g. Is 31<sup>8</sup> and he shall flee מִפְּנֵי הָחֶרֶב from a sword, i.e. from an irresistible sword (God's sword); cf. Is 28<sup>2</sup> בֵּינָהּ; 2 S 6<sup>2</sup> שָׁם; Ho 3<sup>1</sup> אִשָּׁה such a woman, without doubt to be referred to the Gomer mentioned in cap. 1;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 482.

Am 6<sup>14</sup> גִּזְיוֹ ; ψ בְּיָרֵעַ 77<sup>16</sup> ; Pr 21<sup>12</sup> צָדִיק, if with Delitzsch it is to be referred to God ; Jb 8<sup>10</sup> מְלִים meaning *important words*, but in 15<sup>18</sup> מְלִין *reproachful words*. Cf. on this point, § 117 g, note 3, and Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, ed. 4, p. 79.

d 2. Real *proper nouns*, as being the names of things (or persons) only *once* met with, are sufficiently determinate in themselves. Such names, therefore, as יהוה, דָּוִד, יַעֲקֹב, פְּנֵעַן, כָּרֶם do not admit of the article,<sup>1</sup> nor can they be in the construct state. On the other hand, not only *gentile* names (as denoting the *various* individuals belonging to the same class), but also all those proper names, of which the appellative sense is still sufficiently evident to the mind, or at least has been handed down from an earlier period of the language, frequently (often even as a rule) take the article (according to § 126 e), and may even be followed by a genitive.

e Examples. Like the above-mentioned proper names of individuals, countries, and cities, so also national names, which are identical in form with the name of the founder of the race (e.g. יִשְׂרָאֵל, אָדָם, מוֹאָב), are always determinate in themselves. Of gentile names (e.g. הָעִבְרִי the *Hebrew*, הָעִבְרִים the *Hebrews*, Gn 40<sup>15</sup> ; הַכְּנַעֲנִי the *Canaanite*) the plural פְּלִשְׁתִּים, even when meaning the Philistines, is generally used without the article (but in 1 S 4<sup>7</sup>, &c., הַפְּלִשְׁתִּים) ; so always בְּבִתְרִים.—Evident appellatives (like such modern names as the *Hague*, le *Harre*) are הַגְּבֵעָה the *hill*, in the construct state גְּבֵעַת שְׁאֵל, i. e. the *Gibeah* named after *Saul* to distinguish it from others ; הָרְקֻמָּה the *height* ; הֶעָי the *heap* ; הַלְבָנִן (prop. the *white mountain*) the *Lebanon* ; הַיָּאֵר (prop. the *river*) the *Nile*, cf. Am 8<sup>8</sup> מִצְרֵיִם כַּיָּאֵר מִצְרַיִם like the *river of Egypt* ; הַיַּרְדֵּן the *Jordan* (according to Seybold, *Miththeil. und Nachr. des DPV.*, 1896, p. 11, probably the *drinking-place* [יָרַר, Arab. *warada*, meaning *orig. to go down to drink*]).

f Rem. 1. In a few instances original appellatives have completely assumed the character of real proper names, and are therefore used without the article ; thus אֱלֹהִים *God*, to denote the one true God (as elsewhere יהוה) Gn 1<sup>1</sup> and so generally in this document of the Pentateuch up to Ex 6, elsewhere sometimes the sing. אֱלֹהִים *God*, עֶלְיוֹן the *Most High*, and שְׂדֵי the *Almighty* never take the article.—Moreover, אָדָם *Adam* from Gn 5<sup>1</sup> onwards (previously in 2<sup>7</sup>, &c., הָאָדָם the *first man*) ; שָׂטָן *Satan*, 1 Ch 21<sup>1</sup> (but Ze 3<sup>1</sup>, Jb 1<sup>6</sup>, &c., הַשָּׂטָן the *adversary*) ; cf. אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד the *tent of revelation* (i. e. the *tabernacle*), always without the article.

g To the class of nouns originally appellative, which the language regards

<sup>1</sup> Consequently, הַמְּנַשֶּׁה Dt 3<sup>18</sup>, Jos 1<sup>12</sup>, &c. (in the Deuteronomist) in the combination שִׁבְטֵי הַמְּנַשֶּׁה (for which elsewhere מְנַשֶּׁה) is to be regarded not as a proper name but as a gentile name (=the *tribe of the Manassites*), for which in Dt 29<sup>7</sup> הַמְּנַשִּׁי שִׁ is used, as in 10<sup>8</sup> הַלֵּוִי שִׁ the *tribe of the Levites*, and in Ju 18<sup>1</sup> הַדָּנִי שִׁ the *tribe of the Danites*.—In Jos 13<sup>7</sup> הַמְּנַשֶּׁה (like gentile names in הַ) is even used adjectivally.

as proper names, and which consequently never take the article, belong also certain archaic words mostly used only by poets, such as שְׁאוֹל *Hades*, תְּבֵל *world*, תְּהוֹם *ocean*, of the body of water which encircles the earth, Gn 1<sup>2</sup>, &c.; but Is 63<sup>15</sup>, ψ 106<sup>9</sup> בְּתִמְכוֹת through the depths, viz. of the Red Sea.<sup>1</sup>

2. When nouns which the usage of the language always treats as proper names occasionally appear to be connected with a following genitive, this is really owing to an ellipse whereby the noun which really governs the genitive, i. e. the appellative idea contained in the proper name, is suppressed. So evidently in the case of יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת *Yahweh (the God) of hosts*; the fuller form צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה 2 S 5<sup>10</sup>, &c., or אֱלֹהֵי הַצְבָּאוֹת Am 3<sup>13</sup>, &c., is a secondary expansion of the original צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהִים; יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת in ψ 59<sup>6</sup>, 80<sup>15,20</sup>, 84<sup>9</sup> is due to the mechanical substitution of אֱלֹהִים for יְהוָה affected in the 2nd and part of the 3rd book of the Psalms. So also in geographical names such as אֲרָם נְהָרַיִם (the city) of the *Chaldees*, Gn 11<sup>28</sup>; אֲרָם נְהָרַיִם (the region) of the *two rivers*; בֵּית לֶחֶם יהודה *Bethlehem (the city) of Judah*, 2 S 20<sup>14</sup>, &c., to distinguish it from אֲבֵל מַיִם *Abel by the water*, 2 Ch 16<sup>1</sup>; יְבִישׁ גִּלְעָד 1 S 11<sup>1</sup>, &c.; יִרְדֵּן יִרְחוֹ Nu 22<sup>1</sup>, 26<sup>3,63</sup>, &c.; on Ju 8<sup>32</sup> cf. § 128 c; צִיּוֹן קְדוֹשׁ יְהוָה the *Zion of the Holy One of Israel*, Is 60<sup>14</sup>; but in 1 S 1<sup>1</sup> for צוֹפִים read צוֹפִי *a Zuphite*. Some of these examples (cf. also Am 6<sup>2</sup>) come very near to the actual construct state (cf. above, שְׁאוֹל הַמָּוֶת), since e.g. the addition of the genitive serves to distinguish the place from four others called Aram (see the Lexicon), or from another Bethlehem. Aram, Bethlehem, &c., are accordingly no longer names found only in one special sense, and therefore also are no longer proper names in the strictest sense.

3. Of the pronouns, the personal pronouns proper (the separate pronouns, § 32) are always determinate in themselves, since they can denote only definite individuals (the 3rd person, also definite things). For the same reason the demonstrative pronouns (§ 34) are also determinate in themselves, when they stand *alone* (as equivalent to substantives), either as subject (Gn 5<sup>29</sup>) or as predicate (e.g. הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *this is the day*, Ju 4<sup>14</sup>; אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים *these are the words*, Dt 1<sup>1</sup>), or as object (e.g. אֶת־רוּחַ 2 S 13<sup>17</sup>), or as genitive (הַמְּחִיר 1 K 21<sup>2</sup>), or finally when joined to a preposition (לְאוֹת Gn 2<sup>23</sup>; בְּיָהּ 1 S 16<sup>8</sup>, see § 102 g).

So also the personal pronouns הוּא, הִיא, הֵם, הֵנָּה, הֵנָּה when they *h* are used as demonstratives (= *is, ea, id, ille, &c.*) are always determinate in themselves, e.g. הַיָּד הַזֶּה *that is the thing*, Gn 41<sup>23</sup>. They

<sup>1</sup> That various other words, such as אִנּוּשׁ *man*, צִלְמָוֶת *deep darkness*, רֶן *prince*, שָׂדֵי *field*, תְּשׁוּבָה *effectual working*, are always found without the article is not to be attributed to any special archaism, but is to be explained from the fact that they belong solely to poetic language, which avoids the article; in other cases, such as תְּרִמְכָה *deep sleep*, there is no occasion for the article in the passages we possess.

are made determinate by the article, when they are joined like adjectives (see § 126 *u*) with a determinate substantive, e.g. הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this man*; הָאֲנָשִׁים הַזֵּאת *these men*; בַּיָּמִים הַהֵמָּה וּבָעֵת הַהִיא *in those days, and in that time*, Jo 4<sup>1</sup>. The demonstrative, however, even in this case, is frequently used *without* the article, as being sufficiently determinate in itself (cf. § 126 *y*).

### § 126. Determination by Means of the Article.

*a* 1. The article (אֵת, הַ, הָ, הֶ, § 35) was originally, as in other languages (clearly in the Romance; cf. also δ, ἡ, τό in Homer), a demonstrative pronoun. The demonstrative force of the article, apart from its occasional use as a relative pronoun (see § 138 *i*), appears now, however, only (*a*) in a few standing phrases, and (*b*) in a certain class of statements or exclamations.

*b* (*a*) Cf. הַיּוֹם *this day, hodie* (§ 100 *c*); הַלַּיְלָה *this night*, Gn 19<sup>34</sup>; הַפֶּעַם *this time*, Gn 2<sup>23</sup>; הַשָּׁנָה *this year (= in this year)* Is 37<sup>30</sup>, Jer 28<sup>16</sup>.

(*b*) includes those instances in which the article, mostly when prefixed to a participle, joins on a new statement concerning a preceding noun. Although such participles, &c., are no doubt primarily regarded always as in apposition to a preceding substantive, the article nevertheless has in some of these examples almost the force of הוּא (הִיא, הֵמָּה) as the subject of a noun-clause; e.g. ψ 19<sup>10</sup> *the judgements of the Lord are true . . .*, verse 11 הַנְּחָמָיִם וְג' *prop. the more to be desired than gold, i.e. they are more to be desired, or even they, that are more to be desired*,<sup>1</sup> &c.; cf. Gn 49<sup>21</sup>, Is 40<sup>22 f.</sup>, 44<sup>27 f.</sup>, 46<sup>6</sup>, Am 2<sup>7</sup>, 5<sup>7</sup>, ψ 33<sup>15</sup>, 49<sup>7</sup> הַבְּתָרִים *in the parallel half of the verse continued by a finite verb*); ψ 104<sup>3</sup>, Jb 6<sup>16</sup>, 28<sup>4</sup>, 30<sup>3</sup>, 41<sup>25</sup> and frequently. When such a participle has another co-ordinate with it, the latter is used *without* the article, since according to the above it strictly speaking represents a second predicate, and as such, according to *i*, remains indeterminate; e.g. Jb 5<sup>10</sup> *who giveth* (הַמֵּתֵן) *rain, &c., and sendeth* (וְשִׁלָּה), &c.

*C* The article is sometimes used with similar emphasis before a substantive, which serves as the subject of a compound sentence (§ 140 *d*); e.g. Dt 32<sup>4</sup> הַצֵּיִר הַתָּמִיד *i.e. as a fresh statement (not in apposition to the preceding dative), really equivalent to he is a rock, perfect in his work (i.e. whose work is perfect)*; cf. ψ 18<sup>31</sup>.

*d* 2. The article is, generally speaking, employed to determine a substantive wherever it is required by Greek and English; thus:

(*a*) When a person or thing already spoken of is mentioned again, and is consequently more definite to the mind of the hearer or reader; e.g. Gn 1<sup>3</sup> *and God said, Let there be light*: verse 4 *and God saw the light* (וַיַּרְא אֱלֹהִים); 1 K 3<sup>24</sup> *fetch me a sword: and they brought the sword*; Ec 9<sup>15</sup>. (In 2 S 12<sup>2</sup> therefore לָקַח must be read.)

<sup>1</sup> On the analogous use of the article before participles which have a verbal suffix, as in ψ 18<sup>33</sup>, &c., cf. above, § 116 *f*.

(b) With a title understood and recognized by every one, e. g. *הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל* *ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμών*: Gn 35<sup>s</sup> *under the oak* (the well-known oak which was there).

(c) With appellatives to denote persons or natural objects which are unique, e. g. *הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל* *the high priest*, *הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ* *the sun*, *הָאָרֶץ* *the earth*.

(d) When terms applying to whole classes are restricted (simply by *e* usage) to particular individuals (like *ὁ ποιητής*, meaning Homer) or things, e. g. *אֹיְבִי* *adversary*, *הָאֹיְבִי* *the adversary, Satan*; *בָּעַל* *lord*, *הַבָּעַל* *Baal* as proper name of the god; *הָאָדָם* *the (first) man, Adam*; *הָאֱלֹהִים* *הַיָּחִיד* or *הָאֵל* *ὁ θεός*, *the one true God* (cf. also *ὁ Χριστός* in the New Testament); also *הַנָּהָר* *the river*, i. e. *Euphrates*; *הַכֶּכֶּר* *the circle*, sc. of the Jordan, *the Jordan plain* [Gn 19<sup>17</sup>, &c.].

(e) Very often with the vocative, e. g. 2 S 14<sup>1</sup> *הוֹשֶׁעַ הַכֹּהֵן* *help, O king*; Zc 3<sup>s</sup> *הוֹשֶׁעַ הַכֹּהֵן* *O Joshua the high priest*; 1 S 17<sup>58</sup>, 24<sup>9</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>6</sup>; in the plural, Is 42<sup>18</sup>, Jo 12<sup>13</sup>; but cf. also Jos 10<sup>12</sup>, Is 1<sup>2</sup>, 49<sup>13</sup> (*אֲנִי* and *אַתָּה*); 23<sup>16</sup>, Ho 13<sup>14</sup>, Jo 1<sup>5</sup>, ψ 34<sup>12</sup>, Ec 10<sup>17</sup>, 11<sup>9</sup>, &c.<sup>2</sup> The vocative occurs *without* the article in Is 22<sup>2</sup>, since it has been already defined by a preceding accusative.

Rem. Strictly speaking in all these cases the substantive with the article *f* is really in apposition to the personal pronoun of the 2nd person, which is either expressly mentioned or virtually present (in the imperative), e. g. 1 S 17<sup>58</sup> *thou, the young man*. But such passages as Is 42<sup>18</sup>, where the vocative precedes the imperative, prove that in such cases the substantive originally in apposition eventually acquired the value of a complete clause.

(f) With words denoting classes (see particulars under *l*).

(g) In a peculiar way, to specify persons or things, which are so far definite as to be naturally thought of in connexion with a given case, and must be assumed accordingly to be there (see *q-s*).

(h) With adjectives (also ordinal numbers and demonstrative pronouns used adjectivally) which are joined to substantives determined in some way (see *u*).

Rem. The article may be omitted in *poetry* in all the above-mentioned *h* cases; in general it is used in poetry far less frequently than in prose. Its use or omission probably often rests on rhythmical grounds;<sup>3</sup> it is sometimes omitted also for rhetorical reasons. Cf. e. g. *הָאָדָם* *ψ 2<sup>2</sup>*; *מַלְאָכָיו* as vocative, verse 10; *הַמַּלְאָכִים* for *הַמַּלְאָכִים* 21<sup>2</sup>; *שִׁמְךָ גָּדוֹל וְנוֹרָא* (contrary to *u, v*) 99<sup>3</sup>. In the instances in which the *ה* of the article is omitted after a prefix (§ 35 *n*), the vowel of the article is often retained after the prefix even in poetry, e. g. *בְּשֵׁמִי* *ψ 2<sup>4</sup>*, &c.

<sup>1</sup> On the subsequent change of *שָׁמַיִם*, *אָדָם*, *אֱלֹהִים* into real proper names by the omission of the article, cf. above, § 125 *f*.

<sup>2</sup> For further exceptions see Nestle, *ZAW.* 1904, p. 323 *ff*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the useful statistics of J. Ley in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 2te Abteilung, 1891, Heft 7-9, and M. Lambert, 'L'article dans la poésie hébr.', *REF.* 37, 263 *ff*.

i (i) On the other hand, the article is always omitted when a person or thing is to be represented as indefinite (or indefinable) or as yet unknown; consequently also before the predicate, since this is from its nature always a general term, under which the subject is included, e.g. Gn 29<sup>7</sup> עֹד הַיּוֹם גָּדוֹל *as yet the day is great*, i.e. it is yet high day; 33<sup>13</sup>, 40<sup>18</sup>, 41<sup>26</sup>, Is 66<sup>3</sup>.

k Rem. 1. As exceptions to the above rule it is usual to regard those examples in which a determinate adjective or participle (equivalent to a relative clause) is used apparently as a predicate, e.g. Gn 2<sup>11</sup> הָיָא הַפָּחַב *it is the compassing*, i.e. *that is it which compasseth*; 42<sup>6</sup>, 45<sup>12</sup>, Ex 9<sup>27</sup>, Dt 3<sup>21</sup>, 8<sup>18</sup>, 11<sup>7</sup>, 1 S 4<sup>10</sup>, Is 14<sup>27</sup>, Mal 3<sup>2</sup> (cf. in Greek, e.g. St. Mat. 10<sup>20</sup>, where Winer, *Gram. des newest. Sprachidoms*, § 58, 2, Rem., explains of λαλούντες as a predicate with the article). In reality, however, these supposed predicates are rather subjects (acc. to § 116 g), and the only peculiarity of these cases is that the subject is not included under a general idea, but is equated with the predicate.

2. Sometimes the article is used with only one of two parallel words, as Na 1<sup>5</sup> הָרִים וְהַגְּבָעוֹת, 2 Ch 3<sup>17</sup> מִיָּמִין וּמִשְׁמָאל.

l 3. The use of the article to determine the *class* is more extensive in Hebrew than in most other languages. In this case the article indicates universally known, closely circumscribed, and therefore well defined classes of persons or things. The special cases to be considered are—

m (a) The employment of general names as collectives in the singular, to denote the *sum total* of individuals belonging to the class (which may, however, be done just as well by the plural); e.g. the righteous, the wicked man, Ec 3<sup>17</sup>; the woman, i.e. the female sex, 7<sup>26</sup>; הָאֹיִבִּים the enemy, i.e. the enemies (?), 9<sup>7</sup>; הַיָּאֲרֵב the *lie* in wait, i.e. the *liers* in wait; הַחֲלָלִין the armed man, i.e. soldiers; הַמֵּאַחֶפֶה the rearward; הַמְשִׁחִית the spoiler, 1 S 13<sup>17</sup>;<sup>1</sup> so also (as in English) with names of animals, when something is asserted of them, which applies to the whole species, e.g. 2 S 17<sup>10</sup> as the courage of הַאֲרִיָּה the lion. Especially also with gentile names, e.g. the Canaanite, Gn 13<sup>7</sup> (cf. 15<sup>19</sup>); so in English the Russian, the Turk, &c., in Attic writers ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, &c.

n (b) Names of materials known everywhere, the elements and other words denoting classes, even though only a part and not the whole of them is considered, in which case in other languages, as e.g. in English, the article is usually omitted (cf., however, our *to fall into the water, into the fire, &c.*), e.g. Gn 13<sup>2</sup> and Abram was very rich בָּצָחַב וּבְמִקְנֵה בְּרָכָה in cattle, in silver and in gold; Jos 11<sup>9</sup> and he burnt their chariots בָּאֵשׁ with fire; cf. Gn 6<sup>14</sup>, 41<sup>42</sup> (unless this means, the chain necessarily belonging to the official dress); Ex 2<sup>3</sup>, 31<sup>4</sup> (35<sup>32</sup>), Is 1<sup>22</sup>, &c. and בִּשְׁמֶן with oil<sup>2</sup> very commonly in the sacrificial laws, Ex 29<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> But in Ex 12<sup>23</sup> הַמֹּרְסִי is either to be explained as *the destroyer* (now mentioned for the first time) according to g, or a particular angel is meant whose regular function it was to inflict punishments. Others again take הַמֹּרְסִי even in Ex 12<sup>23</sup> impersonally = *destruction*.

<sup>2</sup> In nearly all the above examples the presence of the article is only indicated by the vowel of the prefix (בּ, כּ, ל) and might therefore be merely



&c., and also Dt 33<sup>24</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>21</sup>, Is 1<sup>6</sup>, ψ 23<sup>5</sup>, &c. Similarly the article is used with terms of measurement, as הַאֶפֶסָה Ex 16<sup>38</sup>, &c.: הַחֶמֶר and הַבֶּת Ez 45<sup>11</sup>; הַעֵמֶר Ex 16<sup>22</sup>; בְּהֶבֶל 2 S 8<sup>2</sup>.

(c) The expression of abstract ideas of every kind, since they are likewise used to represent whole classes of attributes or states, physical or moral defects, &c.; e.g. Pr 25<sup>5</sup> (בְּצִרְקָה); Gn 19<sup>11</sup> and they smote the men . . . בַּפְּנִיּוֹת with blindness; Am 4<sup>9</sup>, &c.; but in הַחֶשֶׁךְ Is 60<sup>2</sup> the article is no doubt due to dittography of the ה, and the parallel וְעֶרְפֶּל has no article.

(d) Comparisons, since the object compared is treated not (as usually in English) individually but as a general term, e.g. Is 1<sup>18</sup> בִּשְׁלֹגַי as snow, מִצֹּמֶר as wool; red בְּחֹלֶעַץ like crimson; Is 34<sup>4</sup> and the heavens shall be rolled together בְּפִפְרָה as a scroll; cf. Nu 11<sup>12</sup>, Ju 8<sup>18</sup>, 16<sup>9</sup> as פְּתִיל־הַנֶּעֱרַת a string of tow is broken; 1 S 26<sup>20</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>15</sup>, Is 10<sup>14</sup>, 24<sup>20</sup>, 27<sup>10</sup>, 29<sup>8</sup>, 53<sup>6</sup>, Na 3<sup>15</sup>, ψ 33<sup>7</sup>, 49<sup>15</sup>; cf. also such examples as Gn 19<sup>28</sup>, Ju 14<sup>6</sup>, where the object compared is determined by a determinate genitive which follows (according to § 127 a).

Examples of indeterminate comparisons are rare, and perhaps due only to the Masora,—so at least in the case of singulars, while in such plurals as those in Gn 42<sup>30</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>27</sup>, Jo 2<sup>4.7</sup>, the omission of the article may be explained by the ordinary rules. On the other hand, the article is regularly omitted when the object compared is already defined by means of an attribute (or relative clause, Jer 23<sup>9</sup>, ψ 17<sup>12</sup>), e.g. Is 16<sup>2</sup> קְעוֹפָה נוֹדֵד קֵן מְשֻׁלָּח as wandering birds, (as) a scattered nest (but cf. 10<sup>14</sup> בִּבְנָן); 14<sup>19</sup>, 29<sup>9</sup> כְּמִין עֵבֶר (but ψ 1<sup>4</sup> כְּבִנְיָן); Jer 2<sup>50</sup>, Pr 27<sup>8</sup>, Jb 29<sup>25</sup>, 30<sup>14</sup>.—In comparisons with persons also the Masora seems to avoid the use of the article, as in קִנְבוֹר Jb 16<sup>14</sup> and seven other places (קִנְבוֹר only in Is 42<sup>13</sup>), כָּאֵב Jb 31<sup>18</sup>, כְּנִבְרָה Jb 38<sup>8</sup>, 40<sup>7</sup>.

4. Peculiar to Hebrew<sup>1</sup> is the employment of the article to denote a single person or thing (primarily one which is as yet unknown, and therefore not capable of being defined) as being present to the mind under given circumstances. In such cases in English the indefinite article is mostly used.

Thus Am 5<sup>19</sup> as if a man did flee from a lion (הַאֲרִי, i.e. the particular lion pursuing him at the time), and a bear (הַדָּב) met him, &c., cf. 3<sup>12</sup>, 1 K 20<sup>38</sup> (John 10<sup>12</sup>); also Gn 8<sup>17</sup>, 14<sup>13</sup> הַפְּלִיט, i.e. one that had escaped, the particular one who came just then; so also Ez 24<sup>28</sup>, 33<sup>21</sup>; cf. 2 S 15<sup>13</sup>); Gn 15<sup>11</sup>, 18<sup>7</sup> the servant, who is regarded as being constantly at hand and awaiting his commands; cf. 2 S 17<sup>17</sup> (but הַנֶּעֱרַר Nu 11<sup>27</sup> is used like הַפְּלִיט above); Gn 19<sup>30</sup>, unless בְּמַעְרָה means in the well-known cave; בְּמִקוֹם Gn 28<sup>11</sup>, according to Dillmann, upon the place suitable for passing the night, or the right place, but it may possibly also refer to the sanctuary of Bethel afterwards so sacred and celebrated; Gn 42<sup>23</sup>, 46<sup>2</sup>, 50<sup>26</sup>, Ex 2<sup>15</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>20</sup>, 21<sup>20</sup> (2 S 23<sup>21</sup>), Lv 23<sup>42</sup>, 24<sup>10</sup> (Samaritan יֵשׁוּעָא without the article); Nu 17<sup>11</sup>, 21<sup>6.9</sup>, 25<sup>6</sup>, Dt 19<sup>5</sup>, Jos 2<sup>15</sup>, Ju 4<sup>18</sup>, 8<sup>25</sup>, 13<sup>19</sup>, 16<sup>19</sup>, 19<sup>20</sup>, 20<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>34</sup>, 19<sup>13</sup>, 21<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 17<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 6<sup>8</sup>, 13<sup>14</sup> (most

due to the masoretic punctuation. There is, however, no reason to doubt the correctness of the tradition. The same is true of the examples under n and o.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, analogous examples in biblical Aramaic in Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 79 f, e.g. Dn 2<sup>14</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, &c.

probably a particular tree is meant); 19<sup>8</sup>, Is 7<sup>14</sup> הָעֵלְמָה, i. e. *the particular maiden*, through whom the prophet's announcement shall be fulfilled; we should say a *maiden* [cf. Driver on 1 S 14, 6<sup>8</sup>, 19<sup>13</sup>]; Jb 9<sup>31</sup>.

- <sup>s</sup> So always to write in the book (or on the scroll, Nu 5<sup>28</sup>, Jer 32<sup>10</sup>), i. e. not in the book already in use, but in the book which is to be devoted to that purpose, equivalent to *in a book, on a scroll*, Ex 17<sup>14</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>25</sup>, Jb 19<sup>23</sup>. Especially instructive for this use of the article is the phrase יְהִי הַיּוֹם, which does not simply refer back to the previous narrative in the sense of *the same day*, but is used exactly like our *one day* (properly meaning on the particular day when it happened, i. e. on a certain day), 1 S 14, 14<sup>1</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>8</sup>, 11<sup>18</sup>, Jb 16<sup>13</sup>. In Gn 39<sup>11</sup> even בָּרְהִיּוֹם.

- <sup>t</sup> The article is sometimes used in this way before collectives in the singular, which are not meant to denote (like the examples given under *l*) a whole class, but only that part of it which applies to the given case; thus הָעָרֶב, הַיּוֹנָה Gn 8<sup>7</sup>, הַצִּרְעָה Ex 23<sup>28</sup>.

- <sup>u</sup> 5. When a substantive is defined by the article, or by a suffix, or by a following genitive determinate in any way (see the examples below), the attribute belonging to it (whether adjective, participle, ordinal, or demonstrative pronoun) necessarily takes the article (see, however, the Rem.), e. g. Gn 10<sup>12</sup> הָעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה *the great city*; Dt 3<sup>24</sup> יָדָךְ הַחֲזָקָה *thy strong hand*. A genitive following the substantive may, according to § 127 *a*, be determined either by the article, e. g. 1 S 25<sup>25</sup> אִישׁ הַבָּלְעָל *this worthless man* (prop. *man of worthlessness*; cf. also such examples as 2 Ch 36<sup>18</sup>, where the article is prefixed only to a second genitive following the noun); or as a proper name, e. g. Dt 11<sup>7</sup> מַעֲשֵׂה הַגָּדֹל *the great work of the Lord*; or by a suffix, e. g. Is 36<sup>9</sup> עֲבָדֵי אֲדֹנָי *the least of my master's servants*.

- <sup>v</sup> When several attributes (whether connected by Wāw or not) follow a determinate substantive, each of them takes the article, e. g. Dt 10<sup>17</sup> הָאֵל הַגָּבִיר הַחֲזָק הַיּוֹרָא *the great God, the mighty, and the terrible*. Cf. also Ex 3<sup>3</sup>, Dt 1<sup>19</sup>, in both of which places a demonstrative with the article also follows the adjective.<sup>1</sup>

Rem. 1. The article is, however, not infrequently used also—

- <sup>w</sup> (a) With the attribute alone, when it is added to an originally indefinite substantive as a subsequent limitation; so always with ordinal numbers after יוֹם,<sup>2</sup> e. g. Gn 1<sup>5</sup> (cf. 2<sup>9</sup>, Ex 20<sup>10</sup>, &c.) יוֹם הַשִּׁשִּׁי *the sixth day* (prop. *a day namely*

<sup>1</sup> The demonstrative used adjectivally is generally placed *after* the adjective proper; in such cases as עֶפְרָיִם הָהוּא הַגָּדֹל 2 Ch 1<sup>10</sup> the adjective forms a further (fresh) addition to הָהוּא עֶפְרָיִם.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, 3rd ed., § 209; M. Lambert, *REJ.* 31, 279 f.—The omission of the article from the substantive is not to be regarded in this instance as an indication of late style, and consequently cannot be put forward as a proof of the late origin of the 'Priestly Code' (cf. Dillmann on Gn 1<sup>5</sup>, Holzinger, *Einl. in d. Hexateuch*, p. 465, and especially Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, xi. 229 f., against Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 265 f.). On the other hand, the common omission of the article from the substantive before a determinate adjective (e. g. כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדוֹלָה *the great synagogue*, in the Mishna; cf. Segal, *Mishnaic Hebrew*, p. 19 ff.) is certainly a later idiom.

the sixth; but יוֹם שֵׁנִי *a second day*, Gn 1<sup>8</sup>; Ex 12<sup>15</sup> מִיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן *from the first day onward* (not before Dn 10<sup>12</sup> and Neh 8<sup>18</sup> is מִן הַיּוֹמִים הָרִאשׁוֹן used instead of it). On the other hand, the article is *always* found after בְּ, hence הַשֵּׁשִׁי, &c., although it is possible that the original reading in these cases was בְּיוֹם, and that the article is only due to the Masora. In Ju 6<sup>25</sup> the text is evidently corrupt (see verse 26).—Especially also in certain frequently recurring combinations as in particularizing the gates in Jer 38<sup>14</sup>, Ez 9<sup>2</sup>, &c., Ze 14<sup>10</sup>, and courts in 1 K 7<sup>8,12</sup>, &c., Ez 40<sup>28</sup>; and very often when the attribute consists of a participle, e.g. Dt 2<sup>23</sup>, Ju 21<sup>19</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>10</sup>, Jer 27<sup>2</sup>, 46<sup>16</sup> הַיּוֹנָה הָרִבָּה *the sword which oppresses* (?); Ez 14<sup>22</sup>, Ze 11<sup>2</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup> (the impenetrable forest?) Pr 26<sup>18</sup>, ψ 119<sup>21</sup>.

Of the other examples, Gn 21<sup>29</sup> (where, however, the Samaritan reads אֶת הַחֲבִשׁוֹת, 41<sup>26</sup> (but cf. verse 4), Nu 11<sup>25</sup>, Ju 16<sup>27</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>17</sup> may at any rate be explained on the ground that the preceding cardinal number is equivalent to a determinant; in Gn 1<sup>21</sup>, 28<sup>9,10</sup>, &c., the substantive is already determined by בְּלִי, and in 1 S 14<sup>29</sup> (דְּבַשׁ) by מַעֲט.—In 1 S 12<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>4</sup>, Is 7<sup>20</sup> (where, however, the חֲטָבִיכָה might also be understood as a subsequent explanation of the בְּחֶעֱרָ and Neh 9<sup>35</sup>, the omission of the article after the preposition is certainly due merely to the Masora. In 1 S 16<sup>23</sup> (unless רִחַן אֶלְהִים is to be read twice), Ze 4<sup>7</sup> (where however אֶת הָהָר is probably meant), ψ 104<sup>18</sup> (where a ה precedes הַרִים, hence probably a case of haplography), the omission of the article before אֶל, וְ (2) and הַ may be due to a regard for euphony (see z below). On the other hand, in 1 S 6<sup>18</sup> (read הָאֶבֶן הַזֶּה, 17<sup>12</sup> הַהִוא is a later addition), 19<sup>22</sup> (cf. the LXX), Jer 17<sup>2</sup>, 32<sup>14</sup>, 40<sup>3</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup>, Ez 2<sup>3</sup> (read גִּי or omit גִּי with Cornill), Mi 7<sup>11</sup>, ψ 62<sup>4</sup>, either the text is corrupt, or the expression incorrect. But in 2 K 20<sup>13</sup>, Jer 6<sup>20</sup>, Ct 7<sup>10</sup> acc. to D. H. Müller (*Anzeiger der Wiener Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl. 1902, no. x) הַטּוֹב is the genitive of a substantive, aromatic oil, sweet cane (in Jer 6<sup>20</sup> read וְקִנְיָה), like spiced wine. In Is 39<sup>2</sup> read בְּשִׁמְךָ הַטּוֹב and in ψ 133<sup>2</sup> הַטּוֹב בְּשִׁמְךָ.

(b) No article with the attribute, while the substantive is determined by either by the article, or a suffix, or a following genitive. Thus the article is sometimes omitted with demonstratives, since they are already to a certain extent determined by their meaning (cf. also the Mēša' inscription, l. 3, הַבְּמָת זֹאת *this high place*); as with הוּא Gn 19<sup>38</sup> (evidently for euphony, 30<sup>16</sup>, 32<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 19<sup>10</sup>; with הִיא Gn 38<sup>21</sup>; with הִי ψ 12<sup>8</sup> (according to the Masora הִי is a relative pronoun here, as always elsewhere); with אֵלֶּה 1 S 2<sup>23</sup>, according to the present corrupt text (the original reading יהוה בְּלִיעַם became אֵלֶּה, and אֵלֶּה was then corrupted to אֵלֶּה); so, almost without exception, when the substantive is determined only by a suffix, e.g. Jos 2<sup>20</sup>, Ju 6<sup>14</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 1<sup>2</sup> and 8<sup>8f</sup>, where חָלִי, as in Jer 10<sup>19</sup>, has arisen by contraction from חָלִי, or we should simply read חָלִי (in all these passages with וְ); Gn 24<sup>8</sup> (with זֹאת); Ex 10<sup>1</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>23</sup>, Jer 31<sup>21</sup> (with אֵלֶּה).

The article is sometimes omitted also with the attributes referring to proper names,<sup>1</sup> as צִירֵן רֶבֶה Jos 11<sup>8</sup>, 19<sup>28</sup>, חֶמֶת רֶבֶה Am 6<sup>2</sup>. Other examples are Jos 16<sup>8,5</sup>, 18<sup>15</sup>, 1 K 9<sup>17</sup> (but in 1 Ch 3<sup>24</sup>, 2 Ch 8<sup>5</sup> with the article). In Gn 7<sup>11</sup>, &c., אֶת הַחַיִּים רֶבֶה is also a case of this kind, אֶת הַחַיִּים being used (almost always without the article) as a sort of proper name; cf. also אֶל עֲלִיזָה *the most high*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 48, n. 1.

God and אֱלֹהִים הַיִּ the living God. In Ju 1<sup>15</sup> גִּלְתָּ עֲלֵיתָ and גִּ' תַּהְתִּית and ג' תַּהְתִּית are strange; Jos 15<sup>19</sup> has עֲלִיזָה 'ג' and תַּהְתִּית 'ג'.

z Of the remaining examples Is 11<sup>9</sup> explains itself; the direct connexion of the attribute with its substantive is broken by the insertion of לִים. In Ez 34<sup>12</sup>, Hag. 1<sup>4</sup> (as Wellhausen says, a good instance of a Hebrew adjective in the stative form = כְּמִינִים (וְהֵם)), ψ 143<sup>10</sup>, Ct 6<sup>12</sup> (?) the substantive is also (see above) determined by a suffix, and consequently the attribute is less closely attached; the same applies to Gn 37<sup>2</sup>, 42<sup>19</sup>, 43<sup>14</sup>, ψ 18<sup>18</sup>, except that in these passages the omission of the article before ג, א, ע may at the same time be due to considerations of euphony (as also in Jos 16<sup>1</sup> before ע, Nu 14<sup>37</sup> before ג, 28<sup>4</sup>, Ez 10<sup>9</sup> before א, 21<sup>19</sup> before ה).<sup>1</sup> In 1 S 13<sup>17f.</sup> (אֶחָד) and 2 K 25<sup>16</sup> (שְׁנַיִם) after a determinate substantive), the attribute again, being a numeral, is determinate in itself (see above, x); in Is 65<sup>2</sup> the לֹא prevents the use of the article; finally, in 2 Ch 26<sup>15</sup> בְּחַצִּים and בְּאַבְנִים are to be read, as in Jer 2<sup>21</sup> בָּפֶן for הַפֶּן, in 22<sup>26</sup> לְאֶרֶץ for הָאֶרֶץ; in 2 S 6<sup>8</sup> omit חֲדָשָׁה, and in Ez 39<sup>27</sup> omit רַבִּים. Without any apparent reason the article is omitted in Dn 8<sup>13</sup> and 11<sup>81</sup>.

aa 2. When, as in Mi 7<sup>12</sup> יוֹם הַהוּא in that day?, the article is omitted from both substantive and demonstrative, and in Ezr 3<sup>12</sup>, the demonstrative even precedes (הַיְּבִית הַהוּא = הַיְּבִית הַהוּא), this is obviously due in both cases to a radical corruption of the text (not only in the words quoted). In Jos 9<sup>12</sup> לֶחֶמֶנוּ is either in apposition to the independent demonstrative הָ ( = this our bread, &c.), as in verse 13 נֹאדֹת is to אֲלֵהָ, or they are complete sentences, this is our bread, &c. So also in Ex 32<sup>1</sup> כִּשְׁפָה ( = that [iste] Moses, &c.), and in ψ 48<sup>15</sup> אֱלֹהִים are to be taken in apposition to הָ. On ψ 68<sup>8</sup> and Is 23<sup>18</sup> cf. § 136 d.

### § 127. The Noun determined by a following Determinate Genitive.

Brockelmann, Grundriss, i. 475.

a When a genitive, determined in any way, follows a *nomen regens*, it also determines the *nomen regens*, which, according to § 89 a, is always in the construct state. Moreover, every pronominal suffix attached to a substantive is, according to § 33 c, to be considered as a genitive determinate by nature. An independent genitive may be determinate—

(a) By its character as a *proper name* (according to § 125 a), e. g. יהוה דבר יהוה the word of the Lord.

(b) By having the article, e. g. אִישׁ הַמִּלְחָמָה (prop. the man of the war) the soldier (but אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה Jos 17<sup>1</sup>, a soldier); אֲנִשֵּׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה

<sup>1</sup> The same reason no doubt also favoured the omission of the article before הוּא and אֵלֶּהָ, see above, under y. Also in Is 23<sup>7</sup> (is this your joyous...?) the article is omitted before עֲלִיָּה probably only for euphony.

Nu 31<sup>40</sup>, *the soldiers*; דְּבַר הַנְּבִיא *the word of the prophet*, Jer 28<sup>9</sup> (but e.g., on the other hand, מִצְוֹת אֲנָשִׁים מְלֻמָּדָה *a commandment of men which hath been taught*, Is 29<sup>13</sup>; דְּבַר שֶׁקֶר *word of falsehood*, Pr 29<sup>12</sup>).

(c) By the addition of a pronominal suffix (see above), e.g. בֵּית־אָבִי *my father's house*.

(d) By construction with another genitive determined in some way, e.g. Gn 3<sup>2</sup> עֵץ־הַנָּחַל מִפְּרִי *of the fruit of the trees of the garden*. Thus in Is 10<sup>12</sup> four, and in 21<sup>17</sup> even five, members of a series are determined by a concluding determinate genitive.

Rem. 1. The above explains also the various meanings of כָּל (prop. a substantive in the sense of *aggregate, whole*), according as it is followed by a determinate or indeterminate genitive. In the former case כָּל has the meaning of *the entirety*, i.e. *all, the whole* (like the French *tous les hommes, toute la ville*), e.g. כָּל־הָאָרֶץ *the whole (prop. the entirety of the) earth*, all men;<sup>1</sup> Ex 18<sup>22</sup>, Nu 15<sup>13</sup>, Jer 4<sup>23</sup>, and cases like Nu 4<sup>23,47</sup>, 21<sup>8</sup> where כָּל is followed by a singular participle with the article. On the other hand, before an indeterminate genitive כָּל is used in the more indefinite (individualizing) sense of *of all kinds, any* (cf. *tout homme, à tout prix*), or distributively *each, every*, e.g. כָּל־עֵץ *every (kind of) tree*, Gn 2<sup>9</sup>; cf. 4<sup>22</sup>, 24<sup>10</sup>, 1 Ch 29<sup>2</sup>; כָּל־דָּבָר *any thing*, Jn 19<sup>10</sup>; כָּל־יּוֹם *every day, every time*, ψ 7<sup>12</sup>.

It is, however, to be observed—

(a) That the article may in this case also (see § 126 h) be omitted in poetic style, although the substantive is to be regarded as determinate, e.g. כָּל־שִׁלְחָנוֹת *all (the) tables*, Is 28<sup>8</sup>.

(b) That the meaning *every* is frequent even before singulars used collectively; afterwards the idea of *quisque* passes naturally into that of *totality*, e.g. כָּל־חַי *each living thing*, i.e. *every (not every kind of) living thing*; כָּל־בָּשָׂר *all flesh*, i.e. *all men or all living creatures* (with the article only in Gn 7<sup>15</sup> before a relative clause, and in Is 40<sup>6</sup>); sometimes also כָּל־עֵץ *all trees*, כָּל־עוֹף *all birds*; finally—

(c) That before the names of members of the human body, כָּל frequently (as being determinate in itself) denotes the entirety, e.g. Is 1<sup>5</sup> *the whole head, the whole heart* (the sense required by the context, not *every head*, &c., which the expression *in itself* might also mean); 5<sup>11</sup>, 2 K 23<sup>5</sup>, Ez 29<sup>7</sup> *all (i.e. the whole of) their shoulders . . . all (the whole of) their loins*; 36<sup>5</sup>.—On כָּל with a suffix when it follows a noun in apposition (e.g. Is 9<sup>8</sup> הָעָם כָּלּוּ *the people, all of it*, i.e. *the whole nation*, more emphatic than כָּל־הָעָם, cf. Driver on 2 S 2<sup>9</sup>), as well as when it follows absolutely in the genitive (= *all men, every one*, e.g. Gn 16<sup>12</sup>),<sup>2</sup> see the *Lexicon*, pp. 481<sup>b</sup>, 482<sup>b</sup>.

2. Gentile names (or patronymics), derived from compound proper names (consisting of a nomen regens and genitive), are determined by inserting the article before the second part of the compound (since it contains the original

<sup>1</sup> הָאָדָם being a collective, cf. כָּל־הָאָדָם 2 S 15<sup>2</sup>, *all men*, כָּל־בָּנֵי Ex 1<sup>22</sup> *all sons*, כָּל־בָּתִּי *all daughters*; in itself כָּל־הָאָדָם could also mean *the whole man*.

<sup>2</sup> In Ezr 10<sup>17</sup> instead of אֲנָשִׁים בְּכָל read simply כָּל־הָאֲנָשִׁים.

genitive), e.g. בְּיָמֵי (see § 86 h) a *Benjamite*; Ju 3<sup>15</sup>, &c., the *Benjamite*; בֵּית הַלְחֵמִי the *Bethlehemite*, 1 S 16<sup>1</sup>, &c. (cf., however, 1 Ch 27<sup>12</sup> *Q're* לְבֵית יָמִי; בֵּית־הַשְּׁמִי the *Beth-shemite*, 1 S 6<sup>11</sup>; אֲבִי הָעֲזְרִי the *Abiezrite*, Ju 6<sup>11</sup>, &c., cf. 1 K 16<sup>34</sup>).

c 3. In a few instances the *nomen regens* appears to be used indefinitely notwithstanding a following determinate genitive; it is not so, however, in Gn 16<sup>7</sup>, where the reference is to a well-known fountain; 21<sup>23</sup>, where in the original context there must have been some reason for the *seven ewe lambs of the flock*; 2 S 12<sup>30</sup> the *spoils found in the city*; but it often is so before a proper name, as in Ex 10<sup>9</sup> הַיְּהוָה a *feast of the Lord* (unless it is the spring festival), Dt 7<sup>25</sup>, and frequently יְהוָה תְּעֹבָה an *abomination unto the Lord*; cf. also Gn 46<sup>34</sup>, Dt 22<sup>19</sup> a *virgin of Israel*; 1 S 4<sup>12</sup> a *man of Benjamin*; Pr 25<sup>1</sup>, Ct 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>9</sup>; similarly before appellatives with the article (or before a genitive determined by a suffix, as in Lv 14<sup>34</sup>), 1 S 20<sup>20</sup> *three arrows*; 2 S 23<sup>11</sup> חֲלֶמֶת הַשָּׂדֶה a *plot of the ground* (but see Gn 33<sup>19</sup>, Jos 24<sup>32</sup>); Ju 13<sup>6</sup>, Jer 13<sup>4</sup>, 41<sup>18</sup>, Ct 11<sup>13</sup> f., 5<sup>13</sup>, 7<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת in the titles of Psalms 120 to 134 (except 121<sup>1</sup>, שִׁיר לַמַּעֲלוֹת) was most probably originally the title of a collection, in the sense of 'the pilgrimage-songs' (according to § 124 r), and was subsequently added to these Psalms severally.—In Ex 20<sup>24</sup> בְּכָל־מָקוֹם in *all the place*, sc. of the sanctuary, is a dogmatic correction of בְּכָל־מָקוֹם, in *every place*, to avoid the difficulty that several holy-places are here authorized, instead of the one central sanctuary. In Gn 20<sup>13</sup> also בְּכָל־הַמָּקוֹם (unless it means *in the whole place*) is remarkable, since elsewhere *every place* is always (8 times) בְּכָל־מָקוֹם.

f 4. The deviations mentioned under c, from a fundamental rule of syntax, are in some cases open to suspicion on textual grounds, but much more doubtful are the instances in which the article is found before a noun already determined in some other way, as—

(a) Before a noun which appears to be determined by a following independent determinate genitive. The least questionable are the instances in which the genitive is a *proper name*, since these may be elliptical forms of expression like the apparent construction of proper names with a genitive, noticed in § 125 h, e.g. Nu 21<sup>14</sup> אֲרָנוֹן הַנַּחֲלִים the *valleys*, namely the valleys of *Aynon*; 2 K 23<sup>17</sup> הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בֵּית־אֵל the *altar*, namely the altar of *Bethel* (i.e. with the suppression of the real *nomen regens*, מִזְבֵּחַ without the article; by the pointing הַמִּזְבֵּחַ the Masora evidently intends to allow the choice either of reading הַמִּזְבֵּחַ or correcting it to מִזְבֵּחַ); הָאֵל בֵּית־אֵל the *God of Beth-el*<sup>1</sup> (equivalent to הָאֵל אֵל ב', Gn 31<sup>13</sup> (the LXX read בְּמָקוֹם הַקֹּדֶשׁ הַהוּא the *God who appeared to thee in the holy place*); הַמֶּלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר the *king of Assyria*, Is 36<sup>16</sup> (probably a scribal error due to verse 13; it does not occur in the parallel passage, 2 K 18<sup>31</sup>), cf. Jos 13<sup>5</sup>, 2 K 25<sup>11</sup>, Jer 38<sup>6</sup>, Ez 47<sup>15</sup>; in the vocative, Jer 48<sup>32</sup>, La 2<sup>13</sup>. On the other hand, שָׂרָה אֲמֹן Gn 24<sup>67</sup> is no doubt

<sup>1</sup> According to Philippi (*St. Constr.*, p. 38) בֵּית־אֵל is rather a case of 'subposition' in the accusative, as also הַדֶּרֶךְ תְּחִלָּה Ez 47<sup>15</sup> (for which, however, in 48<sup>1</sup> there is the correct reading הַדֶּרֶךְ תְּחִלָּה) *by the way to Bethlon*; and in fact, Ez 47<sup>15</sup> may without difficulty be explained in this way; so שֵׁשׁ Ex 39<sup>27</sup> as an accusative of the material.

only a subsequent insertion; so also יִשְׂרָאֵל Jos 8<sup>33b</sup> (cf. LXX), 2 S 20<sup>22</sup>, 2 K 7<sup>19</sup>, הַמִּלְכָּה 1 S 26<sup>22</sup> after הַחֲנִית (simplified by the Masora to חֲנִית *qere*); אָהוּ 2 K 23<sup>12</sup>, אֲשֶׁר Is 36<sup>8</sup> (cf. 2 K 18<sup>23</sup>), הַקֶּדֶשׁ Ez 46<sup>19</sup> (unless the article with לִשְׁבוֹת is to be omitted), also הַמִּמְדֵּי Dn 8<sup>13</sup>, and הַבְּנִיָּה 2 Ch 15<sup>3</sup>.

In Ex 9<sup>18</sup> read with the Samaritan לְמִיָּם; in 2 S 19<sup>25</sup> לָכֶת might possibly be taken in apposition to הַיָּם; in 2 K 10<sup>1</sup> restore אֶת־בְּנֵי אֶחָב, with the LXX and Lucian, before אֶחָב; in 2 K 25<sup>19</sup> omit the article, as in Jer 52<sup>25</sup>, before סָפֵר.

A similar ellipse must also be assumed in 2 K 23<sup>17</sup> *the sepulchre is the g* sepulchre of the man of God (but most probably קֶבֶר has dropped out after הַקֶּבֶר) and ψ 123<sup>4</sup> (cf., however, the LXX, and observe that in the parallel member the genitive is paraphrased by ל).—In Jos 3<sup>14</sup> הַבְּרִית (verse 17 בְּרִית יְהוָה) has been added to the original הָאָרֶן by a redactor; cf. similar syntactically impossible additions in verse 11 (also in 1 S 4<sup>3</sup>, &c., where the LXX still had simply יְהוָה); in Ju 16<sup>14</sup> the Masora evidently combines two different readings הַיְתֵר and יְתֵר הָאָרֶג; and similarly in Jer 25<sup>26</sup> (where הָאָרֶץ was only subsequently introduced into the text), the two readings הַמִּמְלָכוֹת and מִמְלָכוֹת הָאֵל are combined.—In Jos 8<sup>11</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>24</sup>, Jer 31<sup>40</sup>, Ez 45<sup>18</sup> the article, being usual after כֹּל, has been mechanically added, and so also in 2 Ch 8<sup>18</sup> after עָר־; in 2 K 9<sup>4</sup> the second הַפֶּעַר (instead of הַפֶּעַר) is occasioned by the first; in Ez 7<sup>7</sup> מְרוֹמָה belongs as a nominative to what follows; in Ez 8<sup>20</sup> the meaning perhaps is *in the chambers, in the house of the Lord*, or the article is to be omitted; in 1 Ch 15<sup>27</sup> the text is manifestly corrupt.

Of another kind are the instances in which a determinate noun is followed *h* by a definition of the material *in apposition* (hence, not in the genitive; cf. § 131), e.g. Ze 4<sup>10</sup> הָאֵבֶן הַבְּדִיל *the weight, the lead, i.e. the leaden weight*; Ex 39<sup>17</sup>, 2 K 16<sup>14</sup> הַנְּחֹשֶׁת, both here and in verse 17, is probably only a later addition, while הַמִּסְגֵּרוֹת הַמְכֻנּוֹת in verse 17 has arisen from a confusion of two readings, מִסְגֵּרוֹת הַמְכֻנּוֹת and מִסְגֵּרוֹת הַמְכֻנּוֹת. In Jer 32<sup>12</sup> also הַפִּקְנָה (unless the article is simply to be omitted) is in apposition to הַפִּקְנָה.

(b) Before a noun with a suffix (which likewise represents a determinate genitive; see above, at the beginning of this section). This does not apply to cases in which a verbal (i.e. accusative) suffix is affixed to a participle which has the article, e.g. הַפֹּחֵחַ Is 9<sup>12</sup>, *the one smiling him*; in Dt 8<sup>15</sup>, 13<sup>9</sup> also הֵן is a verbal suffix, but hardly the הֵן in הַעֲשֵׂהוּ Job 40<sup>19</sup>, nor the הֵן in הַיְלִדָה Dn 11<sup>6</sup>; § 116 g. For הַעֲרֹבָה Lev 27<sup>23</sup>, read עֲרֹבָה as in verses 2, 3, 5, 7, 13, &c., twelve times (but cf. also the note on § 128 d).—Of the remaining examples בְּבִרְתָּה Is 24<sup>2</sup> (probably an intentional alliteration with the eleven other words beginning with ב) לְמַעַנְהוּ Pr 16<sup>4</sup>, and בְּעֵרְיָנוּ (so Baer, following the best authorities) Ezr 10<sup>14</sup>, rest only on the authority of the Masoretes, not of the authors. So also in הַחֲצִי, Jos 8<sup>21</sup>, הַחֲצִי Jos 8<sup>23</sup> (previously חֲצִי), הַהֲרֹאֲתִיהָ 2 K 15<sup>10</sup> (dittography of the ה), the article is simply to be omitted as syntactically impossible; the ה of הַדְּבָרָה Mi 2<sup>12</sup> is the copula belonging to the next word.



§ 128. *The Indication of the Genitive Relation by means of the Construct State.*

Cf. especially Philippi's work cited at the head of § 89.

a 1. The genitive relation is regularly expressed (see § 89) by the close connexion of the *nomen regens* (in the construct state) with the *nomen rectum* (in the genitive). Since only *one* *nomen regens* can be immediately connected with a *nomen rectum*, it follows that the same genitive cannot depend on two or more *co-ordinate* nouns, but a second (sometimes even a third, &c.) *regens* must be added with a suffix referring to the *nomen rectum*, e.g. בְּנֵי דָוִד וּבָנֹתָיו *the sons of David and his daughters* (not בְּנֵי וּבָנֹת דָּוִד); cf. 1 K 28<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> The language even prefers to avoid a series of several *co-ordinate*<sup>2</sup> genitives depending upon one and the same *nomen regens* (such as occur in Gn 14<sup>10</sup>, Nu 20<sup>5</sup>, 31<sup>34</sup> [1 Ch 13<sup>1</sup>], 1 S 23<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>6</sup>, Is 22<sup>5</sup>, ψ 5<sup>7</sup>, 8<sup>3</sup>),<sup>3</sup> and rather tends to repeat the *nomen regens*, e.g. Gn 24<sup>3</sup> אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֱלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ *the God of heaven and the God of the earth* (so in Jer 8<sup>1</sup> the *regens* is five times repeated). A lengthened series of genitives may, however, be formed by a *nomen rectum* serving at the same time as *regens* to a genitive depending on it (cf. § 127 a [*d*]); e.g. Gn 47<sup>9</sup> יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיֵּי אֲבֹתִי *the days of the years of the life of my fathers*; cf. Jb 12<sup>24</sup>, where there are three genitives, Is 10<sup>12</sup> four, and 21<sup>17</sup> five (unless the last three are in apposition). As a rule, indeed, such an inconvenient accumulation of genitives is avoided by means of a circumlocution in the case of one of them (see § 129 d).

b Rem. As the fundamental rules stated above are the necessary consequence not merely of *logical* but more especially of *rhythmical* relations (see § 89 a), we must feel the more hesitation in admitting examples in which genitives are supposed to be loosely attached to forms other than the construct state. Some of these examples (the supposed genitives following a *regens* which is determined by the article) have been already discussed in § 127 f-h. Compare, moreover:

c (a) Genitives after the absolute state, e.g. Is 28<sup>1</sup> נְיֵא־שְׂמִינִים חֲלֹמִי יֵין *the fat valley of them that are overcome with wine*. The usual explanation that נְיֵא־שְׂמִינִים forms one single idea (in German *Fettigkeitstal*), on which the

<sup>1</sup> Very rare, and only possible in very rapid utterance, are such exceptions as Ez 31<sup>16</sup> (מְבַחֵר וְמוֹדֵלֵבֶנֶן); Pr 16<sup>11</sup>.—In Is 11<sup>2</sup> *the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord*, דְּעֵתָה may at any rate also be taken as an absolute genitive, so also סֶפֶר Du 1<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> In ψ 114<sup>1</sup> a second genitive is added even without the copula, but the parallelism of the members renders any misunderstanding impossible.

<sup>3</sup> In almost all these instances the two (or three) genitives form one closely connected whole, as *heaven and earth*, *sons and daughters*.

genitive הַלְלוּמִי then depends, in reality explains nothing; the text is almost certainly corrupt. In Dt 15<sup>18</sup> מִשְׁנֵה would be expected; in Jos 3<sup>11</sup> הַבְּרִית is a later addition; in Is 32<sup>13</sup> (מְשֹׁשׁ), and ψ 63<sup>22</sup> (מִשְׁעָר), the absolute for the construct state probably rests only on the authority of the Masoretes. In Ju 6<sup>25</sup> the text is obviously in confusion. In Ju 8<sup>32</sup> (cf. 6<sup>24</sup>) בְּעַפְרָה should come either after וַיִּבְכֶּר or at the end of the verse, unless, with Moore, we omit הָעֵץ אֲבִי as a gloss (from 6<sup>24</sup>); in Is 63<sup>11</sup> מִשְׁנֵה is probably a gloss on יְמִיעוּלָם which has crept into the text; in 2 S 4<sup>2</sup> לְאִישׁ-בִּשְׁתׁ, according to the LXX, has dropped out before בֶּן; in Ez 6<sup>11</sup> רְעוּת is to be omitted with the LXX; if originally in the text, it could only be genitive (= *all abominations of evils*), not an adjective; Pr 21<sup>9</sup> the text is altogether uncertain (the LXX read מוֹקֵשׁ for מוֹקֵשׁ); in 1 Ch 9<sup>13</sup> the preposition לְ (after a ל) has dropped out before מוֹלֶאכֶת (cf. 12<sup>25</sup>).—Elsewhere (Dt 3<sup>5</sup>, 1 K 4<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 8<sup>5</sup>) the supposed genitives are to be taken rather as words of nearer definition standing in apposition, i.e. *with high walls, gates, and bars*. In Jer 5<sup>6</sup> וִירוּשָׁלַם is either in apposition to הָעָם הַזֶּה or is better (since not in the LXX) omitted as a gloss.

(b) Genitives after a noun with a suffix (where the suffix prevents the direct government by the *nomen regens*). Thus in Lv 27<sup>2,3,5</sup>, where הַזֶּכֶד after הַבְּרִית might be taken, contrary to the accents, as subject of the following clause; in Lv 5<sup>15,25</sup> the suffix may refer to Moses. In Lv 6<sup>3</sup> בְּרִית מְדֻּבֶּרֶת his garment, namely the garment of *linen*, unless simply in apposition, cf. § 131 d (or read מְדֻּבֶּרֶת?); Lv 26<sup>42</sup>, where הַבְּרִית יַעֲקֹב וְגו' could at most be explained as an ellipse for הַבְּרִית יַעֲקֹב, cf. § 125 h (probably, however, it is a case of dittography of the י, which was repeated also before אֲבָרָה; so Valeton, *ZAW.* xii. 3); equally strange is הַבְּרִית הַזֶּה Jer 33<sup>20</sup>, &c. On the other hand, אֵם יְהוָה Nu 12<sup>9</sup> could not possibly mean *if your prophet be a prophet of the Lord*; the text is manifestly corrupt (probably מִיָּהוָה is to be read, with Marti). In ψ 45<sup>7</sup> בְּסִכְאֵה אֱלֹהִים (usually explained as *thy divine throne*), אֱלֹהִים is most probably a later addition [another suggestion is to read מִלְּאֵהִים *like God's throne*]: cf. § 141 d, note]. In Jer 52<sup>20</sup> two readings are probably combined, לְהַחֲשִׁית לְהַחֲשִׁית, without any addition, and לְהַחֲשִׁית כֹּל-הַחֲשִׁים. In Nu 25<sup>12</sup> שָׁלוֹם is in apposition to הַבְּרִית. On Ez 16<sup>27</sup>, cf. § 131 r.

(c) The interposition of a word is assumed between כֹּל (the whole; cf. § 127 b) and the genitive governed by it in 2 S 1<sup>9</sup>, Jb 27<sup>3</sup> (עוֹר), and, if the text is correct, in Hos 14<sup>3</sup> (הַיָּשָׁא). In reality, however, in all three places the genitive relation is destroyed by the transposition of the words (instead of עוֹר כֹּל, &c.), and כֹּל is rather to be taken adverbially (equivalent to *wholly*), e.g. 2 S 1<sup>9</sup> *because my life is yet wholly in me*, i.e. *my whole life*; cf. Philippi, *Stat. Constr.*, p. 10.—On the instances in which the original construct state אֵין non-existence is used without a following genitive, see the negative sentences, § 152 o.

2. The dependence of the *nomen rectum* on the *nomen regens* by *f* no means represents merely what is, properly speaking, the genitive relation (see the examples under *g-i*). Very frequently the *nomen*

<sup>1</sup> Halévy, *J. A.* xiv. 548, removes the difficulty by pointing עֲרֹכֶה.

rectum only adds a nearer definition of the *nomen regens*, whether by giving the name, the genus or species, the measure, the material, or finally an attribute of it (*genit. epexegeticus* or *appositionis*,<sup>1</sup> see the examples under *k-q*).

Examples. The *nomen rectum* represents—

- g** (a) A *subjective genitive*, specifying the possessor, author, &c., e.g. בית־המֶלֶךְ the king's house; דְּבַר יְהוָה the word of the Lord.
- h** (b) An *objective genitive*, e.g. Ob<sup>10</sup> מִתְחַמֵּם אַחֲדֵי for the violence done to thy brother<sup>2</sup> (but in Ez 12<sup>10</sup> מִתְחַמֵּם is followed by a subjective genitive); Pr 20<sup>2</sup> הַיָּמִת מֶלֶךְ the terror of a king; Gn 18<sup>20</sup> וְעַתָּה סוֹדִים the cry concerning Sodom; Is 23<sup>5</sup> צֶרֶם הַיָּם the report of (about) Tyre, cf. 2 S 4<sup>4</sup>; Am 8<sup>10</sup> יָחִיר אֶבְלֵל the mourning for an only son; Dt 20<sup>14</sup> נִשְׁלַל אֶיבֶיךָ praeda hostibus tuis erepta; cf. Is 3<sup>14</sup>. In a wider sense this includes such examples as עֵץ הַחַיִּים הַדֶּרֶךְ the way of (i.e. to) the tree of life, Gn 3<sup>24</sup>; cf. Pr 27<sup>7</sup>, Jb 38<sup>20</sup>; הַיָּם הַדֶּרֶךְ the way of (by) the sea, Is 8<sup>23</sup>; וְנִבְחִי אֲלֵהִים the sacrifices of (i.e. pleasing to) God, ψ 51<sup>19</sup>; שְׁבַעַת יְהוָה the oath of (i.e. sworn before) the Lord, 1 K 2<sup>43</sup>; דְּבָרֵי לְמוֹאֵל the words of (i.e. addressed to) L., Pr 31<sup>1</sup>.
- i** (c) A *partitive genitive*; this includes especially the cases in which an adjective in the construct state is followed by a general term, e.g. חֲכָמוֹת שְׂרוּתֶיהָ the wisest of her ladies, Ju 5<sup>29</sup>; cf. for this way of expressing the superlative, § 133 *h*, and also *r* below.
- k** Merely formal genitives (*genit. explicativus* or *epexegeticus*, *genit. appositionis*) are those added to the construct state as nearer definitions—
- (a) Of the name, e.g. נָהָר פָּרָת the river Euphrates; אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן the land of Canaan; בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל the virgin Israel (not of Israel), Am 5<sup>2</sup>.
- l** (e) Of the genus, e.g. Pr 15<sup>20</sup> (21<sup>20</sup>) בְּסִיל אָדָם a fool of a man (= a foolish man); cf. Gn 16<sup>12</sup>, Is 1<sup>4</sup>, 29<sup>19</sup>, Ho 13<sup>2</sup>, Mi 5<sup>4</sup>, &c.
- m** (f) Of the species, e.g. אֶחָדָה קֶבֶר a possession of a burying-place, i.e. hereditary sepulchre, Gn 23<sup>4</sup>, &c.; הָאֵנִי תְּבַבְרוֹת the early figs, Jer 24<sup>2</sup>; אֹהֶל בֵּיתִי the tabernacle of my house, i.e. my dwelling-place, ψ 132<sup>3</sup>.
- n** (g) Of the measure, weight, extent, number, e.g. מִתֵּי מִסְפָּר people of number, i.e. few in number, Gn 34<sup>20</sup>, Dt 26<sup>5</sup>; cf. also Ez 47<sup>5-8</sup> waters of the ankles, waters of the loins, waters of swimming, i.e. which reached up to the ankles, or loins, or necessitated swimming; but in verse 4 in apposition (?) מַיִם בְּרַפְּיָם.
- o** (h) Of the material<sup>3</sup> of which something consists, e.g. כֶּלִי תְּרֶשֶׁת a vessel of earthenware, Nu 5<sup>17</sup>; כֶּלִי כֶסֶף vessels of silver (cf. the French *des vases d'or*); עֵץ אֲרוֹן an ark of wood, יָטְבֵט בְּרוֹן a rod of iron, ψ 2<sup>9</sup>; cf. Gn 3<sup>21</sup>, 6<sup>14</sup>, Ju 7<sup>13</sup>, &c.

<sup>1</sup> The latter term is preferred especially by König, *Theol. Stud. und Krit.*, 1898, p. 528 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. in Latin a similar use of the genitive after *injuria* (Caes. *B. G.* 1, 30), *metus* (*hostium*, Pompeii, &c.), *spes*, and other words. In Greek, cf. εἰς τὴν φιλαν, πίστις τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ, 1 Cor. 1<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> In the almost entire absence of corresponding adjectives (אֲרוֹן made of cedar, a denominative from אֲרָז, and נְחוֹשֶׁת brazen are the only examples), the language regularly has recourse to the above periphrasis. On the form *qāfāl*, as expressing an inherent property, cf. § 50 *f*; cf. also the proper name, בְּרוֹנִי ferreus.

(1) Of the attribute of a person or thing, e.g. Gn 17<sup>8</sup> אֶתְנָת עֹלָם *an everlasting p* possession; Pr 17<sup>8</sup> a precious stone; cf. Nu 28<sup>9</sup>, Is 13<sup>8</sup>, 28<sup>4</sup>, ψ 23<sup>2</sup>, 31<sup>8</sup>, Pr 5<sup>19</sup>, 14<sup>5</sup>, Jb 41<sup>19</sup>, and the examples of the genitive with a suffix given in § 135 n. Such a periphrasis for the expression of attributes frequently occurs, even when the corresponding adjectives are in use. Thus especially קָדֹשׁ *holiness* very frequently serves as a periphrasis for the adjective קָדוֹשׁ (e.g. בְּגָדֵי הַקָּדֹשׁ *the holy garments*, Ex 29<sup>29</sup>), since קָדוֹשׁ is used almost exclusively in reference to persons (hence also with עַם and נָוִי *people*, and with שֵׁם the name of a person); the only exceptions are מְקוֹם קָדוֹשׁ *holy place*, Ex 29<sup>31</sup>, &c.; מַיִם קְדוּשִׁים *holy water*, Nu 5<sup>17</sup>; קָדוֹשׁ as the predicate of יוֹם *day*, Neh 8<sup>10</sup>, and of מַחֲנֶה *camp*, Dt 23<sup>15</sup>. So also the use of צַדִּיק *righteous* is always confined to persons, except in Dt 4<sup>8</sup>; elsewhere the periphrasis with צָדִיק or צִדְקָה is always used, e.g. מִזְנֵי צָדִיק *just balances*, Lv 19<sup>36</sup>.

In a wider sense this use of the genitive also includes statements of the purpose for which something is intended, e.g. צֹאן בְּבִרְהָה *sheep for the slaughter*, ψ 44<sup>28</sup>; מוֹסֵר שְׁלֵמָנִי *the chastisement designed for our peace*, Is 53<sup>5</sup>; cf. 51<sup>17</sup> (the cup which causes staggering), ψ 116<sup>13</sup>; finally, also, the description of the material, with which something is laden or filled, e.g. 1 S 16<sup>20</sup> חֲמֹר לָחֶם וְנָאֵר *an ass laden with bread and a bottle of wine* (but probably עֵשֶׂרָה is to be read for חֲמֹר); cf. Gn 21<sup>14</sup>, Pr 7<sup>20</sup>, &c.

Rem. 1. Certain substantives are used to convey an attributive idea in the construct state before a partitive genitive; thus מְבַחֵר *choice, selection*, as in Gn 23<sup>6</sup> מְבַחֵר קְבָרֵינוּ *the choice of our sepulchres*, i.e. our choicest sepulchres; Ex 15<sup>4</sup>, Is 22<sup>7</sup>, 37<sup>24</sup>; other examples are, Is 1<sup>16</sup> *the evil of your doings*, emphatically, for *your evil doings*; Is 17<sup>4</sup>, 37<sup>24</sup> (= *the tall cedars thereof*), ψ 139<sup>22</sup>, Jb 15<sup>26</sup>.—This is the more common construction with the substantive כֹּל *entirely*, for *all, the whole, every*, see § 127 b; it is also frequent with מְעַט *a little*, for *few*, 1 S 17<sup>28</sup>, &c.

2. To the periphrases expressing attributive ideas (see p above) by means of a genitive construction may be added the very numerous combinations of the construct states אִישׁ *a man*, בָּעַל *master, possessor*, בֶּן *son*, and their feminines and plurals (including מְתֵי *men*, used only in the plural), with some appellative noun, in order to represent a person (poetically even a thing) as possessing some object or quality, or being in some condition. In English, such combinations are sometimes rendered by single substantives, sometimes by circumlocution.

Examples:—

(a) Of אִישׁ, &c.: אִישׁ דְּבָרִים *an eloquent man*, Ex 4<sup>10</sup> (but אִישׁ שִׁפְתָּיִם Jb 11<sup>2</sup> *a man of lips*, i.e. a boaster); אִישׁ לִשָּׁן = *a slanderer*, ψ 140<sup>12</sup>; אִישׁ יָדָע *a man of knowledge*, Pr 24<sup>5</sup>; אִישׁ חֲמָה *a wrathful man*, Pr 15<sup>18</sup>; אִישׁ דָּמִים *a man of blood*, 2 S 16<sup>7</sup>, ψ 5<sup>7</sup>; cf. further, 1 S 16<sup>18</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>26</sup>, Is 53<sup>3</sup>, Pr 19<sup>6</sup>, 26<sup>21</sup>, 29<sup>1</sup>, Eze 8<sup>18</sup>; also אִשְׁתׁ מְרִינִים *a contentious woman*, Pr 27<sup>16</sup>; in the plural, e.g. Gn 6<sup>4</sup> אֲנָשֵׁי הַרְשָׁם *the men of renown, famous*; cf. Gn 47<sup>6</sup>, Is 41<sup>11</sup>, Jb 34<sup>8,10</sup> (אֲנָשֵׁי לִבָּב) *men of understanding*; with מְתֵי, e.g. Is 53<sup>18</sup> מְתֵי רָעֵב *famished men*; but read probably מְתֵי רָעֵב *weak with hunger*); ψ 26<sup>4</sup>, Jb 11<sup>11</sup>, 22<sup>16</sup>.

(b) Of בָּעַל, &c.: בָּעַל שֵׁעַר *hair*, 2 K 1<sup>8</sup>; בָּעַל הַחֲלָמוֹת *the dreamer*, Gn 37<sup>19</sup>; cf. Na 1<sup>2</sup>, Pr 1<sup>17</sup>, 18<sup>9</sup> (a destroyer), 22<sup>24</sup>, 23<sup>2</sup> (disposed to eat, greedy), 24<sup>8</sup>; feminine

בְּעֵלְת־אֹזב a woman that hath a soothsaying spirit, 1 S 28<sup>7</sup>; cf. Na 3<sup>4</sup>; in the plural, e.g. בְּעֵלֵי חֲצִים archers, Gn 49<sup>23</sup>, בְּרִית בְּעֵלֵי confederates, Gn 14<sup>13</sup>; בְּעֵלֵי שְׂבָעָה sworn supporters, Neh 6<sup>18</sup>.

- U (c) Of בֶּן־חַיִל a hero, warrior, 1 K 1<sup>62</sup>; בֶּן־מֹשֶׁק heir, Gn 15<sup>2</sup>; בֶּן־שָׁנָה yearling, Ex 12<sup>5</sup>, &c.; בֶּן־מֵאָת שָׁנָה centum annos natus, Gn 21<sup>5</sup>; בֶּן־מָוֶת worthy to die, 1 S 2c<sup>31</sup> (Luther, 2 S 12<sup>5</sup> ein Kind des Todes); cf. Dt 25<sup>2</sup> בֶּן־הַבֹּת worthy to be beaten. Feminine, e.g. בַּת־בְּלָעַל a wicked woman, 1 S 1<sup>16</sup>; frequently also בְּלָעַל, like the Latin *scelus* for *sceltestissimus*, 2 S 23<sup>6</sup>, Jb 34<sup>18</sup>. Plural masculine, e.g. בְּנֵי מָרִי children of rebellion, Nu 17<sup>25</sup>. בֶּן is used poetically of things without life, e.g. Is 5<sup>1</sup> בֶּן־שִׁמְן a fat, i.e. a fruitful (hill); Jon 4<sup>10</sup> בֶּן־לַיְלָה i.e. grown in a night; Jb 41<sup>20</sup> son of the bow (i.e. an arrow); so also בְּנֵי רֶשֶׁף = sparks, Jb 5<sup>7</sup>; La 3<sup>12</sup>; בָּנוֹת Ec 12<sup>4</sup> the daughters of song, probably meaning the individual notes.

There is another use of בֶּן־ or בְּנֵי to denote membership of a guild or society (or of a tribe, or any definite class). Thus בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים or בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים Gn 6<sup>24</sup>, Jb 1<sup>6</sup>, 21, 38<sup>7</sup> (cf. also בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים ψ 29<sup>1</sup>, 89<sup>7</sup>) properly means not sons of god(s), but beings of the class of אֱלֹהִים or אֱלֹהִים; בְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים 1 K 20<sup>35</sup> (singular in Am 7<sup>14</sup>) persons belonging to the guild of prophets; בְּנֵי הַדְּרוֹרִים Neh 3<sup>8</sup> one of the guild of apothecaries, cf. 3<sup>31</sup> where בְּנֵי הַדְּרוֹרִים is to be read. Similarly בְּנֵי שְׁלִישִׁים Gn 5c<sup>23</sup> are most probably not great-grandsons but grandsons, i.e. those belonging to the third generation. Cf. also בְּנֵי הַגִּרְשֹׁנִיִּם Nu 4<sup>27</sup>. Gershonites, בְּנֵי הַקֹּהֲתָיִם 2 Ch 2c<sup>10</sup>, &c., Kohathites; בְּנֵי קָרָם 2 Ch 2c<sup>10</sup>, &c., Kohathites; בְּנֵי קָרָם dwellers in the East.

- 70 3. Special mention must be made of the not infrequent idiom by which adjectives (sometimes also ordinals, see § 134 o) are added in the genitive, like substantives, rather than as attributes in the same state, gender, and number as the noun which they qualify; thus, Is 28<sup>4</sup> צִיָּצֹת נִבֵּל the flower of *that which fades*, for which verse 1 has צִיָּץ נִבֵּל the fading flower; cf. further, Is 22<sup>24</sup>, Jer 22<sup>17</sup> (9), 52<sup>13</sup>, ψ 73<sup>10</sup>, 74<sup>15</sup> (but אֵיתָן may be a substantive), 78<sup>40</sup>; also the use of רַע as a substantive, e.g. in Pr 21<sup>14</sup>, 6<sup>24</sup> (רָעָה), &c., analogous to the New Testament phrase ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἀδικίας, Luke 16<sup>8</sup>, and the French un homme de bien.<sup>1</sup>—Finally, an adverb (treated as a substantive) may likewise be used as an epexegetical genitive; cf. דָּמִי הִנָּחַם blood shed without cause, 1 K 2<sup>51</sup>; Pr 24<sup>28</sup>, 26<sup>2</sup>; Ez 30<sup>10</sup> (יָקָם).

- 71 3. The epexegetical genitives include finally the numerous nearer definitions which follow the construct state of adjectives (and of active and passive participles, or verbal adjectives, cf. § 116 f-l). For, while the word of nearer definition is added to the verb in the accusative (e.g. חָלָה אֶת־רַגְלָיו he was diseased in his feet, 1 K 15<sup>23</sup>), it may, with participles and verbal adjectives, be either in the accusative

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, in such passages as Is 36<sup>2</sup> (2 K 18<sup>17</sup>), Zc 14<sup>4</sup>, Ec 8<sup>10</sup>, &c., there is no apparent reason why the Masora requires the construct state instead of the absolute; hence חָלָה Is 36<sup>2</sup> and נָיָא Zc 14<sup>4</sup> must be intended as forms of the absolute state, shortened in consequence of their close connexion,

(§ 116 f and k) or in the genitive, the case of a word depending on a noun. Such a genitive relation is usually termed an *improper annexion*. The nearer definition contains a statement either of the *material*, e.g. Ex 3<sup>a</sup>, &c., אֶרֶץ זָבַת חֶלֶב וְדָבָשׁ *a land flowing with milk and honey*; or of the *means*, e.g. חֶלֶל־יָדָיו slain with the sword, Is 22<sup>2</sup>; or of the *cause*, Ct 2<sup>a</sup> sick of love; or of the *scope* of the attribute,<sup>1</sup> e.g. Gn 39<sup>a</sup> יָפֶת־חָצֵר *fair of form*; cf. Gn 41<sup>2,4</sup>, Ex 34<sup>6</sup>, Is 1<sup>4</sup>, Jer 32<sup>10</sup>, Na 1<sup>3</sup>, ψ 119<sup>1</sup>, Jb 37<sup>10</sup>; or of the *manner*, e.g. ψ 59<sup>6</sup> אֶת־בְּרִי אֵין *faithless ones of wickedness* (wickedly faithless).

Especially frequent is the use of this genitive to name the part of *the body* described as being affected by some physical or mental condition, e.g. ψ 24<sup>4</sup> נְקִי כַפַּיִם *clean as regards hands*, &c.; 2 S 9<sup>3</sup>, Is 6<sup>3</sup>, Jb 17<sup>9</sup>; Is 19<sup>10</sup> מְאִי־נַפְשִׁ *grieved in soul*; 1 S 11<sup>10</sup>, Jb 32<sup>20</sup>. Also such examples as Am 2<sup>16</sup>, Pr 19<sup>1</sup>, where a suffix is attached to the substantive, must be regarded as instances of the genitive construction, on the analogy of Pr 14<sup>3</sup>, see § 116 k.

### § 129. *Expression of the Genitive by Circumlocution.*

Besides the construction of a *nomen rectum* dependent upon a *nomen a* regens in the construct state (§§ 89 and 128), the connexion of two nouns may also be effected otherwise, either by simply attaching the dependent noun by means of the preposition לְ, which, according to § 119 r, expresses, besides other ideas, also that of *belonging to*,<sup>2</sup> or by the addition of a relative clause (לְ, אֲשֶׁר, see k below).

i. The introduction of a genitive by לְ sometimes occurs even when the *b* construction with the construct state would be equally possible, e.g. 1 S 14<sup>18</sup> הַנְּצִיבִים הַלְּשָׂאֵל *the watchmen of Saul*; ψ 37<sup>16</sup>, 2 Ch 28<sup>18</sup> (where indeed the circumlocution makes the sense much plainer); as a rule, however, this use is restricted to the following cases:—

(a) To prevent a *nomen regens* being determined by a following determinate *C* genitive, e.g. 1 S 16<sup>18</sup> לְיֵשׁוּעַ בֶּן־יִשַׁי *a son of Jesse* (יֵשׁוּעַ בֶּן־יִשַׁי would be, according to § 127 a, *the son of Jesse*); cf. Gn 14<sup>18</sup>, 36<sup>12</sup>, 41<sup>12</sup>, Nu 16<sup>22</sup> (27<sup>16</sup>), 1 S 17<sup>8</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>21</sup>, ψ 122<sup>2</sup>. Hence, regularly לְדָוִד מְזִמֹּר (ψ 3<sup>1</sup>, &c.) *a psalm of David* (properly belonging to David as the author), for which לְדָוִד of David is used alone elliptically in ψ 11<sup>1</sup>, 14<sup>1</sup>, &c. Such a case as לְדָוִד מְזִמֹּר (ψ 24<sup>1</sup>, &c.) is not to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Latin *integer vitae scelerisque purus; tristes animi*, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the σχῆμα Κολοφώνιον in Greek, e.g. ἡ κεφαλὴ τῶ ἀνθρώπου for τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Bernhardt's *Syntax*, p. 88). The Arab grammarians distinguish a twofold genitive, one of which may be resolved by لَ, and the other by مِنْ [see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, vol. ii, § 75 ff.]. The *de* of the Romance languages is a development of the latter idea; the Gascon, however, says e.g. *la fille à Mr. N.* laying stress upon the idea of *belonging to* and not that of *origin*, as in *la fille de* . . . of the literary language.

be regarded as a transposition, but מְזִמּוֹר is used epexegetically for the general term omitted before לָדוֹר (as it were, a poem of David, a psalm).

Moreover, the introduction of the author, poet, &c., by this *Lamed auctoris* is the customary idiom also in the other Semitic dialects, especially in Arabic.

- d (b) When a genitive is to be made dependent on a nomen regens, which is itself composed of a nomen regens and rectum, and represents, as a compound, one united idea, e. g. Ru 2<sup>3</sup> חֶלֶקֶת הַשָּׂדֶה לְבִעֹז *the portion of field belonging to Boaz* (בְּעֹז שָׂדֶה בְּעֹז would be *the portion of the field of Boaz*); 2 K 5<sup>9</sup> *at the house-door of Elisha*. This especially applies to the cases in which the compound regens represents a term in very common use, the fixed form of which cannot be altered, e. g. 1 K 14<sup>19</sup> עֵל־סֵפֶר דְּבַר הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel*; 15<sup>23</sup>, &c.; cf. also Jos 19<sup>51</sup>.

- e (c) When for any other reason the construction with the nomen regens in the construct state is inadmissible; cf. e. g. Lv 18<sup>20</sup>, where שִׁבְבֶּתְךָ, on account of the suffix, cannot be used in the construct state; but Lv 15<sup>16</sup> π., &c., שִׁבְבֶּת־ךָ; Ju 3<sup>28</sup> *the Jordan fords of Moab* (יַרְדֵּן) as a proper name cannot be used in the construct state; Ex 20<sup>5</sup> *upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me*; עֹלֵל־בָּעִים must be kept in the absolute state for the sake of conformity with עֹלֵל־שָׁלִים, and for the same reason also לְאַהֲבֵי.

- f (d) After statements of number in such cases as Gn 8<sup>14</sup> יוֹם וְעֶשְׂרִים *on the seven and twentieth day of the month*; cf. 7<sup>11</sup>, 16<sup>3</sup> and frequently, or as in Hag 1<sup>1</sup> בְּשָׁנָה שְׁתַּיִם לְדָרְיָשׁ *in the second year of Darius*; the numeral here is always one compound idea with the substantive numbered, and consequently (as in the examples under b) does not admit of being in the constr. st. with a genitive. The same naturally applies also to such examples as 1 K 3<sup>18</sup> בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי לְלִדְתִּי *on the third day of my giving birth* (i. e. after my giving birth). Cf. also the standing phrase בַּאֲחֶד הַיּוֹם *on the first (day) of the month*, Gn 8<sup>6</sup> and frequently.

- g Rem. In cases like 2 S 3<sup>2</sup> and his firstborn was Amnon לְאַחִינֹעַם of Ahinoam, the genitive expressed by circumlocution with לְ is in reality dependent on a regens which is omitted (בֶּן לְאַחִינֹעַם *a son of Ahinoam*); cf. 2 S 3<sup>3,5</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>13</sup>, Am 5<sup>3</sup> (unless לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל originally depended on *thus spake the Lord*), and the remarks on לָדוֹר מְזִמּוֹר under c above.

- h 2. The periphrastic expression of the genitive by means of לְ אִשֶּׁר לְ is used principally to state the possessor, e. g. Gn 29<sup>9</sup> הָצֹאן אִשֶּׁר לְאָבִיהָ *her father's sheep* (prop. *the sheep which belonged to her father*); Gn 47<sup>4</sup> and frequently. So also (according to § 128 a) when a genitive depends on more than one substantive, e. g. Gn 40<sup>8</sup> *the butler and the baker who (belonged) to the king of Egypt* (מֶלֶךְ וְאִפְהָ מֶלֶךְ) would indicate only the baker as belonging to the king); or when a genitive (as in the examples under d above) is added to a compound, which expresses one united idea (Ru 4<sup>3</sup>); or when, as a fixed term (e. g. a title), it appears always in the same form, e. g. Ct 1<sup>1</sup> שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אִשֶּׁר לְשִׁלְמוֹה *the Song of songs, of Solomon*; 1 S 21<sup>8</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>8</sup>, 1 Ch 11<sup>10</sup>; cf. also Gn 41<sup>43,1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In New Hebrew אִשֶּׁר לְ (derived from אִשֶּׁר לְ = אִשֶּׁר לְ, see § 36, and cf. Ct 1<sup>6</sup>, 3<sup>7</sup> שִׁיר לְשִׁלְמוֹה, אִשֶּׁר לְ) is used like the simple relative לְ, in Aramaic, as an independent sign of the genitive.



§ 130. *Wider Use of the Construct State.*

The construct state, which, according to § 89 *a*, primarily represents *a* only the immediate government by one substantive of the following word (or combination of words), is frequently employed in rapid narrative as a connecting form, even apart from the genitive relation; so especially—

(1) Before prepositions,<sup>1</sup> particularly in elevated (prophetic or poetic) style, especially when the nomen regens is a participle. Thus before בְּ, שִׂמְחַת בְּקִצִּיר *the joy in the harvest*, Is 9<sup>2</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>21</sup>, ψ 136<sup>84</sup>; in participles, Is 5<sup>11</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>, 19<sup>8</sup>, ψ 84<sup>7</sup>, and especially often when בְּ with a suffix follows the participle, e. g. ψ 2<sup>12</sup> בְּלִדְהוּי בּוֹ; cf. Na 1<sup>7</sup>, Jer 8<sup>16</sup> (ψ 24<sup>1</sup>); ψ 64<sup>9</sup> (unless רָאָה should be read); 98<sup>7</sup>.<sup>2</sup>—Before לְ, Ho 9<sup>6</sup> (but read probably בְּמִסְפָּרֵי בְּמִסְפָּרֵי); ψ 58<sup>6</sup> (before לָמוֹ); Pr 24<sup>9</sup>, Jb 18<sup>2</sup>, La 2<sup>18</sup> (before לָךְ); 1 Ch 6<sup>55</sup>, 23<sup>28</sup>; in participles, Ez 38<sup>11</sup>, Jb 24<sup>6</sup>; before לְ with an infinitive, Is 56<sup>10</sup>, and again before לְ with a suffix, Gn 24<sup>21</sup>, Is 30<sup>18</sup>, 64<sup>3</sup>;<sup>3</sup>—before אֶל, Is 14<sup>19</sup>, Ez 21<sup>17</sup>;—before אִתְּ (*with*), Is 8<sup>6</sup>;—before כִּן, Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, Is 28<sup>9</sup> (a participle); Jer 23<sup>23</sup>, Ez 13<sup>2</sup>, Ho 7<sup>6</sup>;—before עַל, Ju 5<sup>10</sup>;—before בְּלִי, Is 14<sup>6</sup>;—before the *nota accus.* אֹת, Jer 33<sup>22</sup>;—before a locative (which in such cases also serves as a genitive), Ex 27<sup>13</sup>, Jer 1<sup>15</sup>.

(2) Before *wāw copulative*, e. g. Ez 26<sup>10</sup>; but חֲקִמַת Is 33<sup>6</sup>, וְיָלַת 35<sup>2</sup>, וְשָׁכַרְתָּ 51<sup>21</sup> may be cases of an intentional reversion to the old feminine ending *ath*, in order to avoid the hiatus (1) וְיָלַת.

(3) When it governs the (originally demonstrative) pronoun אֵשֶׁר; *c* so especially in the combination אֵשֶׁר מְקוֹם, Gn 39<sup>20</sup>, 40<sup>3</sup>, *the place where* (prop. *of that in which*) *Joseph was bound*; cf. § 138 *g*; or אֵשֶׁר בְּמְקוֹם Lv 4<sup>24,33</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>19</sup>, Jer 22<sup>12</sup>, Ez 21<sup>35</sup>, Ho 2<sup>1</sup>. We should expect אֵשֶׁר בְּמְקוֹם, as in Gn 35<sup>13</sup>, &c., *at the place which . . .*, cf. § 138; but אֵשֶׁר is treated as a nomen rectum instead of as an attribute.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. König, 'Die Ueberwucherung des St.-constr.-Gebrauchs im Semit.,' ZDMG. 53, 521 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In Ju 8<sup>11</sup> the article is even used before a construct state followed by בְּ, in order to determine the whole combination שְׁכֵנֵי בְּהַחֲלִים *tent-dwellers*, taken as one word; cf., however, the remarks in § 127 *f-i* on similar grammatical solecisms.

<sup>3</sup> These are to be distinguished from the cases where לְ follows a construct state, which in conjunction with מִן (and the following לְ) has become a sort of preposition or adverb of place; thus, we have מִבֵּיתִי Ex 26<sup>33</sup> (for which in Ez 12<sup>7</sup> merely לְ בֵּיתִי meaning simply *within*); מִיְמִין לְ (2 K 23<sup>13</sup>, Ez 10<sup>3</sup>) *on the right hand* (i. e. south) *of*; מִצָּפוֹן לְ (Jos 8<sup>11,13</sup>, &c., Ju 2<sup>9</sup>) *on the north of*; cf. also Jos 15<sup>21</sup> and לְפָנֵי מִן Neh 13<sup>4</sup>.

Cf. also מִיּוֹם followed by a perfect in 1 S 29<sup>8</sup>, and מִיּוֹם Lv 13<sup>46</sup>, Nu 9<sup>18, 1</sup>.

d (4) When it governs independent sentences (cf. § 155), which virtually stand to the construct state (as *nomen regens*) in a sort of genitive relation, e.g. Ex 4<sup>13</sup> בְּיַד הַשֵּׁלֶחַ prop. *by the hand of him whom thou wilt send*; Nu 23<sup>3</sup> מַה־יֵּרָאֵי הַדָּבָר the *matter of that which he shall show me*, i.e. whatever he shall; Is 29<sup>1</sup> הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה the *city where David encamped*; Jer 48<sup>36</sup>, ψ 16<sup>3</sup> (if the text be right), 65<sup>5</sup> (Pr 8<sup>32</sup>), ψ 81<sup>6</sup>, Jb 18<sup>21</sup> the *place of him that knoweth not God*; Jb 29<sup>16</sup>, La 1<sup>14</sup> (if the text be right) *into the hands of those against whom I cannot stand*.<sup>2</sup> In Gn 39<sup>4</sup> (בְּלִישְׁלוֹ) the בֶּל־ takes after it a noun-clause, and in Ex 9<sup>4</sup>, still more boldly, a subst. with לְ.—Very often a *time-determination* governs the following sentence in this way; thus אַחֲרֵי followed by a perfect, Lv 25<sup>48</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>9</sup>; בְּיוֹם ψ 102<sup>3</sup> (before a noun-clause), Ex 6<sup>28</sup>, Nu 3<sup>1</sup>, Dt 4<sup>15</sup>, 2 S 22<sup>1</sup>, ψ 18<sup>1</sup>, 59<sup>17</sup>, 138<sup>3</sup> (in every case before a following perfect), ψ 56<sup>10</sup> (before an imperfect); מִיּוֹם followed by the perfect, Jer 36<sup>2</sup>; בְּלִימֵי Lv 14<sup>46</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>15</sup>, Jb 29<sup>3</sup> (בְּיָמֵי) *as in the days when . . .*<sup>3</sup>; cf. בְּיָמֹת and שָׁנוֹת before a perfect, ψ 90<sup>15</sup>; בְּעֵת before a perfect, Jer 6<sup>15</sup> (cf. 49<sup>8</sup>, 50<sup>31</sup>); before an imperfect, Jb 6<sup>17</sup>; תְּחִלָּה before a perfect, Ho 1<sup>2</sup>.

e (5) Connected with a following word in apposition; certainly so in such cases as בְּתוּלַת צִיּוֹן בְּתוּלַת הַבְּתוּלָּה the *virgin, the daughter of Zion*, Is 37<sup>22</sup>; cf. 23<sup>12</sup>, Jer 14<sup>17</sup>; also 1 S 28<sup>7</sup> אִשָּׁה בַעֲלַת־אֵיב a *woman, possessor of a soothsaying spirit*; cf. Dt 21<sup>11</sup>.—Gn 14<sup>10</sup>, Ju 19<sup>22</sup> (but read probably אֲנָשִׁים with Moore, as in Dt 13<sup>14</sup>, Ju 20<sup>13</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>10</sup>); 2 K 10<sup>6</sup>, 17<sup>13</sup> Q<sup>er</sup>; Jer 46<sup>9</sup>, ψ 35<sup>16</sup> (?), 78<sup>9</sup>, Jb 20<sup>17b</sup> (unless נִהְיֵי or נִהְיֵי be a gloss).

f Rem. Some of the above passages may also be explained by supposing that there exists a real genitive relation towards the preceding construct state, which has been, as it were, provisionally left *in suspensio*, in consequence of the insertion of some interrupting word, e.g. Is 37<sup>22</sup>, &c.; Jb 20<sup>17a</sup>. Elsewhere (Dt 33<sup>19</sup>, ψ 68<sup>34</sup>) the *nomen regens* probably governs the following construct state directly.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Dt 23<sup>5</sup> the construct state governs a sentence introduced by the conjunction אֲשֶׁר (עַל־דִּבְרֵי אֲשֶׁר by reason of the fact that, i.e. because); so also in 1 S 3<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Gn 22<sup>14</sup> is also to be so explained (contrary to the accents), and certainly (contrary to the very unnatural division of the verses) 2 Ch 30<sup>18</sup>, which should read on thus: יְהוָה הַטּוֹב יִבְרָךְ בְּעֵד בְּלִלְכָבוּ הַכֵּן the good Lord pardon every one that setteth his heart to seek God. [See Wickes' *Accentuation of the Twenty-one Prose Books of the Old Testament*, p. 140.]

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Na 2<sup>9</sup> מִיָּמֵי הָיָה, usually explained to mean *from the days that she hath been*, but the text is evidently very corrupt.

<sup>4</sup> So also Is 28<sup>16</sup> a corner stone of the preciousness (יִקְרָת is a substantive not an adjective) of a fixed foundation, i.e. a precious corner stone of surest foundation.—In 2 S 20<sup>19</sup> the text is wholly corrupt; in ψ 119<sup>128</sup> read בְּלִפְקוּיָךְ.

(6) The numeral **אחת** *one* for **אחד** in close connexion, and even with *g* small disjunctives, e.g. Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, 48<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 17<sup>22</sup>, Is 27<sup>12</sup>, Zc 11<sup>7</sup>.

The character of these passages shows that the numeral here cannot be in the construct state, but is merely a rhythmical shortening of the usual (tone-lengthened) form.

### § 131. *Apposition.*

1. Apposition in the stricter sense is the collocation of two sub-*a*stantives in the same case in order to define more exactly (or to complete) the one by the other, and, as a rule (see, however, below, under *g*), the former by the latter. Apposition in Hebrew (as in the other Semitic languages<sup>1</sup>) is by no means confined to those cases in which it is used in English or in the classical languages. It is not infrequently found when either the *subordination* of one substantive to the other or some more circumstantial kind of epexegetical addition would be expected.

2. The principal kinds of apposition in Hebrew are:—

(a) The collocation of *genus* and *species*, e.g. **אִשָּׁה אַלְמָנָה** *a woman b* (who was) *a widow*, 1 K 7<sup>14</sup>; **נַעֲרָה בְּתוּלָה** *a damsel (that is) a virgin*, Dt 22<sup>23,28</sup>, Ju 4<sup>1</sup>, 19<sup>1</sup>, 21<sup>12</sup>, 1 S 30<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>2</sup>; cf. Gn 13<sup>8</sup>, 21<sup>20</sup> (where, however, **נִשְׁת** is probably an explanatory gloss); Ex 24<sup>5</sup> (1 S 11<sup>15</sup>), 2 S 15<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>16</sup>, 5<sup>20</sup> (but probably **כֹּהֵן** should be read instead of **כֹּהֵל**); Is 3<sup>24</sup> (unless **כֹּהֵן** is to be read), Jer 20<sup>1</sup>. Perhaps also **כֹּהֵן הָרִאשׁוֹן** *the priest (who is) the chief man*, 2 K 25<sup>18</sup>, &c.; others take **כֹּהֵן** as constr. st.—In 2 S 10<sup>7</sup> read **כָּל־צָבָא הַגָּבִי** with the LXX, as in the parallel passage 1 Ch 19<sup>9</sup> for **כָּל־צָבָא הַגָּבִי**, which is evidently meant to refer to the reading in 2 S.

(b) Collocation of the *person* or *thing* and the *attribute*, e.g. Jb 20<sup>20</sup> c (27<sup>13</sup>) **הַחֵלֶק אֲדָמָה רָשָׁע** *this is the portion of a man, (who is) a wicked man* (but **רָשָׁע** might also be an adjunct.); cf. Pr 6<sup>12</sup>.—Lv 6<sup>13</sup>, 16<sup>4</sup> (where, however, **כֹּהֵן** is probably a gloss); Pr 22<sup>21</sup> **אִמְרֵי אֱמֶת** *words (which are) truth*; (immediately after **אִמְרֵי אֱמֶת** cf. 1 S 2<sup>13</sup>, Mi 1<sup>11</sup> (where, however, **בְּשִׁיחָה** is most probably a gloss on **עֲרִיחָה**); Zc 1<sup>13</sup> (= *comfortable words*); ψ 45<sup>5</sup> (f), 68<sup>17</sup> (cf. verse 16). In a wider sense this includes also such cases as ψ 60<sup>5</sup> **יַיִן תִּרְעַלְהָ** *wine which is staggering* (intoxicating drink), which causes staggering<sup>2</sup>; 1 K 22<sup>27</sup>, 2 Ch 18<sup>26</sup> **מַיִם לַחֵין** (in

<sup>1</sup> On certain uses of apposition peculiar to the Semitic languages, cf. the exhaustive discussion by Fleischer, 'Ueber einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arab.' (*Kleine Schriften*, ii. 16); [and see also Driver, *Tenses*, Appendix IV.]

<sup>2</sup> Unless it is to be translated *thou gavest us intoxication to drink as wine* (and so in 1 K 22<sup>27</sup> *give him affliction to eat as bread*, &c.); cf. ψ 80<sup>6</sup> and the analogous examples of apposition in the form of a second accusative in § 117 *kk*. More-

Is 30<sup>20</sup> parallel with צַר לָהֶם (*water* which is *affliction*, drunk in trouble (imprisonment)). Still more boldly, 1 K 5<sup>3</sup> בָּקָר רָעִי *oxen* which were taken out of the *pastures*, and 1 K 6<sup>7</sup> *undressed stones* which come from the *quarry*, probably a corruption of מִפֶּסַע. A person and a condition are in apposition in Ez 18<sup>6</sup> (unless בְּנִדְתָּהּ is to be read).—In 1 S 4<sup>1</sup> read רָעָה אֲנִי, as in 5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>12</sup>.

- d (c) Collocation of the *person* (Dt 28<sup>26</sup>) or *thing* (form) and *material*,<sup>1</sup> or of the *place* or *measure* and its *contents*, e.g. 1 Ch 15<sup>19</sup> בְּמִצְעָלַיִם נְהַשְׁתָּ with *cymbals* which were *brass*, i. e. of *brass*; cf. Ex 26<sup>25</sup>, Dn 11<sup>8</sup>, 1 Ch 28<sup>15,18</sup> (?); Ex 28<sup>17</sup> *four rows*, namely *stones* (for which 39<sup>10</sup> has סֶלֶת טָהוֹר); cf. 2 Ch 4<sup>13</sup>, Lv 6<sup>3</sup> (see, however, § 128 d); 2 K 7<sup>1</sup> סֶלֶת טָהוֹר a *seah* of *fine flour*; cf. 2 K 7<sup>16,18</sup>, Gn 18<sup>6</sup>, Ex 16<sup>33</sup>, Lv 5<sup>11</sup>, Ru 2<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 16<sup>24</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>23</sup> כֶּסֶף כִּבְרִיִּים *two talents* of *silver*;<sup>2</sup> cf. 5<sup>17</sup>, Ex 39<sup>17</sup>, Ez 22<sup>18</sup> (if the text be right). With the *material* placed before the *measure*, Ex 30<sup>23f</sup>.—A *period of time* and its *contents* are placed in apposition חֹדֶשׁ יָמִים a *month* of *days*, i. e. a month's time=for a whole month, Gn 29<sup>14</sup>, Nu 11<sup>20,21</sup>, cf. Dt 21<sup>13</sup>, 2 K 15<sup>13</sup>, and שְ�נַתַּיִם יָמִים *two years' time*, i. e. two full years, Gn 41<sup>1</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>23</sup>, 14<sup>28</sup>, Jer 28<sup>3,11</sup>, Dn 10<sup>2f</sup>.

Finally, under this head may be included all the cases in which a numeral (regarded as a substantive) is followed by the object numbered in apposition, e.g. יְשֻׁשָׁה בָנִים *trias* sc. *fili*, § 97 a and § 134 b.

- e (d) Collocation of the *thing* and the *measure* or *extent*, *number*, &c., e.g. Nu 9<sup>20</sup> יָמִים מִסְפָּר *days*, (a small) *number*, i. e. only a few days; מִשְׁנֵה כֶּסֶף *money*, *repetition*, i. e. twice as much money, Gn 43<sup>12</sup> (unless כֶּסֶף be constr. st.); מַיִם בְּרַבָּיִם *water* which was of the measure of the *knees*, which reached to the knees, Ez 47<sup>4</sup> (also מֵי מְתַנִּים *water* that was to the loins, in the same verse). This likewise includes the cases in which a noun is followed in apposition by a numeral (see § 134 c) or an adverb, originally conceived as a substantive, e.g. נְאֻשִׁים מְעַט *men*, a *few*, i. e. some few men; 1 K 5<sup>9</sup> תְּבוּנָה הַרְבֵּה *understanding*, *much-making*, i. e. much understanding, unless הַרְבֵּה is to be taken as an adverb with וַיֵּהָיו, as in 2 S 8<sup>8</sup> with לָקַח.

over, having regard to הַרְבֵּה יַיִן *spiced wine*, Ct 8<sup>2</sup>, and עֵיִר פָּרָא a *wild ass's colt*, Jb 11<sup>12</sup> (in which passages יַיִן and עֵיִר must certainly be in the construct state) we cannot but ask whether the Masora does not intend the יַיִן in ψ 60<sup>5</sup> to be taken as construct state (for which elsewhere יַיִן).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the examples treated above in § 127 h.

<sup>2</sup> On the anomalous form כֶּסֶף כִּבְרִיִּים (instead of כֶּסֶף כִּבְרִיִּים; cf. כֶּסֶף כִּבְרִיִּים immediately before), see § 88 b.

(e) Collocation of the *thing* and its *name*, e.g. בְּהַרְרֵט שְׁעִיר *in their mountainous district, Seir* (perhaps only a later gloss), Gn 14<sup>6</sup>; הָאָרֶץ פְּנֵנֶן *the land Canaan* (כְּנָעַן probably only a later gloss), Nu 34<sup>2</sup>; cf. Ezr 9<sup>1</sup>, 1 Ch 5<sup>9</sup> (see under *g* below).—For examples of nouns in the construct state before a noun in apposition, see § 130 e.

Rem. 1. Only in certain combinations does the noun of nearer definition *g* come first, e.g. הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה, הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד *king David, king Solomon* (less frequently הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד as in 2 S 13<sup>30</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>17</sup>, 12<sup>2</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>29</sup>, 9<sup>15</sup>, and in late Hebrew, Hag 1<sup>11,15</sup> [cf. the Aramaic order מְלִיכָא דְרִינִישׁ Chron.]), and often in Chron.).—A chiasmus occurs in Is 45<sup>4</sup>, the name standing after the defining noun in the first part of the verse, and before it in the parallel clause.

2. When the *nota accusativi* (אֶת, אֶת־) or a preposition precedes the first *h* substantive, it may be repeated before the noun in apposition, e.g. Gn 4<sup>2</sup>, 22<sup>2</sup>, 24<sup>4</sup>, 47<sup>20</sup>, Is 66<sup>21</sup>; this usually occurs when the nearer definition precedes a *proper name*. As a rule, however, the repetition does not take place (Dt 18<sup>1</sup>, Jer 33<sup>18</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>14</sup>). A noun in apposition is made determinate, even after a noun with a prefix, in the ordinary way, e.g. 2 Ch 12<sup>13</sup> הָעִיר הַזֶּה *in Jerusalem, the city which, &c.*<sup>1</sup>

3. Sometimes a second adjective is used in apposition to a preceding *i* adjective, in order to modify in some way the meaning of the first, e.g. Lv 13<sup>10</sup> בְּהָרֵת לְבָנָה אֲדָמָה *a white-reddish (light red) bright spot*.

4. *Permutation* is to be regarded as a variety of apposition. It is not complementary like apposition proper (see *a* above), but rather *defines* the preceding substantive (or pronoun, see below), in order to prevent any possible misunderstanding. This includes cases like Gn 9<sup>4</sup> *with the life thereof* (which is) *the blood thereof*; Ex 22<sup>30</sup>, Dt 2<sup>26</sup>, 1 S 7<sup>9</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>4</sup> *an hundred thousand rams, the wool, i.e. the wool of the rams*; Jer 25<sup>15</sup> *this cup of the wine, that is of fury* (but הַחֶמֶץ is probably a gloss); Is 42<sup>25</sup> *he poured upon him fury, namely his anger*;<sup>2</sup> but especially the examples in which such a permutative is added to a preceding pronoun, viz.—

(a) To a separate pronoun, e.g. Ex 7<sup>11</sup>; with regard to the vocative, cf. § 126 f.

(b) To an accusative suffix, e.g. Ex 2<sup>6</sup> *she saw him, the child* (unless אֶת־הִי *m* be a later gloss); Ex 35<sup>5</sup>, Lv 13<sup>57b</sup>, 1 K 19<sup>21</sup> (where, indeed, הַבֶּשֶׂר appears to be a late gloss); 21<sup>13</sup>, 2 K 16<sup>15</sup> *Keth.*, Jer 9<sup>14</sup>, 31<sup>2</sup>, Ez 3<sup>21</sup>, Ec 2<sup>21</sup> (according to Delitzsch rather a double accusative).<sup>3</sup>

(c) To a noun-suffix, e.g. Ez 10<sup>3</sup> בָּבֶאֱוּ הָאִישׁ *when he went in, the man*; 42<sup>14</sup>; *n* cf. Pr 13<sup>4</sup> (?), Ez 3<sup>12</sup>; so also after a preposition with suffix, e.g. Ec 4<sup>10</sup> הָאֶחָד לֹא *woe to him, the one alone*; with a repetition of the preposition, Nu 32<sup>33</sup>, Jos 1<sup>2</sup> לָהֶם לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *to them, to the children of Israel*; Ju 21<sup>7</sup>, Jer 51<sup>50</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> In 1 K 11<sup>8</sup> participles after לְכַלְכֵּשׁ, as in 2 K 10<sup>5</sup> after הָעִיר, and in 19<sup>2</sup> after a determinate accusative, and in Hag 1<sup>4</sup> after בְּבִיתָם, are used without the article; these, however, are probably to be explained not as in apposition, but according to § 118 p.

<sup>2</sup> But מֵיִם Gn 617 (cf. 7<sup>6</sup>) is to be regarded as a later gloss upon the archaic מִבֹּל.

<sup>3</sup> For וַיִּשְׁכֵּן 1 S 21<sup>14</sup> either וַיִּשְׁכֵּן is to be read or the *Kethibh* is to be explained according to § 75 b, note. Also יִלְכְּדוּ Pr 5<sup>22</sup> has hardly preserved the correct form.

Ez 42<sup>5</sup> (?), Dn 11<sup>11</sup>, 1 Ch 4<sup>42</sup>, 2 Ch 26<sup>14</sup>.<sup>1</sup>—Cf. finally, Ct 3<sup>7</sup>, where the suffix precedes the genitive periphrastically expressed by שָׁלֵךְ, as in Ez 9<sup>1</sup>, where the genitive is expressed by לֵךְ.<sup>2</sup>

- o Of a different kind are the cases in which the permutative with its proper suffix follows as a kind of correction of the preceding suffix, e.g. Is 29<sup>23</sup> *when he (or rather) his children see, &c.* (but יִלְדָיו is clearly a gloss); cf. ψ 83<sup>12</sup>; in Jb 29<sup>3</sup> read בְּהִלָּל (infin. Hiph.) or at least its syncopated form בְּהִלָּ.

p 5. Cases of apposition in a *wider sense* are those in which the nearer definition added to the noun was originally regarded as an *adverbial accusative*; on its use with the verb and on the relative correctness of speaking of such an accusative in Hebrew, cf. § 118 a and m. Owing to the lack of case-endings, indeed, it is in many instances only by analogies elsewhere (especially in Arabic) that we can decide whether the case is one of apposition in the narrower or in the wider sense; in other instances this must remain quite uncertain. However, the following are probably cases of apposition in the wider sense:—

- q (a) Such phrases as כֶּסֶף כִּשְׁמָה a *double amount in money*, Gn 43<sup>15</sup>; cf. Jer 17<sup>18</sup>; 1 S 17<sup>5</sup> *five thousand shekels in brass*, but this might also be taken (as in d) *shekels which were brass*; certainly such cases as Jb 15<sup>10</sup> *older than thy father in days*, and the expression of the superlative by means of מְאֹד (originally a substantive), e.g. מְאֹד טוֹב *very good*, Gn 1<sup>31</sup> (cf. also Ec 7<sup>16</sup> *righteous over much*), and the very frequent מְאֹד חֲרִיבָה prop. a *much-making exceedingly*, i.e. *exceedingly great*, Gn 15<sup>1</sup>, 41<sup>49</sup>, also Pr 23<sup>20</sup> פְּצָעִים חֲנָם *wounds without cause*,<sup>3</sup> perhaps also Gn 34<sup>25</sup> (פְּצָח).

- r (b) A few examples, in which an exegetical substantive is added to a substantive with a suffix; thus, Ez 16<sup>27</sup> מִדְרָגָה וְזָמָה *of thy conduct in lewdness* (but it is also possible to explain it (as in c) *of thy conduct, which is lewdness*); cf. Ez 24<sup>13</sup>, 2 S 22<sup>33</sup> מְעוֹצֵי הַיָּל *my fortress in strength*, i.e. *my strong fortress* (cf., however, ψ 18<sup>33</sup>); Hb 3<sup>8</sup>, ψ 71<sup>7</sup>. While even in these examples the deviation from the ordinary usage of the language (cf. § 135 n) is strange, it is much more so in חֹב חִלָּתוֹ Ez 18<sup>7</sup>, i.e. according to the context *his pledge for a debt*; Ezr 2<sup>62</sup> בְּתִקְבָּם הַמִּתְיָחִשִּׁים, i.e. *their register, namely of those that were reckoned by genealogy* (but perhaps הַמִּתְיָ is in apposition to the suffix in בְּתִקְבָּם), also the curious combinations (mentioned in § 128 d) of בְּרִיתִי with a proper name (Lv 26<sup>42</sup>), and in Jer 33<sup>20</sup> with הַיּוֹם.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But in Is 17<sup>6</sup> we should certainly divide the words differently and read הַפְּרִיזָה, in Jer 48<sup>44</sup> read אֶלֶה for אֶלֶהָ, and in Pr 14<sup>13</sup> הַשְׁמָחָה; in Gn 21<sup>9</sup> חַיָּה נָפֶשׁ is a late gloss upon לוֹ, and in Ez 41<sup>25</sup> אֶל־דִּלְחוֹת הַהִיכָל a gloss on אֶל־יָהִן.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the examples given above are textually (or exegetically) doubtful, whilst in the case of others, especially those from the later Books, we cannot help asking whether such a prolepsis of the genitive by means of a suffix (as e.g. Ez 10<sup>6</sup>) is not due to the influence of Aramaic, in which it is the customary idiom; cf. Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aram.*, § 81 e and § 88.

<sup>3</sup> In ψ 69<sup>5</sup> חֲנָם (like שֶׁקֶר in a false way, falsely, ψ 35<sup>19</sup> and 38<sup>20</sup>) is used as an *adverbial accusative* with a participle; cf. § 118 g.

<sup>4</sup> But in Nu 25<sup>12</sup> שְׁלוֹם may also be explained, according to c, as really in apposition. Cf. on the whole question Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 4th ed., p. 203, note 1.

6. In Dt 33<sup>4</sup> מוֹרֵ לְקַחֶלֶת (מוֹרֶשֶׁה), perhaps מוֹרֵ לְקַחֶלֶת is to be read), 33<sup>27</sup> (מַעֲנֶה), Ju 7<sup>8</sup> s (צִדָּה), the absolute state appears to be used instead of the construct to govern a following logical genitive; this, however, cannot be explained either as a special kind of apposition, or (with Hitzig) as a peculiarity of the dialect of Northern Palestine, but is merely a textual corruption. On the other hand, in Jb 31<sup>11</sup> עוֹן פְּלִלִים is evidently intended to combine the readings עוֹן פְּלִלִים and עוֹן פְּלִילִי (as in verse 28).—The remarkable combination אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת in ψ 80<sup>8,15</sup> is due to the fact that in ψ 42–83 אֱלֹהִים has almost throughout been subsequently substituted by some redactor for the divine name יְהוָה; on אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת cf. § 125 h. In ψ 59<sup>6</sup>, 80<sup>5,20</sup>, and 84<sup>9</sup> יְהוָה has been reinstated in the text before אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת.<sup>1</sup>

7. Lastly, the nearer definition (qualification) of a noun may be effected by *t* means of a preposition (either with a suffix or with an independent noun), but must then be distinguished from the cases in which the preposition is dependent on a verb or verbal idea, e.g. Gn 3<sup>6</sup> and she gave also לְאִשָּׁהּ עִמָּהּ unto her husband with her (= her husband who was with her); in Gn 9<sup>16</sup> (that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh) and other places, the qualification of the noun is itself also qualified.

## § 132. Connexion of the Substantive with the Adjective.<sup>2</sup>

1. The adjective (like the participle used adjectivally), which serves *a* as an *attribute* of a substantive, stands *after* the substantive, and agrees with it in *gender* and *number*, e.g. אִישׁ גָּדוֹל *a great man*, אִשָּׁה יָפָה *a beautiful woman*. If the substantive is immediately connected with a genitive, the attribute follows the latter, since, according to § 89 and § 128 a, the construct state and the genitive belonging to it are inseparably united, e.g. Est 8<sup>15</sup> קֶרֶן גְּדוֹלָה וְהָ עֲפָרַת זָהָב *a great crown of gold*.—On the attribute when attached to a *determinate* substantive, see above, § 126 u.

<sup>1</sup> Without this assumption it would be inconceivable that יהוה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת should not have been written; that the author of these Psalms regarded צְבָאוֹת already as an independent name of God (so Gesenius and Olshausen) is out of the question.

<sup>2</sup> On the expression of attributive ideas by substantives, cf. above, § 127 h, and § 128 o, with the note; § 135 n and § 141 c (substantives for adjectives as predicates of noun-clauses) and § 152 u (periphrases for negative qualities). On the use of the feminine of adjectives (and participles) to express abstract ideas, see § 122 q. It remains to mention further the employment (mostly only in poetry) of certain epithets in place of the substantives to which the quality in question belongs; e.g. אֲבִיר *the strong one*, i.e. *God*; אֲבִיר *the strong one*, i.e. *the bull* (in Jer 8<sup>10</sup>, &c., *the horse*); קַל *swift* = *the runner* (of the horse, Is 30<sup>16</sup>); לְבָנָה *alba*, i.e. *luna*; פְּרִיָּה *(fructifera)* *a fruitful tree*, Is 17<sup>6</sup> (so פֶּרֶת Gn 49<sup>29</sup>); רֹבֵץ *a croucher*, i.e. *a crouching beast of prey*, Gn 4<sup>7</sup>. Cf. also רֹחַן (*gravis, augustus*) and נְשִׂיא (*elatus?*), i.e. *a prince*. The use of adjectives and participles for substantives is much more extensive in Arabic. In Greek and Latin poetical language cf. such examples as ἑρπύλη = *the sea*; merum for vinum, &c.



*b* Rem. 1. Where an adjectival attribute appears to stand *before* its substantive (according to the usual explanation, for the sake of special emphasis) the relation is really appositional in character; thus, Is 10<sup>80</sup> עֲנִיָּה עֲנִיתוֹת *O thou poor one, Anathoth!* (but probably עֲנִיָּה *answer her*, is to be read); cf. 23<sup>12</sup>, 53<sup>11</sup> (a righteous man, my servant; but in 28<sup>21</sup> נָר and נָבִיר are predicates preceding the substantives); Jer 3<sup>6.10</sup>, ψ 18<sup>4</sup> him who is worthy to be praised will I call upon, the Lord; 92<sup>12</sup> (apposition after participles).—But רַבִּים and רַבּוֹת *many*, are sometimes placed, like numerals, before the substantive, Jer 16<sup>16</sup>, Neh 9<sup>28</sup> (in ψ 145<sup>7</sup> רַב is a *subst. regens*, in 89<sup>51</sup> the text is corrupt); an appositional relation can scarcely be intended in these instances.

*c* 2. In a few expressions (mostly poetic) the adjective appears not as an attribute *after* the substantive, but in the construct state governing it; so in the singular, Ex 15<sup>16</sup> (unless גָּדֹל should be read); 1 S 16<sup>7</sup> (the height of his stature); in the plural, 1 S 17<sup>40</sup> חֲלָקִי הַאֲבָנִים *smooth ones of (among) stones*, i.e. *smooth stones*; Is 35<sup>9</sup>, Ez 7<sup>24</sup>, ψ 46<sup>5</sup>, and with a following collective instead of a plural, e.g. Is 29<sup>13</sup> אֶדְמֵי הָאֲבִיּוֹנִים *the poor among men*, i.e. *poor men*; Jer 49<sup>20</sup>, Ze 11<sup>7</sup>; cf. in Latin *canum degeneres*. However, in almost all these cases the adjective which is made into a *regens* is strongly emphatic, and is frequently equivalent to a superlative (see below, § 133 g).

*d* 3. When *two* adjectives follow a feminine, sometimes only that standing next to the noun takes the feminine termination, e.g. 1 K 19<sup>11</sup> רֵיחַ נְדָרָהּ וְחֶזֶק וְגו' (but read נְדָרָהּ); 1 S 15<sup>9</sup> (but cf. § 75 y); Jer 20<sup>9</sup>, ψ 63<sup>2</sup>. A similar dislike of the feminine form may also be observed in the case of verbal predicates referring to feminine subjects, cf. § 145 p and t.

When an attribute qualifies several substantives of different genders, it agrees with the masculine, as being the *prior gender* (cf. § 146 d), e.g. Neh 9<sup>18</sup> חֲסִידִים וּמַצּוֹת טוֹבִים; Jer 34<sup>9</sup>, Ze 8<sup>6</sup>.

When *three* attributes follow a substantive, the first two may stand without a conjunction, and the last be attached by *uāw copulative*, cf. Ze 1<sup>8</sup>.

*e* 4. After feminines plural ending in יִם (§ 87 p) the adjectival attribute (in accordance with the fundamental rule stated above, under *a*) takes the ending וֹת, e.g. Is 10<sup>14</sup> עֲזוּבוֹת בְּיָצִים *forsaken eggs*; Gn 32<sup>10</sup>. For a strange exception see Jer 29<sup>17</sup> (differently in 24<sup>2</sup>).

*f* 5. With regard to *number* it is to be remarked that—

(a) Substantives in the *dual* are followed by adjectives (or participles) in the *plural*, e.g. ψ 18<sup>28</sup> (Pr 6<sup>17</sup>) עֵינֵיהֶם רְמוֹת *haughty eyes*; Is 35<sup>3</sup>, Jb 4<sup>9</sup>, cf. § 88 a.

*g* (b) *Collective* ideas are not infrequently joined with the *plural* of the adjective or participle (*constructio ad sensum*); thus, e.g. צֹאן *sheep* [with *fem. plur.*], Gn 30<sup>48</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>18</sup>; עָם = *men*, 1 S 13<sup>15</sup>, Is 9<sup>1</sup>; כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל = *all the Israelites*, 1 S 2<sup>14</sup>; גִּלּוֹת = *the exiles*, Jer 28<sup>4</sup>; cf. also נַפְשֵׁי שְׁנֵי *two souls*, Gn 46<sup>27.1</sup>. Cf. similar phenomena in the connexion of collectives with plural predicates in § 145 c.

*h* (c) The *pluralis excellentiae* or *pluralis maiestatis* is joined, as a rule, to the singular of the attribute, e.g. ψ 7<sup>10</sup> צָדִיק אֱלֹהִים; 2 K 19<sup>4.16</sup> (= Is 37<sup>4.17</sup>); Is 19<sup>4</sup>; but cf. אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים Dt 5<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>26.36</sup>, Jer 10<sup>10</sup>, 23<sup>36</sup>, perhaps also

<sup>1</sup> But it is impossible to take חַיִּים in Ez 46<sup>6</sup> as an attribute of בָּקָר; probably it is a correction intended to harmonize the passage with Nu 28<sup>11</sup>, where *two young bullocks* are required.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 S 28<sup>13</sup>, where אֱלֹהִים (in the sense of a *spirit*) is followed by עֲלִים as a second accusative; conversely in 1 S 19<sup>13.16</sup>, a singular suffix refers back

Ex 20<sup>3</sup> אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים = *another god*, and Jos 24<sup>19</sup> אֱלֹהִים קְדָשִׁים (but cf. above, § 124 g-k). On the other hand, 1 S 4<sup>8</sup> is to be explained as having been said by the Philistines, who supposed that the Israelites had several gods. On the connexion of אֱלֹהִים with a plural predicate, see § 145 i.

2. On the adjective (in the construct state) governing a following genitive, see § 128 x; for the participle in the same construction, see § 116 f-l.

### § 133. *The Comparison of Adjectives. (Periphrastic Expression of the Comparative and Superlative.)*

A. Wünsche, 'Der Komparativ im Hebr. im Lichte der arab. Gramm.,' in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Bibelkunde*, 1904, p. 398 ff.

1. Hebrew possesses no special forms either for the comparative or a superlative of the adjective.<sup>1</sup> In order to express a comparative, the person or thing which is to be represented as excelled in some particular quality is attached to the attributive word by the preposition מִן (מִי), e. g. 1 S 9<sup>2</sup> גִּבּוֹר מִכָּל-הָעָם *higher than any of the people*. The fundamental idea evidently is, *tall away from all the people* (beyond all the people); cf. Ju 14<sup>18</sup> מֵאֲרִי עוֹ מֵאֲרִי וְהָיָה עוֹ מֵאֲרִי *what is sweeter than honey? and what is stronger than a lion?* Ez 28<sup>3</sup>, Am 6<sup>2</sup>. Frequently an infinitive appears as the object of the comparison, e. g. Gn 29<sup>19</sup> *it is better that I give her to thee, than that I should give her*, &c.; Ex 14<sup>12</sup>, ψ 118<sup>87</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. 1. This use of מִן is also very common when the attributive idea is *b* represented by an intransitive verb, e. g. 1 S 10<sup>23</sup> וַיִּגְבֹּה מִכָּל-הָעָם *and he was higher than any of the people*; Na 3<sup>8</sup>, Jb 7<sup>6</sup>. Elsewhere, especially after transitive verbs, מִן rather represents (on its different senses see § 119 x-z) the idea

to amplify תְּרִפִּים *household god* (but not so in Gn 31<sup>34</sup>), as in ψ 46<sup>4</sup> to the plural of amplification יַמִּים *sea*. On the other hand, it is very doubtful whether רַבָּה ψ 78<sup>15</sup> is to be regarded as an attribute of תְּהוֹמוֹת and not rather as the adverb, *abundantly*.

<sup>1</sup> There is in Arabic a special form of the adjective (the *elative*) for the comparative and superlative, which in Hebrew would have the form אֶקְטֵל. Instances of it, perhaps, are אֶבְיָר *daring, cruel*, אֶכְזֵב *deceptive* (of a brook drying up), and its opposite אֶיָּרֵן (contracted from 'ailan) *constantly flowing, perennial*. These forms are, however, used without any perceptible emphasis, and cannot be regarded as more than isolated relics of an elative formation which has become obsolete, much as the Latin comparative disappears in Italian, and still more so in French, and is supplanted by the circumlocution with *più, plus*.

<sup>2</sup> In Ju 11<sup>25</sup> the adjective is specially intensified by repetition, *art thou so much better than Balak?* It would also be possible, however, to translate *art thou really better . . . ?*

of a separation, distinction or superiority of one person or thing from or over others.<sup>1</sup> This is evident in such cases as *בָּחַר מֶן* to choose something (to prefer it) before something else, e.g. Jb 7<sup>15</sup>, cf. Dt 14<sup>2</sup> (also *מֶן . . . יִתְרוֹן* the excellence of . . . over . . ., Ec 2<sup>13</sup>); it is also seen in examples like Gn 37<sup>8</sup> *וַיִּשְׂאֵל אֶהָב אֶת־יוֹסֵף מִכָּל־בָּנָיו* now Israel loved Joseph more than all his (other) children; 29<sup>30</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>29</sup>, Ho 6<sup>6,2</sup>.

- C 2. A somewhat different idea underlies the use of *מֶן* after adjectives, or intransitive verbs possessing an attributive sense, when the thought to be expressed is that the quality is too little or too much in force for the attainment of a particular aim or object, e.g. Is 7<sup>18</sup> *הַמְעַט מִכֶּם* is it a small thing (i.e. too little) for you to . . . ? Jb 15<sup>11</sup>; after an intransitive verb, e.g. Gn 32<sup>11</sup> *אֲנִי הִנְיָא* insignificant (*קָטָנִיתִי*) for all the mercies (I am not worthy of . . .), &c.; cf. also the expressions *בָּרֵב מֶן* to be too heavy for one, Ex 18<sup>18</sup>, Nu 11<sup>14</sup>, ψ 38<sup>5</sup>; *קָשָׁה מֶן* to be too hard for one, Dt 17<sup>7</sup>; *מְעַט מֶן* to be too few for something, Ex 12<sup>4</sup>; *גָּבֵר מֶן* to be too strong for one, ψ 65<sup>4</sup>; *עֶצֶם מֶן* to be too mighty for one, Gn 26<sup>16</sup>; *רֹם מֶן* to be too high for one, ψ 61<sup>8</sup>; *צָר מֶן* to be too narrow for one, Is 49<sup>19</sup>; *קָצֵר מֶן* to be too short for something, Is 50<sup>2</sup>, and very frequently *נִפְלְאָה מֶן* to be too wonderful for one (and, consequently, inconceivable or unattainable), Gn 18<sup>14</sup>, Dt 17<sup>8</sup>, 30<sup>11</sup>, Jer 37<sup>17</sup>, Pr 30<sup>18</sup>; in ψ 139<sup>6</sup> *פְּלִיאָה* in the same sense is followed by *מֶן*.—This use is especially seen in the numerous instances in which the attribute is followed by *מֶן* with an infinitive, e.g. 1 K 8<sup>64</sup> *הַזֶּהבִּית הַזֶּה* too little to receive (to be able to receive) the burnt offering, cf. Gn 4<sup>19</sup>, 36<sup>7</sup> too great for them to dwell together; after verbs, e.g. Ex 12<sup>4</sup>, Is 28<sup>20</sup>, ψ 40<sup>6</sup>. Finally, cf. *רַב לָכֶם מֶן*, followed by the infinitive, it is enough (prop. too much) for you to . . ., meaning ye have . . . long enough, 1 K 12<sup>28</sup>; cf. Ex 9<sup>26</sup> and Ez 44<sup>6</sup> (*מֶן* followed by a substantive).<sup>3</sup>

- d In all these instances *מֶן* expresses either the removal of a thing from a person, or the severance of the person from some aim or object; cf. also the expression *לֹא־יִבְצֵר מֵהֶם כָּל־וְנוֹ* nothing will be unattainable for them (prop. there shall not be cut off from them anything which, &c.), Gn 11<sup>8</sup>, Jb 42<sup>3</sup>.

- e 3. The attributive idea, on which *מֶן* logically depends, must sometimes, in consequence of a pregnant use of the *מֶן* (see the analogous examples in § 119 f), be supplied from the context, e.g. Is 10<sup>10</sup> *וּפְסִלֵיהֶם מִיְּרוּשָׁלַיִם* whose graven images were more numerous than those at Jerusalem, &c.;<sup>4</sup> Mi 7<sup>4</sup> worse than a thorn hedge; ψ 62<sup>10</sup> lighter than a breath; Jb 11<sup>17</sup> clearer than the noonday; Ec 4<sup>17</sup> better than, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Latin ablative with the comparative; also the etymology of such words as *eximius*, *egregius*, and the Homeric *ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα*, Il. 4, 96; *ἐκ πάντων*, 18, 431.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the phrase *צָדָק מֶן* expresses not a comparison, but only a relation existing between one person and another; thus, in Gn 38<sup>26</sup> *צָדָקָה מִפָּנַי* means, she is in the right as against me; cf. ψ 139<sup>12</sup>, Jb 4<sup>17</sup>, 32<sup>2</sup>.—In Pr 17<sup>12</sup> rather (to meet with so and so) than . . . is expressed by *וְאַל־* before the second member.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also 2 K 4<sup>8</sup>, where the idea of doing something too little is paraphrased by the High. *הַמְעַט* = do not too little, sc. *לִישָׂאֵל* in borrowing empty vessels.

<sup>4</sup> With this *comparatio decurtata*, cf. the still bolder pregnant construction in ψ 4<sup>8</sup>, *מֵעַתָּה* greater gladness than at the time, &c.

2. The correlative comparatives *greater—less* (*older—younger*) are *f* expressed by the simple adjective with the article (*the great*, equivalent to *the greater*, &c.); Gn 1<sup>16</sup>, 19<sup>31,34</sup>, 27<sup>15</sup>, 29<sup>16,18,26</sup>.

3. To express the *superlative* it is also sufficient (see above, *f*) to *g* make the adjective determinate, either by means of the article or a following partitive genitive (or suffix); in this case the article or genitive indicates that the attribute in question belongs especially to one or more definite individuals; <sup>1</sup> e.g. 1 S 9<sup>21</sup> הַצְעֵרָה *the least*; 16<sup>11</sup> הַקָּטָן *the little one*, i.e. the *youngest* of eight sons; 17<sup>14</sup> *David was the youngest*, and the *three great*, i.e. elder, &c.; Gn 42<sup>13</sup>, 44<sup>2</sup>, Ct 1<sup>8</sup>.—So also with a qualifying adjective, e.g. Gn 9<sup>24</sup> הַקָּטָן בְּנוֹ *his youngest son*; cf. Jos 14<sup>15</sup>; also with a following genitive, 2 Ch 21<sup>17</sup> הַקָּטָן בְּנוֹ *the youngest of his sons*: Pr 30<sup>24</sup> *the least upon the earth*; with suffix, Mi 7<sup>4</sup> טוֹבָם *their good one*, i.e. the best of them; Jon 3<sup>5</sup> מִקְדֻלָּם *from the greatest of them even to the least of them*; cf. the inverse order in Jer 6<sup>13</sup>, 31<sup>34</sup>.

Rem. 1. The above examples apply only to the most common *relative h* attributes (*great, small, good*), and to expressions which by usage easily came to be recognized as periphrases for the superlative. Other adjectives, however, when followed by a partitive genitive, also acquire the sense of a superlative; this appears from the context, e.g. Dt 33<sup>19</sup> *the most hidden treasures of the sand*; Ju 5<sup>20</sup> *the wisest amongst her ladies*; Is 14<sup>20</sup>, 19<sup>11</sup>, 23<sup>8,12</sup>, 29<sup>13</sup>, Jer 49<sup>20</sup>, Ez 28<sup>7</sup>, Ze 11<sup>7</sup>, ψ 45<sup>13</sup>, Jb 30<sup>6</sup> (*in the most horrible of valleys*), 41<sup>22</sup>; probably also ψ 35<sup>16</sup>. On this government by the adjective generally, cf. § 132 c.—Moreover, the combination of a substantive in the construct state with an adjective used substantively (§ 128 w) sometimes serves as a periphrasis for the superlative, e.g. Is 22<sup>24</sup> הַקָּטָן בְּלִי *all the smallest vessels*. On Ct 7<sup>10</sup> see § 126 w.

2. Other periphrases for the superlative are the use of a substantive in the construct state before the plural of the same word (which is naturally to be regarded as a partitive genitive; cf. our *book of books*), e.g. Ex 26<sup>33</sup> קֹדֶשׁ הַקֹּדֶשׁ *the most holy place*; שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים (Ct 1<sup>1</sup>) *the most excellent song*; cf. Gn 9<sup>25</sup> (= *servus servorum, the lowest servant*); Nu 3<sup>32</sup>, Dt 10<sup>17</sup> (ψ 136<sup>2,3</sup>) <sup>2</sup>; 1 K 8<sup>27</sup>, Is 34<sup>10</sup> (cf. Gal 1<sup>5</sup>, Rev 22<sup>5</sup>); Jer 2<sup>19</sup>, Ez 16<sup>7</sup>, 26<sup>7</sup> (*king of kings*, of Nebuchadrezzar; cf. 1 Tim 6<sup>15</sup>, Rev 17<sup>14</sup>, 19<sup>18</sup>, and another kind of periphrasis in ψ 95<sup>3</sup>); Ec 1<sup>12</sup>. Similarly in Jer 6<sup>28</sup> two participles are combined, and in Ho 10<sup>15</sup> two substantives in the singular. Finally, the same object is attained by connecting one substantive in the construct state with another of the same stem (שַׁבַּת שַׁבְּתוֹן *a sabbath of solemn rest*, i.e. an obligatory day of rest, Ex 31<sup>15</sup>, &c.) or of the same meaning (e.g. חֹשֶׁךְ אֲפֶלֶחָה *a thick darkness*, Ex 10<sup>22</sup>).

3. The intensification of attributes by means of repetition belongs rather *h* to rhetoric than to syntax, e.g. Ec 7<sup>24</sup> עֹמֵק עֹמֵק *exceeding deep*; 1 S 2<sup>5</sup>, Pr 20<sup>14</sup>; the adjective is even used three times in Is 6<sup>3</sup>.—Cf. the repetition of adverbs for the same purpose in Gn 7<sup>19</sup>, Nu 14<sup>7</sup> מְאֹד מְאֹד *exceedingly*, also מְאֹד מְאֹד Ex 1<sup>7</sup>, &c.); Ez 42<sup>15</sup>.—On the other hand, in Dt 28<sup>43</sup> the repetition expresses

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also עֲלִיּוֹן *the one above*, i.e. the *Most High*.

<sup>2</sup> *God of gods, and Lord of lords*, just as the supreme god of the Babylonians is called *bel bel* (Tiele, *Compend. der Rel.-Gesch.*, p. 87).

a continuous progress, *higher and higher . . . lower and lower*; in Dt 2<sup>27</sup> (see § 123 e) and 16<sup>20</sup> (*nothing but justice*) the constancy of the action. Cf. Ex 23<sup>30</sup> קָטַט קָטַט *little by little, very gradually*.<sup>1</sup>

- l The repetition of substantives serves also as a periphrasis for the superlative in such cases as לָרָרָר (Ex 3<sup>15</sup>) = *to the remotest generations*; cf. 17<sup>16</sup>, Jer 6<sup>14</sup>, 8<sup>11</sup> (*perfect peace*); Ez 21<sup>32</sup> (עָרָר three times);<sup>2</sup> 35<sup>7</sup>, Na 1<sup>2</sup>; cf. also Ho 2<sup>21 f.</sup> and the emphatic combination of synonymous verbs in Is 33<sup>10</sup>. Sometimes the completeness of an action or state is expressed by placing together two or even three substantives of the same stem and of similar sound, cf. Is 28<sup>5</sup>, Ez 6<sup>14</sup> (33<sup>28 f.</sup>, 35<sup>8</sup>); 32<sup>15</sup>, Na 2<sup>11</sup>, Zp 1<sup>15</sup> (Jb 30<sup>3</sup>, 38<sup>27</sup>).

### § 134. Syntax of the Numerals.

Cf. the exhaustive statistics collected by Sven Herner, *Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.*, Lund, 1893. E. König, 'Zur Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.', *AJSL*. xviii. 129 ff.

- a 1. The numerals from 2 to 10, as being originally abstract substantives,<sup>3</sup> may be connected with their substantives in three different ways. They may stand either —
- (a) In the construct state *before* the substantive (the object numbered being consequently in the genitive), e. g. שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים *a triad of days*, i. e. three days; שְׁנֵי הָאֲנָשִׁים *the two men*; or
- b (b) In the absolute state *before* it (the object numbered being in apposition, § 131 d), e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים *a triad*, viz. sons, i. e. three sons; שְׁנֵים אָנָשִׁים *two men*; or
- c (c) In the absolute state (likewise in apposition) *after* the object numbered, e. g. בָּנוֹת שְׁלוֹשׁ. So especially in long lists, since in these the substantives naturally come first, e. g. Gn 32<sup>15</sup>, Nu 7<sup>17</sup>, 28<sup>19</sup>. Apart from such cases, the frequency of this order in the later Books is due to the fact that the character of the numeral tended more and more to become adjectival rather than substantival.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Adverbs of the same stem are connected in this way in Nu 6<sup>9</sup>, Is 29<sup>5</sup>, 30<sup>13</sup>; of different stems in Is 5<sup>26</sup> and Jo 4<sup>4</sup>. In Nu 12<sup>2</sup> the particles הֵן וְכֵן appear to be placed together for a similar purpose, equivalent to *simply and solely*.

<sup>2</sup> Different in kind from the triple utterance of the same words in 2 S 18<sup>33</sup>, Jer 7<sup>4</sup> and 22<sup>29</sup>, and the double exclamation in Jer 4<sup>19</sup> and La 1<sup>16</sup> (?).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 97 a, where it is shown that the masculine is the original form of the numerals (used for both genders), and that the feminine was afterwards differentiated and used with masc. nouns, primarily in the second decade and then in the first as well.

<sup>4</sup> From Herner's tables (op. cit., pp. 55-66) it appears, according to p. 68, that in the documents J, E, D of the Pentateuch, and in Jos 1-12, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Minor Prophets, Psalms, Megilloth, and Job, the numeral never, or very rarely, stands *after* its noun; in Kings and Ezekiel it stands several times *after*; in the Priestly Code nearly always *after*; in Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, nearly as often *after* as *before* the noun. In Ex 28<sup>10</sup> the Masora makes the numeral in the genitive follow the construct state of the substantive numbered; we should, however, read וְאֶת-שְׁמוֹת הָעֵשֶׂה; for the omission of the article before עֵשֶׂה, cf. § 126 w.

Rem. In Lv 24<sup>22</sup> מִשְׁפָּט follows the construct state מִשְׁפָּט, but here as in d  
Nu 15<sup>16</sup> מִשְׁפָּט should be read. In Gn 42<sup>19</sup> אָחָד is in apposition to a sub-  
stantive with a suffix (=one of you brethren; but verse 33 the one of you brethren).  
In Nu 31<sup>28</sup> אָחָד precedes the substantive in the Aramaic manner (=one each).  
—For מֵאָה-שָׁנָה (Gn 17<sup>17</sup>, &c.) we find regularly in the Priestly Code (except  
in Gn 17<sup>17</sup>, 23<sup>1</sup>) מֵאָה שָׁנָה (Gn 5<sup>3</sup>, &c.) an hundred years. On the connexion of  
abstract numerals with suffixes, as שְׁנֵיהֶם their duality, i.e. they two, Gn 2<sup>25</sup>, &c.  
(also with a strengthening separate pronoun, as שְׁנֵינוּ אֲנִיחָנוּ 1 S 20<sup>42</sup>),  
cf. § 97 i.

2. The numerals from 2 to 10 take the object numbered in the e  
plural,<sup>1</sup> with very few exceptions, such as Ex 16<sup>22</sup> (where שְׁנֵי הָעֶמֶר =the double of an omer), 2 K 22<sup>1</sup>, Ez 45<sup>1</sup>, cf. 2 K 8<sup>17</sup> and 25<sup>17</sup> Keth. The numerals from 11 to 19 generally take the plural, but with certain substantives frequently used with numerals the singular is more common (see further, under f). The tens (from 20 to 90), when they precede, take the singular (in the accusative, cf. § 131 p) of certain nouns frequently used with numerals (אֶלֶף a thousand, אִישׁ, יוֹם, בֵּר, שָׁנָה, נֶפֶשׁ, שָׁקֶל—but only in Ezekiel and the Priestly Code), otherwise the plural, as בָּנִים, בָּנוֹת, עָרִים (but cf. also Ju 11<sup>33</sup>), &c.; on the other hand, the plural is necessary when they follow the object numbered in apposition (e.g. עֶשְׂרִים אַמּוֹת twenty cubits, 2 Ch 3<sup>27</sup>; with the exception of 2 S 24<sup>24</sup>, only in late Books). After מֵאָה and אֶלֶף the substantive numbered may be used either in the singular or plural, see further under g.

Rem. 1. After the numerals from 11 to 19 the singular is used, as a rule, f  
with יוֹם day, שָׁנָה year, אִישׁ man, נֶפֶשׁ soul (person), שִׁבְטָא tribe, מִצְבֵּה pillar (Ex 24<sup>4</sup>), sometimes with אַמָּה cubit, חֹדֶשׁ month, עִיר city, שֶׁקֶל shekel (compare our four-year-old, ten pound), e.g. Dt 1<sup>2</sup> אַחֵר עֶשְׂרֵי יוֹם (cf., however, such exceptions as Dt 1<sup>23</sup>, Jos 4<sup>2</sup>, &c.).—Substantives other than these are used in the plural with the numerals from 11 to 19, and the numeral may even follow the substantive, especially in later passages, as Nu 7<sup>87</sup>, 1 Ch 4<sup>27</sup>, 25<sup>5</sup>.

2. After מֵאָה (מֵאָת) [so almost exclusively in the Priestly Code, e.g. always g  
אֶלֶף, אֶלְפִים, אֶלְפִים] and אֶלְפִים (אֶלְפִים) the substantives אִישׁ, אַמָּה (except in Ez 40<sup>27</sup>), יוֹם, רִנְלִי, צֶמֶד are regularly used in the singular, generally also שָׁנָה, בֵּר, בָּנִים (with the exception of Jos 7<sup>21</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>26</sup>, &c.); cf., moreover, Gn 33<sup>19</sup>, 24<sup>60</sup> (אֶלְפֵי רִבְבָה), Est 1<sup>1</sup>, Ju 21<sup>12</sup>, Dt 7<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 5<sup>12</sup>, 2 Ch 9<sup>15</sup>.—Examples of the plural after מֵאָה are Gn 26<sup>12</sup>, 1 S 18<sup>25</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>1</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>4</sup>; after מֵאָת Ex 38<sup>27</sup>; after מֵאָת Ju 15<sup>4</sup>, 2 S 8<sup>4</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>17</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> On examples such as Gn 46<sup>27</sup> (נֶפֶשׁ שְׁנֵי two souls), cf. § 132 g (collectives joined with the plural of the adjective).

Ez 42<sup>17</sup>; after מֵאֲתָיִים 1 S 25<sup>18</sup>, 1 K 7<sup>20</sup>; after אֶלְפֵי 1 S 25<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>6</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>4</sup>, ψ 90<sup>4</sup>; after אֲלָפִים 1 S 17<sup>5</sup>, Jb 42<sup>12</sup>; after אֶלְפֵי Mi 6<sup>7</sup>; after אֲלָפִים Is 36<sup>8</sup>.—In Dn 12<sup>11</sup> the plural יָמִים precedes the numeral *twelve hundred*.

h 3. Numerals compounded of tens and units (like 21, 62) take the object numbered either *after* them in the singular (in the accusative), e. g. Gn 5<sup>30</sup> שְׁנֵים וְשִׁשִּׁים שָׁנָה *two and sixty years* (שָׁנָה in the singular, according to *e*, since it conforms to the ten immediately preceding; but also שְׁנֵים וְשִׁשִּׁים שָׁנָה Dt 2<sup>14</sup>), or *before* them in the plural, especially in the later Books, Dn 9<sup>26</sup>, &c.; or the object is repeated (but only in 1 K 6<sup>1</sup>, and the Priestly Code; sometimes even several times, e. g. Gn 23<sup>1</sup>, 25<sup>7, 17</sup> thrice) in the plural with the units, and in the singular with the tens and hundreds, e. g. Gn 12<sup>4</sup> חֲמִשׁ שָׁנִים וְשִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה *five years and seventy*; Gn 23<sup>1</sup> מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְשִׁבְעִים שָׁנִים *an hundred and twenty and seven years*. Cf. Gn 5<sup>6</sup> <sup>π</sup>.

i Rem. 1. It may further be remarked with regard to the order, that the thousand or thousands always precede the hundreds, &c., and the hundreds almost always come before the smaller numbers (in Kings and Ezekiel sometimes, and in the Priestly Code usually, after the smaller numbers), the tens in the earlier Books (documents J and D of the Pentateuch, in Joshua 1-12, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, and also in Ezra and Nehemiah) *before* the units, but in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Priestly Code, Joshua 13-24 *after* the units (see Herber, op. cit., p. 73). After the hundreds the smaller number is very frequently added without י, especially in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel.

On the syntax of the cardinals in general:—

k 2. The cardinals are determined by the article, when they refer back (without being connected with the object numbered; cf., however, Lv 25<sup>10 f.</sup>, Nu 16<sup>25</sup>, Jos 4<sup>4</sup>, 2 S 23<sup>13</sup>) to a number or list already mentioned, e. g. Gn 2<sup>11</sup> שֵׁם הָאֶחָד פִּשְׁוֹן *the name of the one (the first) is Pishon*; Gn 14<sup>3</sup> *four kings against the five* (enumerated in verse 2); cf. 1 Ch 11<sup>20 f.</sup>, and the determinate tens in Gn 18<sup>29, 31 f.</sup> A demonstrative with the article may also be added to a numeral determined in this way, e. g. Dt 19<sup>3</sup> (but cf. also Gn 9<sup>10</sup>, 22<sup>23</sup>, where the numeral and demonstrative are practically determinate in themselves). In the case of the numerals from 11 to 19 the article may stand either before the unit (1 Ch 25<sup>10</sup>, 27<sup>15</sup>) or before עָשָׂר (Jos 4<sup>4</sup>); it is used before all three members of a compound number (273) in Nu 3<sup>46</sup>.

l In apposition with any determinate substantive the cardinal number is used *without* the article, not only when it precedes the substantive, as in Jos 15<sup>14</sup> אֶת־שְׁלוֹשָׁה בְּנֵי הָעֵקֶן *three sons of the vine*, where שְׁלוֹשָׁה is equivalent to a substantive determinate in itself; cf. Gn 18<sup>28</sup>, Jos 6<sup>8, 22</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>14</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>31</sup>, and the passages discussed above in § 126 *z*, Gn 21<sup>29</sup>, &c.), but also when it follows the substantive, e. g. 1 K 7<sup>27, 48 f.</sup> עֶשְׂרִי וְעֶשְׂרֶה; the omission of the article may here, as in the cases noticed in § 126 *z*, be also due to the dislike of a hiatus, but cf. also שְׁנַיִם 2 K 25<sup>16</sup> after a determinate substantive. The fact that it is by nature determinate would also be a very simple explanation of אֶחָד Nu 28<sup>4</sup>, 1 S 13<sup>17 f.</sup>, Jer 24<sup>2</sup>, Ez 10<sup>3</sup>, instead of the more usual הָאֶחָד, and of אֶחָת 1 S 1<sup>2</sup> for הָאֶחָת.



Such cases as שְׁבַעַת הַיָּמִים Ju 14<sup>17</sup> (which is determined by a following *m* determinate genitive) are explained from § 127*b*; 1 Ch 9<sup>25</sup> perhaps from § 126*q*; in Is 30<sup>20</sup> probably the light of all the seven days of the week is meant; on the other hand, in 1 S 9<sup>20</sup> and 25<sup>23</sup> the article is, with Wellhausen, to be omitted.

3. Certain specifications of *measure, weight, or time*, are commonly omitted *n* after numerals, e.g. Gn 20<sup>16</sup> אֶלֶף שֶׁקֶל אֶלֶף a thousand (shekels) of silver; so also before וְהָבָה Gn 24<sup>22</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>16</sup>, Is 7<sup>23</sup>, cf. ψ 119<sup>72</sup>. Moreover, Ru 3<sup>15</sup> שֵׁשׁ עֶפְהָיִם six (ephahs) of barley; 1 S 10<sup>4</sup> שְׁנֵי לֶחֶם two (sc. loaves, see verse 3) of bread, cf. 17<sup>17</sup> עֶשְׂרֵה לֶחֶם; 2 S 16<sup>1</sup>, where before מֶזֶן a measure, or perhaps some term like *cakes*, is to be supplied.—The number of cubits is stated in the Priestly Code (Ex 26<sup>2</sup>, &c.) and in 1 K 6 and 7 (otherwise only in Ez 40<sup>5,21</sup>, 47<sup>8</sup>, Ze 5<sup>2</sup>, 1 Ch 11<sup>23</sup>, 2 Ch 4<sup>2f</sup>.) by the addition of בְּאַמָּה prop. by the cubit. Also in Ex 27<sup>11</sup> the Samaritan and LXX read אַמָּה after אֶרֶב, and in 27<sup>15</sup> אַמָּה after עֶשְׂרֵה.

4. The *ordinals* above 10 have no special forms, but are expressed *o* by the corresponding cardinals, which may then stand either before or after the object numbered, e.g. Gn 7<sup>11</sup> בְּשִׁבְעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם on the seventeenth day; Dt 1<sup>3</sup> בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה in the fortieth year; cf. Gn 14<sup>5</sup>, 2 K 25<sup>27</sup>, and, with repetition of שָׁנָה in a compound number, 1 K 6<sup>1</sup>; such a cardinal occurs without אֶ (and therefore in the *accus. temporis*, according to § 118*k*) in Gn 14<sup>4</sup> (the Samaritan, however, has וּבְשָׁלֹשׁ); with the article (but without a numbered object, see under *k*), 1 K 19<sup>10</sup>.<sup>1</sup>—On the position of the numeral as a genitive following its noun, cf. e.g. 1 K 16<sup>10</sup> בְּשִׁנֹּת עֶשְׂרִים וְשֶׁבַע in the twenty and seventh year, and with a determinate numeral, Ex 12<sup>18</sup>, Nu 33<sup>28</sup>, Dt 15<sup>9</sup>. In this case, however, שָׁנָה is very frequently repeated, e.g. Gn 7<sup>11</sup>, 2 K 13<sup>10</sup>; after a determinate numeral, Lv 25<sup>10</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. In numbering days of the month and years, the cardinals are very *p* frequently used instead of the ordinals even for the numbers from 1 to 10, e.g. בְּשִׁנֹּת שְׁתַּיִם 1 K 15<sup>26</sup>; בְּשִׁנֹּת שָׁלֹשׁ 2 K 18<sup>1</sup>, &c., cf. Dt 15<sup>9</sup>. The months themselves are always numbered by the ordinals (בְּרֵאשִׁית, &c., up to בְּעֶשְׂרִי), but not the days of the month, e.g. בְּאַחַד לְחָדֶשׁ Gn 8<sup>6</sup>, &c., בְּאַרְבָּעָה בְּחִשְׁוֹן לְחָדֶשׁ Ze 7<sup>1</sup>; בְּחִמְשָׁה לְחָדֶשׁ Ez 1<sup>1</sup>, &c., בְּשִׁבְעָה לְחָדֶשׁ 2 K 25<sup>8</sup>, בְּחִשְׁוֹן לְחָדֶשׁ Lv 23<sup>32</sup> (always, however, בְּעֶשֶׂר לְחָדֶשׁ on the tenth day of the month). On the

<sup>1</sup> Somewhat different from this is Ex 19<sup>15</sup> בְּרֵאשִׁית יָמִים prop. after three days, i.e. on the third day (in verses 11 and 16 and in Ezr 10<sup>8</sup> the ordinal is used), also 1 S 30<sup>13</sup> בְּשִׁלֹּשָׁה יָמִים קָדְמָה כִּי חָלִיתִי הָיִים שָׁלֹשׁ because three days ago I fell sick, prop. to-day three (days).

<sup>2</sup> All these expressions may indeed be explained by supposing that, e.g. in Lv 25<sup>10</sup>, the proper meaning is the year of the fifty years which it completed, i.e. the fiftieth year; but it is more correct to regard שְׁנֵת בְּשִׁנֹּת in such cases not as a real *nomen regens*, but simply as a connective form to be explained on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 128*k*.

omission of יום in all these cases see under n; only in late passages is יום added, e.g. 2 Ch 29<sup>17</sup> בַּיּוֹם שְׁמוֹנֶה עָרָב; Ezr 3<sup>6</sup> לַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁלִישִׁי.—Finally, when the year is stated by בְּשָׁנָה governing a determinate ordinal, viz. 2 K 17<sup>6</sup> בְּשָׁנָה הַתְּשִׁיעִית *in the ninth year*; 2 K 25<sup>1</sup> (in Jer 52<sup>4</sup> בְּשָׁנָה), Jer 28<sup>1</sup> *Keth.*, 32<sup>1</sup> *Keth.*, 46<sup>2</sup>, 51<sup>50</sup>, Ezr 7<sup>8</sup>; בְּשָׁנָה in such cases is again (see note 2 on o) to be explained according to § 128 k. This is supported by the fact that the Masora on Jer 28<sup>1</sup>, 32<sup>1</sup> requires in the *Qere* בְּשָׁנָה for בְּשָׁנָה.

q 5. *Distributives* are expressed either by repetition of the cardinal number, e.g. Gn 7<sup>9,15</sup> שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם *two and two*; 2 S 21<sup>20</sup> יָשָׁם יָשָׁם *six each*; with the numbered object also repeated, e.g. Jos 3<sup>12</sup> אִישׁ אֶחָד לְשִׁבְטָם *for every tribe a man*; Nu 13<sup>2</sup>, 34<sup>18</sup> (אֶחָד מֵן), as in Neh 11<sup>1</sup>, *one out of every ten*; cf. § 123 d; or a periphrasis with לְאֶחָד is used, Nu 17<sup>18</sup>, Dt 1<sup>23</sup>, cf. Is 6<sup>2</sup> לְאֶחָד after *six wings* twice repeated; the simple distributive לְ is, however, sufficient (as in לְבָרָרִים, § 123 c), e.g. לְמֵאוֹת וּלְאַלְפִּים *by hundreds and by thousands*.

r 6. The *multiplicatives* are expressed either (like the ordinals above 10, see under o) by the cardinals (in the feminine, probably owing to the omission of פָּעַם, פְּעָמִים; so König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 228), as שְׁתַּיִם *twice*, Jb 40<sup>5</sup>; שֶׁבַע *seven times*, Lv 26<sup>21,24</sup>, Pr 24<sup>16</sup>; cf. also אֶחָת *once*, 2 K 6<sup>10</sup>, Jb 40<sup>5</sup>, for which in Jb 33<sup>14</sup> אֶחָת along with בְּשַׁתַּיִם (the latter also in 1 S 18<sup>21</sup>); or by the *dual* of the numeral, thus שְׁבַעַתַּיִם Gn 4<sup>15</sup> (in verse 24 along with the cardinal 77 for 77 times); Is 30<sup>26</sup>, ψ 127, 79<sup>12</sup>; אַרְבַּעַתַּיִם 2 S 12<sup>6</sup>; or periphrastically by פָּעַם *a time* (prop. *a step*, with the article, הַפָּעַם *this time*; cf. also הָאֶחָת above), as אֶחָת פָּעַם *once* (Neh 13<sup>20</sup> יְשַׁתַּיִם *once and twice*), אֶחָת פָּעַם *twice*, שְׁלֹשׁ פָּעַמִּים (for which in Ex 23<sup>14</sup>, Nu 22<sup>28,32</sup> שְׁלֹשׁ רָגְלִים *three times*; cf. Ez 41<sup>6</sup> *thirty-three times*; 2 S 24<sup>3</sup> *an hundred times*; Dt 1<sup>11</sup> *a thousand times*; 1 K 22<sup>16</sup> עַד-כַּמָּה פָּעַמִּים *until how many times*, i.e. how often. Cf. also עֲשָׂרַת מָנִים *ten times*, Gn 31<sup>7,14</sup>, and רַבּוֹת עֲתִידִים *many times*, Neh 9<sup>28</sup>).—In Gn 43<sup>31</sup>, *five times* is expressed by חֲמִשׁ יָדוֹת (prop. *five hands*),<sup>3</sup> and in Ex 16<sup>5</sup> the *double* is expressed by מִשְׁנָה עַל- (prop. *a repetition over and above that which*, &c.).—Of the ordinals שְׁנִית is used as a numeral adverb, Gn 22<sup>15</sup>, &c., *a second time*, cf. the Latin *tertium consul*; בְּשָׁלִישִׁת *the third time*, 1 S 3<sup>8</sup>; פָּעַם הַמִּישִׁית *a fifth time*, Neh 6<sup>5</sup>; בְּשֶׁבַעִית *at the seventh (time)*, 1 K 18<sup>44</sup>, and בְּפָעַם הַשִּׁי Jos 6<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> But בְּאַחַת Nu 10<sup>4</sup> is to be translated *on one* (trumpet).

<sup>2</sup> Probably also כְּפָלִים Jb 11<sup>6</sup> (from כָּפַל *doubling*) does not mean *doubled* but *manifest*.

<sup>3</sup> But אַרְבַּע הַיָּדוֹת Gn 47<sup>24</sup> means *the (other) four parts*; cf. 2 K 11<sup>7</sup>, Neh 11<sup>1</sup>.

Rem. The collocation of a numeral with the next above it (either in the same or in different sentences) is a rhetorical device employed in *numerical sayings* to express a number, which need not, or cannot, be more exactly specified. It must be gathered from the context whether such formulae are intended to denote only an insignificant number (e.g. Is 17<sup>6</sup>, *two* or at the most *three*), or a considerable number, e.g. Mi 5<sup>4</sup>. Sometimes, however, this juxtaposition serves to express merely an indefinite total, without the collateral idea of intensifying the lower by means of the higher number. Thus *one* and *two* are connected by ו, Dt 32<sup>30</sup>, Jer 31<sup>4</sup>, Jb 33<sup>14</sup>, 40<sup>5</sup> (without ו, ψ 62<sup>12</sup>); *two* and *three*, Is 17<sup>6</sup> (Sirac 23<sup>16</sup>, 26<sup>28</sup>, 50<sup>28</sup>), and without ו, 2 K 9<sup>32</sup>, Ho 6<sup>2</sup>, Am 4<sup>8</sup>; *three* and *four*, Jer 36<sup>23</sup>, Am 1<sup>3-11</sup>, Pr 30<sup>18</sup>, 21<sup>23</sup> (Sirac 26<sup>6</sup>), and without ו, Pr 30<sup>15</sup>; *four* and *five*, without ו, Is 17<sup>6</sup>; *six* and *seven*, Jb 5<sup>18</sup>, Pr 6<sup>16</sup>; *seven* and *eight*, Mi 5<sup>4</sup>, Ec 11<sup>2</sup>; (*nine* and *ten*, Sirac 25<sup>7</sup>).

### III. Syntax of the Pronoun.

#### § 135. *The Personal Pronoun.*

1. The *separate* pronouns,—apart from their employment as the *a* subject in noun-clauses (cf. § 141 a) and the idiom mentioned under *d-h*,—are used, according to § 32 b, as a rule, only to give express emphasis to the subject; e.g. Gn 16<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 24<sup>17</sup> אֲנִי i.e. *I myself*, so also אֲנִי 2 S 12<sup>28</sup>, 17<sup>15</sup> (after the verb), Ez 34<sup>15</sup>, ψ 26<sup>1</sup>; but 1 S 10<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>7</sup>, Is 45<sup>12</sup> אֲנִי *I* and none else; cf. also אֲנִי אֲנִי *I, I!* Ho 5<sup>14</sup>, &c.; אֲתָה Gn 15<sup>15</sup>, Ju 15<sup>18</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>56</sup> (as in 20<sup>8</sup>, 22<sup>18</sup>, Ex 18<sup>19</sup>, Dt 5<sup>24</sup>, Ju 8<sup>21</sup>, after the imperative); 1 K 21<sup>7</sup>; אַתָּה Gn 9<sup>7</sup>, Ex 20<sup>10</sup> (after the verb, Ju 15<sup>12</sup>); fem. Gn 31<sup>6</sup>; הִיא 1 S 22<sup>18</sup>; הִיא Gn 3<sup>20</sup>, Ju 14<sup>8</sup>; הִיא Jer 5<sup>5</sup>.— Sometimes, however, the separate pronoun appears to be placed before the verb more on rhythmical grounds, i.e. in order to give the statement a fuller sound than that of the bare verbal form (cf. the similar use of the infinitive absolute, § 113 o). Thus Gn 14<sup>23</sup>, ψ 139<sup>2</sup>, and most clearly in such passages as Gn 21<sup>24</sup>, 47<sup>30</sup>, Ex 8<sup>24</sup>, Ju 6<sup>18</sup>, 11<sup>9</sup>, 1 S 12<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>18</sup>, 21<sup>6</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>18</sup> (in solemn promises). The same explanation applies to אֲנִי at the beginning of sentences, e.g. Gn 24<sup>45</sup>, Ho 5<sup>3</sup>, 10<sup>11</sup>, 12<sup>11</sup>, ψ 39<sup>11</sup>, 82<sup>6</sup>, Jb 5<sup>3</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. 1. Different from this is the pleonastic addition of the separate *b* pronoun immediately after the verb (according to Delitzsch on Ct 5<sup>5</sup> perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Also הוּא, הִיא *he himself, she herself* (of persons and things), e.g. Is 7<sup>14</sup> הוּא אֲרֵנִי *the Lord himself*; Est 9<sup>1</sup> הַיְּהוּדִים הָיָה *the Jews themselves*. In the sense of *the same* (ὁ αὐτός) or (*one and*) *the same*, הוּא is used in Is 41<sup>4</sup>, 43<sup>10,13</sup>, 46<sup>4</sup>, 48<sup>12</sup> (always הוּא אֲנִי, ψ 102<sup>28</sup> אַתָּה הוּא), and probably also Jb 3<sup>19</sup>.—The position of הָיָה, as an accusative of the object, before a perfect in 1 Ch 9<sup>22</sup>, can at most be explained on the analogy of Aramaic (Ezr 5<sup>12</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> As early as the Meša inscription (line 21 ff.) אֲנִי frequently stands at the beginning of a new sentence after the dividing stroke.

a trace of popular language), e.g. 1 S 25<sup>22</sup> (?), Ct 5<sup>3</sup>, and (like other indications of the very late origin of the book) very frequently in Ecclesiastes, e.g. 1<sup>16</sup>, 2<sup>11,18</sup>, 3<sup>17</sup>, and thirteen other places; in Aramaic, Dn 5<sup>16</sup>.

- c 2. Substantival subjects also are somewhat frequently resumed, and thus expressly emphasized, by the insertion of the corresponding separate pronoun of the 3rd person before the predicate is stated, e.g. Gn 3<sup>12</sup> *the woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she* (הִיא) *gave me*, &c.; 14<sup>24</sup> (הם); 15<sup>4</sup>, 24<sup>7</sup>, &c.; but הוּא in Is 7<sup>14</sup> after the predicate and subject is equivalent to *he himself*.<sup>1</sup>

- d 2. Not infrequently the separate pronoun serves to give strong emphasis to a suffix of the same person which precedes (or sometimes even to one which follows), whether the suffix be attached to a verb (as accusative) or to a noun or preposition (as genitive). In English such an emphasis on the pronoun can generally be rendered only by laying greater stress upon it, or sometimes by repeating it; cf., on the contrary, the French *mon livre à moi*. The separate pronoun in such instances is not to be regarded as a *casus obliquus* (accusative or genitive), but as the subject of an independent sentence, the predicate of which must in each case be supplied according to the context.

- e Examples of emphasis:—

(a) On a verbal suffix by means of אֲנִי (אָנִי), Gn 27<sup>34</sup> בִּרְבִּכִּי גַם-אֲנִי bless me, even me also (prop. bless me, I also would be blessed); Zc 7<sup>5</sup>; cf. also Ez 6<sup>3</sup>, 34<sup>11,20</sup> הֲנִי אֲנִי; by אַתָּה (אַתָּה) Pr 22<sup>19</sup> (but the text is most probably corrupt).—The separate pronoun precedes in Gn 24<sup>27</sup> (אֲנִי); 49<sup>8</sup> (אַתָּה, not Judah, thou art he whom, but Judah! thee, thee thy brethren shall praise!), and Ec 2<sup>15</sup> אֲנִי גַם.

- f (b) On a noun-suffix with a substantive, by means of אֲנִי 2 S 19<sup>1</sup>, Pr 23<sup>15</sup>; by אַתָּה 1 K 21<sup>19</sup> אַתָּה גַם-אֲחֵרֶיךָ thy blood, even thine; by הוּא 2 S 17<sup>5</sup>, Jer 27<sup>7</sup>, Mi 7<sup>3</sup>; by אֲנִיחֵנו 1 S 20<sup>42</sup>, after שְׁנֵינוּ, but without special stress; Neh 5<sup>2</sup> (?); by אֲתֵם Nu 14<sup>32</sup>; by הֵם ψ 38<sup>11</sup> (without special stress), הֵמָּה ψ 9<sup>7</sup>.—The separate pronoun precedes in Jb 21<sup>4</sup> (אֲנִי); Gn 40<sup>16</sup>, Is 45<sup>12</sup>, 1 Ch 28<sup>2</sup> (אֲנִי); Zc 9<sup>11</sup> (אַתָּה); Jos 23<sup>9</sup> (אַתֶּם); Ez 33<sup>17</sup> (הֵמָּה).—In ψ 49<sup>48</sup>, where אֲנִי might be taken as strengthening חֵלֶךְ (equivalent in sense to חֲלִלְךָ), we should read יִדְרִי for אֲנִי, as in verse 51.

- g (c) On a suffix united with a preposition, 1 S 25<sup>24</sup> בִּי אֲנִי upon me, upon me; 1 K 1<sup>26</sup> אֲנִי . . . לִי; 2 Ch 35<sup>21</sup> אַתָּה לֹא-עָלִיךָ אֲתָה not against thee; 1 S 19<sup>23</sup> גַּם עָלָיו upon him also; Dt 5<sup>3</sup> אֲתָנוּ אֲנִיחֵנו but with us, even us; Hag 1<sup>4</sup> אַתֶּם לָכֶם for you yourselves; Jer 25<sup>14</sup> בָּכֶם גַּם-הֵמָּה. —The separate pronoun precedes in 1 S 12<sup>23</sup> לִי . . . אֲנִי; 1 K 1<sup>20</sup> עָלֶיךָ אַתָּה . . . אֲתָה; Mi 5<sup>1</sup> מִמֶּנּוּ אַתָּה, and 2 Ch 28<sup>10</sup> אַתֶּם עִמָּכֶם.

- h The same principle also explains Gn 4<sup>26</sup> לִישֵׁת גַּם-הוּא to Seth, to him also (not לִישֵׁת); cf. 10<sup>21</sup>, and Ex 35<sup>34</sup>, Nu 4<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Analogous to this is the resumption of a noun dependent on a preposition, by means of a pronominal suffix united with the same preposition, e.g. Gn 2<sup>17</sup>, 2 S 6<sup>22</sup>, 2 K 22<sup>18</sup>, or of an object by means of the *nota accusativi* אֵל with suffix, e.g. 1 S 15<sup>9</sup> (where וְנִמְאָסָת is certainly to be read), Is 8<sup>13</sup>.

3. The *oblique* cases of the personal pronouns expressed by means of *i* a preposition (or the *nota accus.* את) with a suffix may be used either in a demonstrative or reflexive sense,<sup>1</sup> as לו *to him*, but also *to himself*, e. g. Ju 3<sup>16</sup> and Ehud made לו *for himself a sword*, cf. Gn 33<sup>17</sup>; so also הָלָאֵ sibi, Is 3<sup>9</sup>; אֵלָיו unto him, and Gn 8<sup>9</sup> unto himself; אִתּוֹ with him, and Gn 22<sup>3</sup> with himself; עִמָּהּ with her, and 1 S 1<sup>24</sup> with herself; also apparently as a pleonastic *dativus ethicus* (see § 119 s), Jb 12<sup>11</sup>, 13<sup>1</sup>.

Rarely, and only when marked emphasis is intended, is the *accusative* הָאֵ of the reflexive pronoun represented by the *nota accusativi* את with a suffix (this being ordinarily expressed by the reflexive conjugations *Niphal* and *Hithpa'el*<sup>2</sup>); thus, אָתָם *se ipsos*, Ex 5<sup>19</sup>, Jer 7<sup>19</sup> in sharp antithesis to הָאֵתִי; Ez 34<sup>2,8,10</sup>. Cf. § 57 at the end, together with note 2.

Rem. There is a similar emphasis in Is 49<sup>25</sup> on בְּשָׁרָם and דָּמָם in the *l* sense of *their own flesh, their own blood*. On the sometimes demonstrative, sometimes reflexive meaning of noun-suffixes of the 3rd person singular and plural, cf. § 91, p and q. For other circumlocutions to express the idea of *self*, see § 139 f.

4. The *possessive pronouns* are, according to § 33 c, expressed by *m* the *suffixes of the noun* (in the genitive),<sup>3</sup> which may represent either a *subjective genitive*, or (like the genitives proper, § 128 h) an *objective genitive*, e. g. הַמַּעֲשִׂי the *wrong done against me*, Gn 16<sup>5</sup>, Jer 51<sup>35</sup>; cf. Gn 9<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>21</sup>, 27<sup>13</sup> (2 S 16<sup>12</sup> *Keth.*); Gn 30<sup>23</sup>, 39<sup>21</sup> (cf. Ex 3<sup>21</sup>, &c.); 50<sup>4</sup>, Ex 20<sup>20</sup>, 21<sup>35</sup>, Ju 4<sup>9</sup>, 13<sup>12</sup> (מַעֲשֵׂהוּ the *treatment of him*); Is 56<sup>7</sup>, Jer 9<sup>7</sup>, Na 3<sup>19</sup>, Pr 1<sup>27</sup>, 24<sup>22</sup>, Jb 20<sup>30</sup>, 23<sup>14</sup>, 34<sup>6</sup>. Cf. also such pregnant expressions as ψ 20<sup>3</sup> יְשַׁלַּח עֲזָרְךָ *he will send thy help (help for thee)*, i. e. he will send thee help; Gn 30<sup>18</sup>, 39<sup>21</sup>, Ex 2<sup>9</sup>, Is 1<sup>26</sup> (and *I will restore judges for thee*); Ez 37<sup>15</sup>.

When several substantives are co-ordinated, the pronominal suffix must be attached to each singly, e. g. Gn 36<sup>6</sup> and Esau took אֶת־בָּנָיו וְאֶת־בְּנֵי־יָסָף וְאֶת־בָּתְּרִי *his wives and his sons and his daughters, &c.*; 35<sup>18</sup>, &c. In 2 S 23<sup>5</sup> the text is hardly correct.

<sup>1</sup> As in Luther's Bible *jm* (*ihm*), *jr* (*ihr*) for *sich*, and in our version *him*, *her* for *himself*, *herself*.

<sup>2</sup> *Niphal* according to § 51 e (like *Hithpa'el* according to § 54 f) may also include the *dative* of the reflexive pronoun.

<sup>3</sup> Like the substantival genitive, according to § 129 h, the possessive pronoun may also be paraphrased by a relative clause, e. g. Ru 2<sup>21</sup> הַבָּעָרִים לִי אֲשֶׁר הֵם the *young men, which are to me*, i. e. *my young men*; so especially, when the substantive, which should take a genitive suffix, is already followed by a genitive, e. g. 1 S 17<sup>40</sup>. In this case, however, the suffix also is sometimes attached pleonastically, e. g. Ct 1<sup>8</sup> בְּרָמִי שְׁעָלִי *my vineyard, which belongs to me*. Cf. Ct 3<sup>7</sup>, and the analogous pleonasms in 2 S 22<sup>2</sup> (but see ψ 16<sup>2</sup>) and ψ 27<sup>2</sup>.

n 5. When the genitive, following a construct state, is used periphrastically to express the idea of a material or attribute (§ 128 o and p), the pronominal suffix, which properly belongs to the compound idea (represented by the *nomen regens* and genitive), is, like the article (§ 127), attached to the second substantive (the genitive), e.g. הֶרֶם־קִדְשִׁי prop. *the hill of my holiness*, i. e. my holy hill, ψ 2<sup>6</sup>, &c.; עִיר קִדְשֶׁךָ *thy holy city*, Dn 9<sup>24</sup>; אֱלִילֵי כֶסֶף *his idols of silver*, Is 2<sup>20</sup>, 30<sup>33</sup>, 31<sup>7</sup>;<sup>1</sup> cf. Dt 1<sup>41</sup>, Is 9<sup>3</sup>, 28<sup>4</sup>, 41<sup>11</sup>, Ez 9<sup>14</sup>, ψ 41<sup>10</sup>, 150<sup>1</sup>, Jb 18<sup>7</sup> צַעְדֵי אֹנוֹ *his steps of strength*; 38<sup>6</sup>; after an adjective as *nomen regens*, Is 13<sup>3</sup> (Zp 3<sup>11</sup>) עֲלִיִּי *my proudly exulting ones*.—On the same analogy is the use of e.g. כְּלֵי מִלְחָמָה Dt 1<sup>41</sup> *his weapons of war* [cf. Is 41<sup>12</sup>]; Is 56<sup>7</sup> בֵּית תְּפִלָּה *my house of prayer*, although the genitive here does not convey the idea of an attribute.

O Rem. 1. Through a weakening in the distinction of gender, which is noticeable elsewhere (cf. § 110 k, 144 a, 145 z, t, u) and which probably passed from the colloquial language<sup>2</sup> into that of literature, masculine suffixes (especially in the plural) are not infrequently used to refer to feminine substantives; thus a noun-suffix in the singular, Ex 11<sup>6</sup>, 25<sup>19</sup>, Ju 11<sup>34</sup>;<sup>3</sup> in the plural, Gn 31<sup>9</sup>, 32<sup>16</sup>, 41<sup>23</sup>, Ex 12<sup>1</sup>, 21<sup>7</sup>, Nu 27<sup>7</sup> (but the feminine suffix twice immediately after, and so the Samaritan also in verse 7); 36<sup>6</sup> (Samaritan אֲבִיָּהֶם, but also בְּעֵינֵיהֶם); Ju 19<sup>24</sup>, 21<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 67.10<sup>b</sup> (בְּגִיָּהֶם); 9<sup>20</sup>, Is 3<sup>16</sup>, Ez 23<sup>45</sup> (alternating with הֵן); Am 4<sup>14</sup> (but afterwards a feminine suffix); Jb 14<sup>4</sup>, 39<sup>3</sup> חֲבִלֵיהֶם in parallelism with יְלִדֵיהֶן; 42<sup>15</sup>, Ct 4<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>6</sup>, Ru 1<sup>8</sup> (along with feminine suffixes); Dn 1<sup>5</sup>, 8<sup>9</sup>. Verbal suffixes in the singular, Ex 22<sup>20</sup>; in the plural, Ju 16<sup>3</sup>, Pr 6<sup>21</sup>, Jb 1<sup>15</sup>. But Gn 26<sup>15, 12</sup>, 33<sup>13</sup>, Ex 21<sup>7</sup>, 1 S 610<sup>a</sup> are to be explained according to § 60 h. On הִפְתָּה as feminine, see § 32 n. On the use of the masculine in general as the *prior gender*, see § 122 g.

p 2. The suffix of the 3rd person singular feminine (as also the separate pronoun הִיא Nu 14<sup>41</sup>, Jos 10<sup>13</sup>, Ju 14<sup>4</sup>) sometimes refers in a general sense to the verbal idea contained in a preceding sentence (corresponding to our *it*); thus the verbal suffix, Gn 15<sup>6</sup>, Nu 23<sup>19</sup>, 1 S 11<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>12</sup>, Is 30<sup>8</sup>, Am 8<sup>10</sup>; cf. Gn 24<sup>14</sup> (בָּהּ *thereby*), 42<sup>26</sup>, 47<sup>26</sup>, Ex 10<sup>11</sup> (אֹתָהּ *that*), Is 47<sup>7</sup>. Elsewhere the suffix of the 3rd singular feminine refers to the plurals of things, e.g. 2 K 3<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, more explicitly in prose, Gn 44<sup>2</sup> הַכֶּסֶף נָבִיעַ וְנִבְיָעֵי אֶת־נִבְיָעֵי *the silver cup*.

<sup>2</sup> According to Diehl (see the title at the head of § 91 a), who adduces numerous instances on pp. 44 ff., 54 ff., many of these cases may be set down to corruption of the traditional text, while the sudden (and sometimes repeated) change of gender in suffixes is mainly due to the influence exercised on the copyists by the Mishnic and popular Aramaic dialects, neither of which recognizes such distinctions. Such influence, however, is insufficient to explain the large number of instances of this weakening, occurring even in the earlier documents.

<sup>3</sup> The Masora reckons six instances of כְּפָנָה, where כְּפָנָה would be expected (Ju 11<sup>34</sup>, where, however, the text is most probably corrupt), Ex 25<sup>15</sup> (?), Lv 6<sup>3</sup>, 7<sup>13</sup>, 27<sup>9</sup>, Jos 17<sup>7</sup>; almost all these passages can, however, be easily explained in other ways.

[but see Kittel; so 13<sup>2.6.11</sup>; 10<sup>28</sup>, but LXX מַצְבֹּחַ, Jer 36<sup>28</sup>, Jb 6<sup>20</sup> (if the text is correct), 39<sup>15</sup> (but previously תַּחֲמוֹס), and to the plurals of names of animals, Is 35<sup>7</sup>, Ezr 11<sup>5</sup>. Conversely, plural suffixes refer to collective singulars, e.g. in Gn 15<sup>13</sup>, Nu 16<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>8</sup>, Zp 2<sup>7</sup> [but read הֵימָּן]; and to a verbal idea contained in the preceding clause, in Ez 33<sup>18</sup>, Jb 22<sup>21</sup> (בָּהֶם) *thereby*, Ez 18<sup>28</sup>, 33<sup>13</sup> (עָלֵיהֶם) *on that account, thereby*.<sup>1</sup> But the suffix in נִתְּנוּ Dt 21<sup>10</sup> refers to the collective idea contained in אֲנִי־יָדִי; in Jon 1<sup>3</sup> עֲמָהֶם refers to the sailors included in sense under the term אֲנִיָּה. In Jos 2<sup>4</sup> read וְהַצִּפֹּנִים; in Is 30<sup>6</sup> (מִהֶם), 38<sup>16</sup>, ψ 19<sup>6</sup> (בָּהֶם) the text is most probably corrupt.

3. In a few examples the force of the noun-suffix or possessive pronoun has become so weak that the language appears to be almost entirely unconscious of it. Thus in אֲדֹנָי *my Lord*, usually explained as being from the *pluralis maiestatis* אֲדֹנָיִם (§ 124 i) with the suffix of the 1st singular (always with *Qames* to distinguish it from אֲדֹנָי *my lords*, Gn 19<sup>2</sup>; but see note below), used exclusively of God, not only in addressing him (Gn 15<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>3</sup>, ψ 35<sup>23</sup>), but ultimately (see, however, the note below), without any regard to the pronoun, as equivalent to the *Lord*.<sup>2</sup> On אֲדֹנָי as a *Qrre perpetuum* of the Masoretes for יהוה see § 17 c and § 102 m.

A similar loss of vitality in the suffix is generally assumed in יְהוָה prop. in *his unitedness*, i.e. *he &c. together*, e.g. בְּלִי־הָעָם יְהוָה Ex 19<sup>8</sup>; then, without regard to the suffix, even after the 1st person אֲנִי־יְהוָה 1 K 3<sup>18</sup> in reference to two women; Is 41<sup>1</sup>, Jb 9<sup>32</sup>, Neh 6<sup>2.7</sup>; after the 2nd person, Is 45<sup>20</sup>, &c. But the supposed pronominal suffix is perhaps rather to be explained, with Broekelmann, *ZA.* xiv. 344 f., as an old adverbial ending, which survives in the Arabic adverbs in *u* and in Assyrian.—Cf. further בָּכֶם prop. *their entirety*, but also after the 2nd person equivalent to *all together*, 1 K 22<sup>28</sup>, Mi 1<sup>2</sup> (*hear, ye peoples, all of you*; cf. § 144 p), and even before the 2nd person, Jb 17<sup>10</sup> (in 1 S 6<sup>4</sup> read לָכֶם with the LXX).—On the redundant suffix in הִעָרְפָּךְ Lv 27<sup>28</sup>, cf. § 127 i.

<sup>1</sup> In 2 K 7<sup>10</sup> for שָׁעָר (the LXX had שַׁעַר) read שַׁעָרִי.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the same weakening of the force of the possessive pronoun in רַבִּי prop. *my master*, from the second century A.D. onwards *the master*; so also in Syriac *my lord*, and ultimately as a title *the lord*; in Italian *Madonna*, French *Madame*, *Notre Dame*, *Monsieur*, *Monsieur*, &c. It can, however, hardly be doubted that the regular distinction between אֲדֹנָי as a holy name, and אֲדֹנָי as an ordinary appellative is merely due to the practice of the later Rabbis. G. H. Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonaj und seine Geschichte* (Berlin, 1889), in an exhaustive discussion, shows that apart from the book of Daniel and the eight critically doubtful passages, in which אֲדֹנָי is used by God himself, there is nowhere any necessity to regard the suffix as *entirely* meaningless, since אֲדֹנָי is always used either in an address to or (like אֲדֹנָי, which also is never a mere phrase or title) in reverent language *about* God—as the Lord of the speaker—like the Assyrian *beli-ia*, *my lord*. Against any original distinction between אֲדֹנָי and אֲדֹנָי it may be urged especially that when unconnected with suffixes the singular אֲדֹנָי is always used of God, and not the *pluralis maiestatis* presupposed by אֲדֹנָי.



- a The demonstrative pronouns are הַזֶּה, fem. הַזֵּאת, plur. הַלְּזֵה (§ 34), *hic, haec (hoc), hi, &c.*, and the personal pronoun הוּא, likewise used as a demonstrative, fem. הִיא, plur. masc. הֵמָּן, fem. הֵנָּה (§ 32 b), *is, ea (id), or ille, &c., ii, eae or illi, &c.* The distinction between them in usage is that הַזֶּה (like *hic*, *hic*) almost always points out a (new) person or thing present, while הוּא (like *is, ille, αὐτός, ἐκεῖνος*) refers to a person or thing already mentioned or known (see the examples below).<sup>1</sup>
- b Rem. 1. Compare the instructive examples in Gn 32<sup>3</sup>, Ju 7<sup>4</sup> of *whom I say unto thee, this (הַזֶּה) shall go with thee, he (הוּא) shall go with thee* (so afterwards with negatives). Moreover, הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *this day*, i.e. the actual day on which one is speaking or writing (Gn 26<sup>32</sup>, &c.), but הַיּוֹם הַהוּא the day or period of which the historian has just been speaking (Gn 15<sup>13</sup>, 26<sup>32</sup>) or of which the prophet has just been foretelling (Is 5<sup>30</sup>, 7<sup>18, 20</sup> ff.) and of which he continues to speak or foretell. Nevertheless הַזֶּה and הַהוּא are also found in certain common combinations where הוּא and הֵנָּה would be expected, and vice versa; thus almost always הַזֶּה הַקָּדוֹן, plur. הַקָּדוֹת הַלְּזֵה, but בְּיָמֵי הַהֵמָּן or בְּיָמֵי הַהֵם.—With a secondary sense of contempt (like Latin *iste*) הַזֶּה occurs, e.g. in 1 S 10<sup>27</sup>, 21<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>27</sup>, Is 6<sup>10</sup>, &c. In the sense of the neuter, *this*, הַזֶּה is more common than הַזֶּה, as Is 5<sup>25</sup>, 43<sup>9</sup>, &c., but הוּא more common than הִיא.
- c 2. Both הַזֶּה and הוּא are sometimes used almost as enclitics to emphasize interrogative words (like the Latin *nam* in *quisnam*; cf. also *quis tandem*); e.g. Jb 35<sup>2</sup> מִי הוּא כֹּה נֹכַח *who now* (darkeneth, &c.) . . . ? 1 S 17<sup>55 f.</sup>, Is 63<sup>1</sup>, Jer 49<sup>10</sup>, ψ 24<sup>8</sup>, 25<sup>12</sup>, &c.; מַה הוּא *what now?* 1 S 10<sup>11</sup>; *how now?* Gn 27<sup>20</sup>; *why now?* Ju 18<sup>24</sup>; but before the verb עָשָׂה it is usually מַה-הוּא Gn 3<sup>13</sup>, 12<sup>18</sup>, Ex 14<sup>5</sup>, Ju 15<sup>11</sup>; לָמָּה הוּא *wherefore now?* Gn 18<sup>13</sup>, 23<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>28</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>28</sup>, &c.—So also מִי-הוּא Is 50<sup>9</sup>, Jb 4<sup>7 ff.</sup>; and still more emphatically מִי הוּא-הוּא ψ 24<sup>10</sup>, Jer 30<sup>21</sup>.
- d 3. הַזֶּה is likewise used as an enclitic (see c above): (a) of place, in such passages as Gn 27<sup>21</sup> וְגַם הַזֶּה הָאֵתָה *whether thou (that art here) be my son Esau?* 2 S 20<sup>20</sup> *is it thou?* הִנֵּה הַזֶּה *behold, here*, 1 K 19<sup>5</sup>, Is 21<sup>9</sup>; <sup>2</sup> cf. also the strengthen-

<sup>1</sup> On הַזֶּה and הוּא standing separately as determinate in themselves, see § 125 f. On the use of determinate demonstratives as adjectives, see § 126 u.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it is very questionable whether הַזֶּה in ψ 104<sup>25</sup> (הַיָּם), Is 23<sup>13</sup> (הַיָּם), Ju 5<sup>5</sup>, ψ 68<sup>9</sup> (הַיָּם) can be taken, according to the common explanation, simply as a prefixed demonstrative particle (*the sea yonder, &c.*). In ψ 104<sup>25</sup> הַיָּם may be in apposition to הַזֶּה; cf. § 126 aa, on Ex 32<sup>1</sup>, and Ze 5<sup>7</sup>, where אֵשֶׁת אֶתָּה is in apposition to הַזֶּה, and also Ez 40<sup>47</sup>, where הַלְּשָׁכָה is in apposition to הַזֶּה; otherwise it is most naturally taken as the subject, *this is the sea*. Is 23<sup>13</sup>, Ju 5<sup>5</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>14</sup>, and ψ 68<sup>9</sup> might also be explained in the same way; but in these passages the text is almost certainly

ing of the separate pronoun by הוּא Is 43<sup>25</sup> (אֵלֶיךָ), 1 S 7<sup>23</sup>, Is 37<sup>16</sup>, ψ 44<sup>n</sup> (אֵלֶיךָ), and אֵלֶיךָ הֵם these are, Gn 25<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 4<sup>8</sup>; (b) of time: הָעַתָּה now, 1 K 17<sup>24</sup>; just now, 2 K 5<sup>22</sup>; and rather frequently before words denoting number, e.g. Gn 27<sup>26</sup> הָעַתָּה הָיָה twice, now; cf. 31<sup>38</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>2</sup>, Jb 1<sup>12</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>, 19<sup>3</sup>; separated from the numeral in Gn 31<sup>41</sup> הָיָה לִי elliptically for *this*, i.e. this present period, *is to me*, i.e. makes altogether, *twenty years*, &c. The other examples are similarly elliptical.

### § 137. The Interrogative Pronoun.

The interrogative pronoun מִי *who* may refer either to a masculine *α* or feminine person (Ct 3<sup>6</sup>), or even to a plural, e.g. מִי אֵלֶיךָ *who are ye?* Jos 9<sup>8</sup>; מִי-אֵלֶיךָ Gn 33<sup>9</sup>, Nu 22<sup>9</sup> (more minutely, מִי וְכִי Ex 10<sup>3</sup>, i.e. *who exactly, who in particular?*). It is used of the neuter only when the idea of a person is implied, e.g. מִי-שֶׁבָּם *who are the Shechemites?* Ju 9<sup>28</sup>, 13<sup>17</sup>, Gn 33<sup>8</sup>, Mi 1<sup>6</sup>; even more boldly, with the repetition of a מִי used personally, in 1 S 18<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 7<sup>18</sup>.—Another interrogative is אֵיזֶה *which, what?*; of persons only in Est 7<sup>5</sup>.

Moreover, מִי may also be used in the sense of a genitive, e.g. בַּת מִי *whose daughter art thou?* Gn 24<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>55, 56, 58</sup>; מִי דִבֶּר *whose word?* Jer 44<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 12<sup>3</sup>; in the accusative, אֶת מִי *quemnam?* 1 S 28<sup>11</sup>, Is 6<sup>5</sup>; with prepositions, e.g. בְּמִי 1 K 20<sup>14</sup> (in an abrupt question *by whom?*); לְמִי Gn 32<sup>18</sup>; מִי אֶחָד 1 S 24<sup>15</sup>.—Similarly מַה, מַה, מַה *what?* is used for the nominative, or accusative, or genitive (Jer 8<sup>9</sup>), or with prepositions, e.g. עַל-מַה *whereupon?* Is 1<sup>5</sup>, Jb 38<sup>6</sup>; *why?* Nu 22<sup>32</sup>, &c.; עַד-מַה *quousque?* ψ 74<sup>9</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

Rem. Both מִי and מַה are used also in indirect questions (on the merely *C* relative distinction between direct and indirect questions in Hebrew, see the *Interrogative Sentences*), e.g. Gn 39<sup>8</sup> (but read מִאֲמָרָה with Samar. and LXX), 43<sup>22</sup>, Ex 32<sup>1</sup>.—On the meaning of מִי and מַה as interrogatives is based also their use as *indefinite pronouns* (equivalent to *quisque, quodcunque* or *quicquam*), e.g. Ex 32<sup>26</sup>, Jn 7<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 20<sup>4</sup>, Is 50<sup>10</sup> (read יִשְׁמַע in the apodosis), 54<sup>15</sup>, Pr 9<sup>4, 16</sup>, 2 Ch 36<sup>23</sup>; even שְׂמַרְמִי *have a care, whosoever ye be*, 2 S 18<sup>12</sup> (unless לִי is to be read, with the LXX, for מִי); so also מַה *(whatever it be)* Jb 13<sup>13</sup>, 1 S 19<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>22, 23</sup>; cf. Nu 23<sup>3</sup> מַה-יִרְאֵנִי וְדִבֶּר *and whatsoever he sheweth me*. Cf. also מִי-אִשֶּׁר *whosoever* Ex 32<sup>33</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>11</sup>, and מִי-הָאִישׁ *any man who* Dt 20<sup>5ff.</sup>,

corrupt. In Ju 5<sup>5</sup> in fact מִי כִינִי is most probably to be regarded with Moore as a very early gloss, which subsequently found its way from this passage into ψ 68.

<sup>1</sup> A quite different use of מַה was pointed out (privately) by P. Haupt in Ct 5<sup>8</sup> *will ye not tell him?* i.e. *I charge you that ye tell him*, and 7<sup>1</sup> = *look now at the Shulamite*, corresponding to the late Arabic *mā tarā, just see! mā taqūlu, say now!* It has long been recognized that מַה is used as a negative in Ct 5<sup>4</sup>.

Ju 10<sup>18</sup>. A still further weakening of the *indefinite* use of מֶה is the combination מֶה-שֶׁ that which, Ec 1<sup>9</sup>, 3<sup>15</sup> (just like the Syriac ܡܗܐ); cf. Est 8<sup>1</sup>, and מֶה . . . בֶּל Pr 9<sup>13</sup>, מֶה . . . לֹא Neh 2<sup>12</sup>, nothing whatever.—On מֶה-אִמָּה quicquam, anything at all (usually with a negative), and as an adverb in any way, 1 S 21<sup>3</sup>, see the Lexicon.

### § 138. The Relative Pronoun.

Cf. Philippi, *Stat. constr.* (see heading of § 89), p. 71 f., and especially V. Baumann, *Hebräische Relativsätze*, Leipzig, 1894.

- a Relative clauses are most frequently (but not necessarily; cf. § 155 b) introduced by the indeclinable אֲשֶׁר (see § 36).<sup>1</sup> This is not, however, a relative pronoun in the Greek, Latin, or English sense, nor is it a mere *nota relationis*,<sup>2</sup> but an original *demonstrative* pronoun [as though *iste, istius, &c.*].<sup>3</sup> Hence it is used—

(1) In immediate dependence on the substantival idea to be defined, and virtually in the same case as it (hence belonging syntactically to the main clause); e.g. Gn 24<sup>7</sup> . . . הוּא יִשְׁלַח . . . לְקַחְתִּי אֲשֶׁר לִּי ה' the Lord, *iste, he took me . . . he shall send, &c. (= who took me)*; Gn 2<sup>2</sup> and God finished עֲשֵׂה אֲשֶׁר מְלַאכְתּוֹ his work, *istud, he had made (it)*. Such qualifying clauses may be called *dependent relative clauses*.

- b Rem. 1. In the above examples אֲשֶׁר in Gn 24<sup>7</sup> is virtually in the nominative, in Gn 2<sup>2</sup> in the accusative. A further distinction between the examples is that in Gn 24<sup>7</sup> the main idea (הוּא), to which אֲשֶׁר is added in apposition, is only resumed in the qualifying clause by the subject (he) inherent in

<sup>1</sup> The etymology of the word is still a matter of dispute. Against the identification of אֲשֶׁר, as an original substantive, with the Arabic *'aṣar*, *trace*, Aram. אָתַר *place, trace*, Nöldeke urges (*ZDMG*. xl. 738) that the expression *trace of . . .* could hardly have developed into the relative conjunction, while the meaning of *place* has been evolved only in Aramaic, where the word is never used as a relative. According to others, אֲשֶׁר is really a compound of several pronominal roots; cf. Sperling, *Die Nota relationis im Hebräischen*, Leipzig, 1876, and König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 323 ff., who follows Ewald and Böttcher in referring it to an original אִשְׁל. According to Hommel (*ZDMG*. xxxii. 708 ff.) אֲשֶׁר is an original substantive, to be distinguished from שֶׁ and שֵׁ (an original pronominal stem), but used in Hebrew as a *nota relationis*, or (as וְה and וְ) are also sometimes used, see below, g and h) simply for the *relative pronoun*. Baumann (op. cit., p. 44) sees in the Assyrian *ša*, Phoenician, Punic, and Hebrew שֵׁ, the ground-forms, of which the Phoenician and Punic אַש (see above, § 36 note) and the Hebrew אֲשֶׁר are developments.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. like Luther's use of *so*, in *die fremden Götter, so unter euch sind*, Gn 35<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> This is the necessary conclusion both from the analogy of the Arabic *'alladī*, which is clearly a demonstrative (like the Hebr. הַזֶּה, הַהוּא), and from the use of וְה and וְ as relatives.

לָקַחְנִי, while in Gn 2<sup>2</sup> it is not resumed at all. This suppression of the retrospective pronoun<sup>1</sup> takes place especially when it (as in Gn 2<sup>2</sup>) would represent an accusative of the object, or when it would be a separate pronoun representing a nominative of the subject in a noun-clause, e.g. Gn 1<sup>7</sup> הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר מִתַּחַת לָרָקִיעַ *the waters, those, under the firmament*, &c. In negative sentences, however, the retrospective pronoun is not infrequently added, e.g. Gn 17<sup>12</sup> הוּא; 7<sup>2</sup> הִיא; 1 K 9<sup>20</sup> הָמָּה; Dt 20<sup>15</sup> הֵמָּה; but cf. also הִיא אֲשֶׁר הוּא הִיא Gn 9<sup>3</sup>. The addition of הִיא in a verbal clause, 2 K 22<sup>13</sup>, is unusual.

The very frequent omission of the retrospective pronoun is noticeable in cases where the predicate of the qualifying clause is a *verbum dicendi*, e.g. Nu 10<sup>29</sup> *we are journeying unto the place*, אֲשֶׁר אָמַר יְהוָה אֵלֶיךָ לָכֵן *that place, the Lord said (of it), It will I give to you*; cf. Nu 14<sup>40</sup>, Ju 8<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>17.25</sup>, 24<sup>5</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>29</sup>, Jer 32<sup>45</sup>.

2. When the substantive, followed by אֲשֶׁר and the qualifying clause, C expresses an idea of *place*, it may also be resumed by the adverbs of place שָׁם *there*, שָׁמָּה *thither*, כִּשְׁם *thence*, e.g. Gn 13<sup>3</sup> שָׁם אָהֳלָה עַד-הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר-הָיָה שָׁם אָהֳלָה *unto the place, that one, his tent had been there*, i.e. *where his tent had been*; cf. Gn 3<sup>23</sup> כִּשְׁם, Ex 21<sup>13</sup> שָׁמָּה. But even in this case the retrospective word may be omitted, cf. Gn 35<sup>14</sup>, Nu 20<sup>13</sup>, Is 64<sup>10</sup>, where שָׁם would be expected, and Gn 30<sup>38</sup>, Nu 13<sup>27</sup>, 1 K 12<sup>2</sup>, where שָׁמָּה would be expected.—When the appositional clause is added to a word of time, the retrospective pronoun is always omitted, e.g. 1 S 20<sup>31</sup> *for all the days*, אֲשֶׁר בָּוִיֵּשׁ הִי *those—the son of Jesse is living (in them)*; cf. Gn 45<sup>6</sup>, Dt 1<sup>46</sup>, 9<sup>7</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>42</sup>; see Baumann, op. cit., p. 33.

3. If the governing substantive forms part of a statement made in the first or second person, the retrospective pronoun (or the subject of the appositional clause) is in the same person, e.g. Gn 45<sup>4</sup> *I am Joseph*, אֲשֶׁר-מָכַרְתָּם אֹתִי *he—ye sold me, i.e. whom ye sold*; Nu 22<sup>30</sup>, Is 49<sup>25</sup>, 41<sup>8</sup> *thou, Jacob*, אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתִּיךָ *he—I have chosen thee*; Jer 32<sup>19</sup>, Ec 10<sup>16f.</sup>; Gn 15<sup>7</sup> *I am the Lord*, אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ *he—I brought thee out, &c.*, Ex 20<sup>2</sup> (Dt 5<sup>6</sup>).

(2) Not depending (adjectivally) on a governing substantive, but C itself expressing a substantival idea. Clauses introduced in this way may be called *independent relative clauses*. This use of אֲשֶׁר is generally rendered in English by *he who*, *he whom*, &c. (according to the context), or *that which*, &c., or sometimes *of such a kind as (qualis)*, cf. Ex 14<sup>15b</sup>, and in a dependent relative clause Is 7<sup>17</sup>. In reality, however, the אֲשֶׁר is still a demonstrative belonging to the construction of the main clause as subject or object, or as a genitive dependent on a noun or preposition, e.g. Nu 22<sup>5</sup> תֵּאֵר אֲשֶׁר יִצְחָר *iste—thou cursest (him)—is cursed, i.e. he whom thou cursest, &c.*; Ex 22<sup>8</sup>; <sup>2</sup> אֲשֶׁר as object, Gn 44<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> The instances in which, instead of a retrospective pronoun, the main idea itself is repeated (Gn 49<sup>50</sup>, 50<sup>13</sup>, Jer 31<sup>52</sup>) are most probably all due to subsequent amplification of the original text by another hand.

<sup>2</sup> The absolute use of אֲשֶׁר is very peculiar in the formula וַיֵּרָא אֲשֶׁר הָיָה דְּבַר יְהוָה *this (is it)—it came as the word of the Lord to . . .*, Jer 14<sup>1</sup>, 46<sup>1</sup>, 47<sup>1</sup>, 49<sup>34</sup>.

49<sup>1</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>38</sup>, Mi 6<sup>1</sup> (אֵת אִשָּׁר); and even preceding the verb, e.g. Is 52<sup>15</sup>, ψ 69<sup>5</sup>; אִשָּׁר as genitive, Ez 23<sup>28</sup> I will deliver thee בְּיַד אִשָּׁר into the hand of those—thou hatest (them); depending on a preposition, e.g. אִשָּׁר Gn 44<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 10<sup>22</sup>; בְּאִשָּׁר Gn 21<sup>17</sup>, שָׁם בְּאִשָּׁר הוּא in that (place)—he is there, i. e. where he is; cf. Ju 17<sup>8</sup> and Ru 1<sup>16</sup> אֶל-אִשָּׁר whither;<sup>1</sup> 1 K 18<sup>12</sup> עַל-אִשָּׁר whither; אִשָּׁר Ex 5<sup>11</sup>.

f From these examples it follows that in independent relative clauses the retrospective suffix, or adverb of place, may be, and in fact generally is, omitted. As a rule, however (as in the dependent relative clause), this does not apply to cases in which the retrospective pronoun, by the construction of the sentence, depends on a preposition,<sup>2</sup> e.g. Gn 44<sup>9f</sup>. וְאִשָּׁר יִמָּוֵת אִתּוֹ ... וְאִתּוֹ he—*it* (the cup) is found with him,—shall die (for the *Waw* of the apodosis in וְאִתּוֹ cf. § 143 d). In such cases אִשָּׁר preceded by the preposition is quite anomalous, as in Gn 31<sup>32</sup> וְעִם אִשָּׁר תִּמְצָא with whomsoever thou findest, where אִשָּׁר is a relative pronoun in the English sense; on the other hand, in Is 47<sup>12</sup> (and probably also 56<sup>4</sup>) בְּאִשָּׁר is to be explained (with Baumann, op. cit., p. 37) by reference to 47<sup>18</sup>, as a demonstrative pronoun, stand now with thine enchantments . . ., with those—thou hast laboured (with them).

[With regard to the preceding explanation of אִשָּׁר, the student will of course understand that, in Hebrew as we know it, אִשָּׁר never occurs as a mere demonstrative. A particle which, whatever its origin, is uniformly used with reference to something in another, contiguous clause, will naturally have acquired in practice that force which we denote by the term 'relative'.]

g Like the original demonstrative pronoun אִשָּׁר, the demonstratives proper הוּא, הִוא, הִוא (the last commonly),<sup>3</sup> and sometimes the article, are used somewhat frequently in poetic language to introduce both dependent and independent relative clauses. With regard to the construction of הוּא, &c., the remarks on אִשָּׁר, under *a* and *e*, also hold good.

Examples:—

(a) הוּא in apposition to a governing substantive in the nominative, ψ 104<sup>26</sup> לֵיטָתָהּ הוּא (there is) *leviathan*, he—thou hast formed (him), i. e. whom thou hast formed; Is 42<sup>24</sup> (וְהוּא); in the accusative, Is 25<sup>9</sup>, ψ 74<sup>2</sup> (in both cases with a retrospective pronoun; הוּא is used without it in ψ 132<sup>12</sup>); in apposition to a genitive dependent on a preposition, Pr 23<sup>22</sup> הוּא יִלְבֹּד לְאָבִיךָ הוּא יִלְבֹּד hearken unto thy father, him—he begat thee, i. e. who begat thee; ψ 17<sup>9</sup> (וְהוּא).—In ψ 104<sup>8</sup> אֶל-מָקוֹם זֶה יִסְתָּר הוּא unto the place which thou hadst founded for them (cf. § 130 c), הוּא is in the genitive after the construct state מָקוֹם to the place of that, thou hadst

<sup>1</sup> In Zc 12<sup>10</sup> also, instead of the unintelligible אֵלֵי אִשָּׁר, we should probably read אֶל-אִשָּׁר, and refer the passage to this class.

<sup>2</sup> Such a strong ellipse as in Is 31<sup>6</sup>, where מִמָּוֶנִי would be expected after הוֹעֲמִיקוּ, is only possible in elevated poetic or prophetic language.

<sup>3</sup> The etymological equivalent הוּא, הִוא in Aramaic is always a relative.

founded (it) for them; on the same analogy we may also take, with Baumann (op. cit., p. 48),  $\psi$  78<sup>64</sup> (חַר הָיָה) and Ex 15<sup>13</sup> (עָמְדוּ נֶאֱלָף), 15<sup>16</sup>, Is 43<sup>21</sup>,  $\psi$  9<sup>16</sup>, 10<sup>2</sup>, 31<sup>5</sup>, 32<sup>8</sup>, 62<sup>12</sup>, 142<sup>4</sup>, 143<sup>8</sup> (all examples of וְ).

To introduce independent relative clauses וְ is used as a nominative in *h* Jb 19<sup>19</sup>; as accusative, Jb 15<sup>27</sup> and וְ Hb 1<sup>11</sup>,  $\psi$  68<sup>29</sup> (after a preposition, וְ Ex 13<sup>8</sup>; but the text is evidently corrupt).

(b) More certain examples of the use of the article as a relative pronoun *i* (more correctly, perhaps, of the demonstrative which is otherwise used as article) are 1 Ch 26<sup>38</sup> כָּל הַקִּדְיִשׁ שָׁמוּאֵל *all that Samuel had dedicated*, &c.; 1 Ch 29<sup>8</sup> (where נִמְצָא can only be perfect *Niph'al*); 2 Ch 26<sup>38</sup>, Ezr 10<sup>14</sup>. In connexion with a plural, Jos 10<sup>24</sup> הָהֵלְכוּ אִתּוֹ *the chiefs of the men of war who went with him*; Ezr 8<sup>25</sup>, 10<sup>17</sup>, 1 Ch 29<sup>17</sup>. Finally, in the sense of *id quod*, Jer 5<sup>13</sup> (where, however, we should read with the LXX הַדָּבָר). Cf. moreover, 1 S 9<sup>24</sup> הַתְּעֹלָה *the thigh and that which was upon it* (but see *h* below); 2 Ch 1<sup>4</sup> בְּהֵיכָן equivalent to בְּאֵשֶׁר הֵכִין *to the place, that he had prepared*.

In all the examples adduced except 1 S 9<sup>24</sup> (where הַתְּעֹלָה should probably *h* be read for הַתְּעֹלָה) the וְ is followed by undoubted perfects; almost all the examples, moreover, belong to the latest Books (Ezra and Chronicles). On the other hand, another series of instances (even in the older texts) is extremely doubtful, in which the Masora likewise requires perfects, either by placing the tone on the penultima, as in Gn 18<sup>21</sup>, 46<sup>27</sup>, Jb 2<sup>11</sup> הַבָּאָה; Is 51<sup>10</sup> הַשִּׁמָּה; Ez 26<sup>17</sup> הַהֲלֵלָה Ru 1<sup>22</sup>, 2<sup>6</sup> and 4<sup>3</sup> הַשִּׁבָּה, or by the punctuation, Gn 21<sup>3</sup> הַנּוֹלֵךְ; 1 K 11<sup>9</sup>, Dn 8<sup>1</sup> הַנִּרְאָה; Is 56<sup>8</sup> הַנִּלְכָה, while no doubt the authors in all these cases intended participles (and in fact perfect participles, cf. § 116 *d*) with the article, thus הַבָּאָה, &c., Ez 26<sup>17</sup> הַהֲלֵלָה for הַמְהַלֵּלָה according to § 52 *s*, and in the other examples הַנּוֹלֵךְ, הַנִּרְאָה, הַנִּלְכָה.

### § 139. Expression of Pronominal Ideas by means of Substantives.

Analogous to the periphrases for expressing materials and attributes *a* by means of substantives (§ 128 *o* and *p*), is the use of substantives to represent certain kinds of pronominal ideas, for which no special expressions exist. Thus—

1. אִישׁ, אִשָּׁה *man, woman*, are used to express—

(a) The idea of *each, every* (in the sense of each severally) with reference to persons,<sup>1</sup> and even animals (Gn 15<sup>10</sup>), e.g. Gn 10<sup>5</sup>, feminine Ex 3<sup>22</sup>; אִישׁ is the object, e.g. in Jer 12<sup>15</sup>. On אִישׁ—אִישׁ cf. § 123 *c*.

In a few passages אִישׁ in the above sense is placed for the sake of emphasis *c* before the governing noun (always a substantive with a suffix), thus מִיָּד אִישׁ Gn 9<sup>5</sup>, according to the usual explanation, stands for מִיָּד אִתּוֹ אִישׁ *at the hand of the brother of every man*. But although the explanation seems to be

<sup>1</sup> As a rule אִישׁ is used in the particularizing sense of *each man*, with the plural of the verb, e.g. Gn 44<sup>17</sup>; sometimes, however, as subject to a verb in the singular, e.g. Gn 44<sup>18</sup>.

supported by Gn 42<sup>25</sup> and Nu 17<sup>17</sup>, it is inconceivable that such an inversion of *nomen regens* and *rectum* should occur. It is more likely, either that the second substantive is in apposition to אִישׁ (thus Gn 9<sup>5</sup> *at the hand of every man, his brother*, [unless it is a combination of the two readings אִישׁ מִיָּד and מִיָּד הָאָדָם]; similarly 15<sup>10</sup> *and he laid each or, more exactly, one piece of it, &c.*, and so probably also Nu 17<sup>17</sup> *every one*, sc. *his name*), or אִישׁ precedes as a kind of *casus pendens*, and only receives its nearer definition from the following substantive with suffix; thus Gn 41<sup>12</sup>, 42<sup>25</sup> (according to the context = *every one in his sack*); 42<sup>25</sup>, where אִישׁוֹר־בְּסָפוֹ is virtually the predicate of אִישׁ; Ex 12<sup>4</sup>, 28<sup>21</sup>, Nu 5<sup>10</sup>, 26<sup>54</sup>, 2 K 23<sup>35</sup>, and especially Zc 7<sup>10</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

d (b) *Any one, some one*, e.g. Gn 13<sup>18</sup>, Ct 8<sup>7</sup>, with a negative *no one*; <sup>2</sup> so after אֵל־ Ex 16<sup>19, 20</sup>; before לֹא Gn 23<sup>6</sup> and frequently.—Instead of אִישׁ we sometimes find in a similar sense אָדָם *man, homo*, e.g. Lv 1<sup>2</sup> (cf. בְּאָחֶד הָאָדָם *as any one else*, Ju 16<sup>7, 11</sup>), נַפֶּשׁ (*soul*) *person*, Lv 2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, &c., and in a neuter sense דָּבָר (*prop. word, thing*) for *anything*, Gn 18<sup>14</sup>, or בְּל־דָּבָר Lv 5<sup>2</sup>, Nu 31<sup>23</sup>. With a negative דָּבָר means *nothing*; thus after אֵל־ Gn 19<sup>8</sup>; after לֹא Ec 8<sup>5</sup>.—Cf. finally, מֵאֶחָד *any one*, Dt 15<sup>7</sup>; *anything*, Ez 18<sup>10</sup> (but in Lv 4<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>18</sup> מֵאֶחָת) and the expressions noticed in § 144 e. The latter include also instances like Ez 18<sup>32</sup> *I have no pleasure* הָיָתָה הַמָּוֶת בְּמוֹתָיו *in the death of him that dieth*, i.e. *of any man*.

c (c) In connexion with אחיו *his brother* or רֵעֵהוּ *his neighbour*, אִישׁ *one, masc.* (as אִשָּׁה *one, fem.*, in connexion with אחותה *her sister* or רֵעֵיהָ *her neighbour*) is used to represent the ideas of *alter—alter, the one—the other*<sup>3</sup> (in reference to persons, animals, or things without life; see the Lexicon) or the idea of *one another*, e.g. Gn 13<sup>11</sup> *and they separated themselves* אִישׁ מֵעַל אחיו *the one from the other*; Ex 26<sup>3</sup> *five curtains* (יָרִיעֹת *fem.*) shall be coupled together אֶל־אֶחָתָה *one to another*.

f 2. נַפֶּשׁ *soul, person* expresses the idea of *self*,<sup>4</sup> both in the singular, Pr 19<sup>8, 16</sup>, 29<sup>24</sup>, Jb 18<sup>4</sup> (in all cases נַפְשׁוֹ equivalent to *himself*) and in the plural, Jer 37<sup>9</sup>, &c. Similar to this is the use of בְּקִרְבָּהּ Gn 18<sup>12</sup> (*prop. in her inward part*) in the sense of *within herself*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. on the whole question the thorough discussion by Budde, *Die bibl. Urgeschichte*, p. 283 ff.: according to him, the words in Gn 9<sup>5</sup> are to be rendered *at the hand of one another* (from men mutually) *will I require it*. [In support of this view, Budde points to Zc 7<sup>10</sup> אִישׁוֹר־בְּסָפוֹ וְרֵעֵת אִישׁ אֶת־רֵעֵת רֵעֵהוּ אֶל־תִּהְיֶה בְלִבְבָּכֶם, which in the light of S<sup>17</sup>, בְּלִבְבָּכֶם, can only, he observes, be rendered ‘and devise not the hurt of one another in your heart’. So also König, *Syntax*, § 33.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also אִישׁ־אִישׁ Gn 39<sup>11</sup>. On the expression of the idea of *no one* by means of אֵין with a following participle, see the *Negative Sentences*, § 152 l.

<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere הֵן . . . הֵן are used in a similar sense, Ex 14<sup>20</sup>, Is 6<sup>3</sup>; also הָאֶחָד . . . הָאֶחָד 2 S 14<sup>6</sup>, or the substantive is repeated, e.g. Gn 47<sup>21</sup> (*from one end . . . to the other end*).

<sup>4</sup> On the representation of this idea by pronouns, separate and suffixed, see § 135 a, i and k.

<sup>5</sup> In a similar way the idea of *self* in Arabic, as in Sanskrit (*ātman*), is paraphrased by *soul, spirit*; in Arabic also by *eye*; in Rabbinic by גּוֹיָא *body*,



3. בְּעֶצֶם *bone* (then metaphorically for *substance*) expresses the idea of *self*, *g* selfsame, *very same*, in reference to *things* (as בְּפֶשֶׁשׁ to persons, e.g. הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה in the selfsame day, Gn 7<sup>13</sup>, cf. Jos 10<sup>27</sup>, Ez 24<sup>2</sup>; בְּעֶצֶם הַשָּׁמַיִם לְמַהֵר as it were the very heaven for clearness, Ex 24<sup>10</sup>; בְּעֶצֶם חֲמוּץ in the very fullness of his strength (= in the midst of his full strength), Jb 21<sup>23</sup>).

4. The simple plural of words denoting time sometimes includes also the *h* idea of a *few*, *some*;<sup>1</sup> thus יָמִים *a few days*, Gn 24<sup>55</sup>, 4c<sup>4</sup> (here even of a longer period, = *for some time*); Is 65<sup>20</sup>, Dn 8<sup>27</sup> (on the other hand, Gn 27<sup>44</sup>, 29<sup>20</sup> בְּאַחֲרֵי יָמִים; see § 96 under אַחֲרֵי); שָׁנִים *some years*, Dn 11<sup>6.8</sup>.

בָּרֶם or בְּרֶם *bone*, in Ethiopic and Amharic by *head*, in Egyptian by *mouth*, *hand*, &c.; cf. also the Middle High German *min lip*, *din lip*, for *ich*, *du*. However, בְּפֶשֶׁשׁ in such cases is never (not even in Is 46<sup>2</sup> בְּפֶשֶׁשׁ *they themselves*) a merely otiose periphrasis for the personal pronoun, but always involves a reference to the *mental* personality, as affected by the senses, desires, &c.

<sup>1</sup> *Some* in reference to persons in Ex 16<sup>20</sup> is expressed by אֲנִישִׁים, and in Neh 5<sup>2-4</sup> by אִישׁ אֶשֶׁר *sunt qui*, with a participle following.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SENTENCE

#### I. The Sentence in General.

##### § 140. *Noun-clauses, Verbal-clauses, and the Compound Sentence.*

- a* 1. Every sentence, the subject and predicate of which are nouns or their equivalents (esp. participles), is called a *noun-clause*, e. g. יְהוָה מֶלֶכֵּנוּ *the Lord is our king*, Is 33<sup>22</sup>; וְאִנְשֵׁי סֹדֶם רָעִים וְחַמְצָאִים *now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners*, Gn 13<sup>13</sup>; פֶּה לָהֶם *a mouth is theirs*, ψ 115<sup>5</sup>; see further, § 141.
- b* 2. Every sentence, the subject of which is a noun (or pronoun included in a verbal-form) and its predicate a finite verb, is called a *verbal-clause*, e. g. וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים *and God said*, Gn 1<sup>3</sup>; וַיִּבְדֵּל *and he divided*, 1<sup>7</sup>; see further, § 142.
- c* Rem. In the last example the pronominal subject is at least indicated by the preformative (י), and in almost all forms of the perfect by affirmatives. The 3rd pers. sing. perf. however, which contains no indication of the subject, must also be regarded as a full verbal-clause.
- d* 3. Every sentence, the subject or predicate of which is itself a full clause, is called a *compound sentence*, e. g. ψ 18<sup>31</sup> הָאֵל תָּמִים דְּרָכּוֹ *God—his way is perfect*, equivalent to *God's way is perfect*; Gn 34<sup>8</sup> שָׁכֵם בְּנִי הַשְׁקָה נַפְשִׁי בְּכַתְּכָם *my son Shechem—his soul longeth for your daughter*; see further, § 143.
- e* 4. The above distinction between different kinds of sentences—especially between noun- and verbal-clauses—is indispensable to the more delicate appreciation of Hebrew syntax (and that of the Semitic languages generally), since it is by no means merely external or formal, but involves fundamental differences of meaning. Noun-clauses with a substantive as predicate, represent something *fixed*, *a state* or in short, *a being* so and so; verbal-clauses on the other hand, something *moveable* and *in progress*, an *event* or *action*. The latter description is indeed true in a certain sense also of noun-clauses

with a participial predicate, except that in their case the event or action (as distinguished from that expressed by the verbal-clause) is of a fixed and abiding character.

Rem. By the Arab grammarians every clause beginning with an independent subject is regarded as a noun-clause, and every clause beginning with a finite verb as verbal. If a finite verb follows the noun-subject the two together (since the verb comprises its own subject and is thus a complete verbal-clause) form a compound noun-sentence, just as when the predicate consists of an independent noun-clause. Though this definition of the different kinds of sentence, which we formerly accepted (in § 144 a of the 22nd to the 24th German editions of this Grammar), is rejected above, a-d, we must, nevertheless, mention here the point in which this more complicated view of the Arab grammarians may be regarded as at least relatively correct, namely, in classifying verbal-clauses according as the subject precedes or follows the verb, a distinction which is often of great importance in Hebrew also; see further, in § 142 a.

### § 141. *The Noun-clause.*

1. The *subject* of a noun-clause (see § 140 a) may be—

a

(a) A substantive, e. g. וְנָהָר יָצָא מֵעֵדֶן and a river went out (was going out) of Eden, Gn 2<sup>10</sup>.

(b) A pronoun, e. g. Gn 7<sup>4</sup> אֲנֹכִי מְטַמֵּר I will cause it to rain; 14<sup>18</sup> כֹּהֵן וְהוּא and he was priest; 2<sup>23</sup> (זֶה) before a feminine predicate, as אִתָּה before a plural in Ex 32<sup>1</sup>); מִי חָכָם who is wise? Ho 14<sup>10</sup>.—In 1 Ch 5<sup>2</sup> וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִכָּלֵהוּ and of him one became a prince, the subject is contained in מִכָּלֵהוּ.<sup>1</sup>

2. The *predicate* of a noun-clause may be—

b

(a) A substantive, e. g. Dt 14<sup>1</sup> בָּנִים אַתֶּם וְאֵלֹהִים ye are children of the Lord your God; Gn 42<sup>13</sup>. Specially characteristic of the Semitic mode of expression are the cases in which both subject and predicate are substantives, thus emphasizing their identity ('the thing is its measure, material, or equivalent'), e. g. Ez 41<sup>22</sup> עֵץ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וְקִירָיו עֵץ the altar (was) wood . . . , and the walls thereof (were) wood, i. e. of wood. Cf. below, c.

(b) An adjective or participle, e. g. Gn 2<sup>12</sup> טוֹב הָאָרֶץ הַהִיא and the gold of that land is good; וְעֵפְרוֹן יָשָׁב now Ephron was sitting, &c., Gn 23<sup>10, 2</sup>. Very frequently such noun-clauses, attached by *Wāw* to a verbal-clause, are used to represent a state *contemporaneous* with the principal action; cf. e below.

(c) A numeral, e. g. Gn 42<sup>13</sup> עֲבָדֶיךָ שְׁנָיִם עָשָׂר the twelve (of us) are thy servants.

<sup>1</sup> For other remarkable instances of ellipse in the Chronicler, see Driver, *Introduction*, ed. 8, p. 537, no. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the numerous examples in § 116 n-p.

(d) A pronoun, e.g. Gn 10<sup>12</sup> (היא), Ex 9<sup>27</sup> (אני), Gn 24<sup>65</sup> (כי), 1 K 9<sup>13</sup> (מה).<sup>1</sup>

(e) An adverb (or esp. if formed with a preposition) any specification of time, place, quality, possessor, &c., which may be regarded as the equivalent of a noun-idea, e.g. שם הברזל *there is the bledium*, Gn 2<sup>12</sup>; הנה *where is Abel?* 4<sup>9</sup>; לעולם חסדו *his mercy endureth for ever*, ψ 136<sup>16</sup>; עשר בביתו *riches are in his house*, ψ 112<sup>3</sup>; לו אנהנו *we are his*, ψ 100<sup>3</sup> Q<sup>erê</sup>.

c Rem. 1. The employment of a substantive as predicate of a noun-clause is especially frequent, either when no corresponding adjective exists (so mostly with words expressing the material; cf. § 128 o) or when the attribute is intended to receive a certain emphasis. For in all cases there is a much greater stress upon a substantival predicate,<sup>2</sup> since it represents something as identical with the subject (see above, b [a]), than upon an adjectival or verbal predicate; cf. Ct 1<sup>10</sup>; ψ 25<sup>10</sup> *all the paths of the Lord are lovingkindness and truth* (i.e. wholly lovingkindness, &c.; cf. Jer 10<sup>10</sup>); Ez 38<sup>5</sup>, ψ 105<sup>1</sup>, 19<sup>10</sup>, 23<sup>5</sup>, 88<sup>19</sup>, Pr 3<sup>17</sup>,<sup>3</sup> Jb 22<sup>12</sup>, 23<sup>2</sup>, 26<sup>18</sup>, Ru 3<sup>2</sup>. Sometimes the emphasis on the predicate is obtained by the use of the plural form (according to § 124 o), e.g. ψ 110<sup>3</sup> *thy people are* נרבות *altogether willingness*; Ct 5<sup>15</sup>, Dn 9<sup>23</sup>.

d Sometimes the boldness of such combinations is modified by the repetition of the subject, as *regens* of the predicate, e.g. Jb 6<sup>12</sup> *אם-כח אבנים בתי* *is my strength the strength of stones?* Pr 3<sup>17</sup>. That the language, however—especially in poetry—is not averse even to the boldest combinations in order to emphasize very strongly the unconditional relation between the subject and predicate, is shown by such examples as ψ 45<sup>9</sup> *myrrh and aloes and cassia are all thy garments* (i.e. so perfumed with them that they seem to be composed of them); Ct 1<sup>10</sup> *thine eyes are doves*, i.e. dove's eyes (but 5<sup>12</sup> *ביונים*);<sup>4</sup> ψ 23<sup>5</sup>, 109<sup>4</sup>, Jb 8<sup>9</sup>, 12<sup>12</sup>, Ct 2<sup>13</sup>. In prose, e.g. Ex 9<sup>31</sup>, Ezr 10<sup>13</sup> *העת גשמים* *the season is rain showers*, i.e. the rainy season; with a bold enallage of the number, Gn 34<sup>30</sup> *ואני קמי כספר* *and I (with my family) am persons few in number*. For similarly bold expressions with הנה cf. Gn 11<sup>1</sup>, 12<sup>2</sup>, Ex 17<sup>12</sup>, Is 5<sup>12</sup>, Jer 2<sup>28</sup>, and again with a bold enallage of the number, Jb 29<sup>15</sup> *I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame*, but in prose, Nu 10<sup>31</sup> *and thou shalt be to us לעינים*.

<sup>1</sup> Why in these examples the pronouns, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, are to be considered as predicates and not as subjects, may be seen from what has been remarked above, § 126 f.

<sup>2</sup> The same naturally applies to most of those cases which are not pure noun-clauses, but have the substantival predicate connected with the subject by הנה (e.g. Gn 1<sup>2</sup> *and the earth was a waste and emptiness*; cf. ψ 35<sup>6</sup>, Pr 8<sup>30</sup>, Jb 3<sup>4</sup>) or where a preposition precedes the substantival predicate, as ψ 29<sup>4</sup> *the voice of the Lord is with power*, i.e. powerful.

<sup>3</sup> שלום here, as in Jb 21<sup>9</sup>, is evidently a substantive after a plural subject; on the other hand, it is doubtful whether שלום in such passages as Gn 43<sup>27</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>9</sup>, ψ 120<sup>7</sup>, &c., is not rather to be regarded as an adjective.

<sup>4</sup> As a rule, in such comparisons כ (which is then to be regarded as *nominative*) stands before the predicate, e.g. Is 63<sup>2</sup> *wherefore are thy garments ברת ברת* *like those of one that treadeth in the wine-press?* (prop. the like of one that treadeth, *instar calcantis*); Jer 50<sup>9</sup>. The comparison is then much less emphatic than in the noun-clauses cited above.

2. The noun-clause connected by *wāw* copulative to a verbal-clause, or its equivalent, always describes a state *contemporaneous* with the principal action, or (when the predicate is a transitive participle) an action represented in constant duration (cf. § 107 d, as well as § 116 n and o), e.g. Gn 19<sup>1</sup> *and the two angels came to Sodom at even*, וָלֵיֻם יֵשֵׁב *while Lot sat*, &c.; 181.8.16.<sup>22</sup>, 25<sup>26</sup>, Ju 13<sup>9</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 4<sup>7</sup>, 11<sup>4</sup> (always with a participle); with an adjectival predicate, Gn 18<sup>12</sup>; with a substantival predicate, 18<sup>27</sup>; with an adverbial predicate, 9<sup>23</sup>. Not infrequently such a *circumstantial* clause indicates at the same time some contradictory fact, so that וְ is equivalent to *whereas*, *whilst*, *although*, e.g. Gn 15<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>27</sup>, 2c<sup>3</sup>, 48<sup>14</sup> (*although he was the younger*); Ju 16<sup>15</sup> *how canst thou say, I love thee*, וְלִבִּי אֵין אִתִּי *whereas thine heart is not with me?* 2 S 3<sup>39</sup>, ψ 28<sup>5</sup> *whilst mischief is in their hearts*. These clauses describing a state are, however, only a subdivision of the large class of circumstantial clauses, on which see § 156.

3. As the examples given under *a* and *b* show, the syntactical *f* relation existing between the subject and predicate of a noun-clause is as a rule expressed by simple juxtaposition, without a *copula* of any kind. To what period of time the statement applies must be inferred from the context; e.g. 1 K 18<sup>21</sup> יְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים *the Lord is the true God*; 1 S 9<sup>19</sup>; Is 31<sup>2</sup> גַּם-הוּא חָכֵם *yet he also is wise*; Gn 42<sup>11</sup>; on the other hand, Gn 19<sup>1</sup> וָלֵיֻם יֵשֵׁב *and (=while) Lot was sitting*; Ez 28<sup>15</sup>; Gn 7<sup>4</sup> אֲנֹכִי מַמְטִיר *I am raining*, i.e. *I will rain*. Sometimes even a jussive or optative is to be supplied as predicate, Gn 27<sup>13</sup> *upon me be thy curse*; Gn 11<sup>3</sup>, 20<sup>13</sup>, Ex 12<sup>2</sup>. Cf. § 116 r, note.

Not infrequently, however, a connexion is established between subject *g'* and predicate (*a*) by adding the separate pronoun of the 3rd person singular or plural, expressly resuming and therefore strengthening the subject, or (*b*) (especially for the sake of a more exact specification of time) by the help of the verb הָיָה. The first of these will be a *compound* sentence, since the predicate to the main subject consists of an independent clause.

Examples of (*a*): Gn 41<sup>26</sup> *the seven good kine* שִׁבְעַ שְׁנִיִּם הָיָה *they are seven* *h* years; Dt 1<sup>7</sup>, 4<sup>24</sup>; Ec 5<sup>18</sup> הָיָה מִתַּת אֱלֹהִים *this—it is a gift of God*; Nu 3<sup>27</sup> הֵם אֵלֶּיָּהּ; in a question, Gn 27<sup>38</sup>. Sometimes הוּא is used in this way to strengthen a pronominal subject of the first or second person, and at the same time to connect it with the predicate which follows,<sup>1</sup> e.g. אֲנֹכִי אֲנֹכִי הוּא *I, even I, am he that blotteth out*, &c.; 51<sup>12</sup>; אִתָּה הוּא 2 S 7<sup>28</sup>, Is 37<sup>16</sup>, ψ 44<sup>5</sup>, Neh 9<sup>6,7</sup>; in an interrogative sentence, Jer 14<sup>22</sup>; <sup>2</sup> in Jer 49<sup>12</sup> הוּא in a verbal-clause strengthens אִתָּה.

<sup>1</sup> On a similar use of the separate pronoun of the third person in Aramaic (Dn 2<sup>28</sup>, Ezr 5<sup>11</sup>, &c.) see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 87. 3.

<sup>2</sup> This is of course to be distinguished from the use of הוּא (to be inferred from the context) as predicate in the sense of δ *adverb*; see above, § 135 a, note 1; or such cases as Dt 32<sup>29</sup> *see now* הוּא אֲנִי אֲנִי *that I, even I, am he*; 1 Ch 21<sup>17</sup>.

i Of (b): naturally this does not apply to the examples, in which  $\text{הָיָה}$ , in the sense of *to become, to fare, to exist*, still retains its full force as a verb, and where accordingly the sentence is verbal, and not a noun-clause; especially when the predicate precedes the subject. On the other hand, such examples as Gn 1<sup>2</sup> *and the earth was* ( $\text{וְהָאֲרֶץ הָיְתָה}$ ) *waste and emptiness*, can scarcely be regarded as properly verbal clauses;  $\text{וְהָיָה}$  is used here really only for the purpose of referring to past time a statement which, as the description of a state, might also appear in the form of a pure noun-clause; cf. Gn 3<sup>1</sup>. This is especially true of the somewhat numerous instances in which  $\text{הָיָה}$  occurs as a connecting word between the subject and the participial predicate; e.g. Ju 1<sup>7</sup>, Jb 1<sup>14</sup> (immediately afterwards a pure noun-clause). The imperfect of  $\text{הָיָה}$  announces what is future in Nu 14<sup>23</sup>, &c.; cf. § 116 r. However, especially in the latter case,  $\text{הָיָה}$  is not wholly without verbal force, but comes very near to being a mere copula, and this use is more frequent in the later books<sup>1</sup> than in the earlier.

k Rem. On the employment of  $\text{יָשָׁב}$  *existence*, and  $\text{לֹא יָשָׁב}$  *non-existence*, which were originally substantives (on their tendency to be used as verbs, equivalent to *est*, and *non est*, cf. § 100 o, and the *Negative Sentences*, § 152) as a connecting link between a pronominal subject and a participial predicate (especially in conditional and interrogative sentences, Gn 24<sup>42,43</sup>, 43<sup>4</sup>, &c.), see above, § 116 g, and the various kinds of subordinate clauses mentioned in §§ 150, 159.

l 4. The natural arrangement of words in the noun-clause, as describing a state, is *subject—predicate*; the principal stress falls on the former since it is the object of the description. Very frequently, however (and not merely in poetry, where greater freedom is naturally allowed in the arrangement of words), the reverse order is found, i.e. *predicate—subject*. The latter order *must* be used when special emphasis is laid on the predicate,<sup>2</sup> or when it consists of an interrogative word; thus with a substantival predicate, e.g. Gn 3<sup>10</sup>  $\text{עָפָר הָאֲרֶץ אַתָּה$  *dust thou art*; 4<sup>9</sup>, 12<sup>13</sup> (*my sister*, not *my wife*); 20<sup>2,12</sup>, 29<sup>14</sup>, Is 6<sup>3b</sup>, Jb 5<sup>24</sup>, 6<sup>12</sup>; with an adjectival predicate, e.g. Is 6<sup>3a</sup>, 28<sup>21</sup>, Jer 10<sup>6</sup>; with a participle, Gn 30<sup>1</sup>, 32<sup>12</sup>; with an interrogative pronoun, e.g. Gn 24<sup>65</sup>;<sup>3</sup> with an adverbial interrogative, e.g. Gn 4<sup>9</sup>.

m Rem. On the above cf. the exhaustive investigations of C. Albrecht, 'Die Wortstellung im hebr. Nominalsatz,' ZAW. vii. 218 ff. and viii. 249 ff.; with a complete list of the exceptions to the order *subject—predicate*, p. 254 ff. The predicate *must* precede for the reasons stated (an *adjectival predicate* is particularly emphatic when it has the force of a comparative, e.g. Gn 4<sup>13</sup>; the predicate expressed by means of a preposition precedes most frequently when it serves to convey the ideas of *having, possessing*, e.g. Gn 18<sup>14</sup>, 29<sup>16</sup>, &c.; cf. also 26<sup>20</sup>, 31<sup>10,43</sup>).

n The predicate *may* precede: (a) when the subject is a pronoun, for 'the person assumed to be generally known, does not excite the same interest as

<sup>1</sup> According to Albrecht, ZAW. viii. 252, especially in Deuteronomy and in the Priestly Code.

<sup>2</sup> For the same reason specifications of place (e.g. Gn 4<sup>7</sup>) or other adverbial qualifications may stand at the beginning of the sentence.

<sup>3</sup> The only exceptions, according to Albrecht (see the Rem. above), are Ex 16<sup>7,a</sup>.

that which is stated about him;’ (b) ‘in order not to be a mere appendage to a subject which consists of several words,’ e.g. 2 K 20<sup>10</sup>; (c) in interrogative sentences (with a substantival or adjectival predicate or one compounded with a preposition), e.g. 1 S 16<sup>4</sup>; finally (d) in a relative clause, when the predicate is adverbial or compounded with a preposition, as a rule closely united (by Maqqeph) with וְאֵלֶּיךָ, e.g. Gn 2<sup>11</sup> וְאֵלֶּיךָ; 1<sup>20f</sup> וְאֵלֶּיךָ.

### § 142. The Verbal-clause.

1. By § 140 *f* there is an essential distinction between verbal-*a* clauses, according as the subject stands before or after the verb. In the verbal-clause proper the principal emphasis rests upon the action which proceeds from (or is experienced by) the subject, and accordingly the verb naturally precedes (*necessarily* so when it is in the perf. consec. or imperf. consec.). Nevertheless, the subject does sometimes precede even in the verbal-clause proper, in the continuation of the narrative, e.g. Gn 7<sup>19</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>12</sup>; especially so if there is special emphasis upon it, e.g. Gn 3<sup>13</sup> (it is not I who am to blame, but) *the serpent beguiled me*, cf. Gn 2<sup>5</sup>, &c.<sup>1</sup> In the great majority of instances, however, the position of the subject at the beginning of a verbal-clause is to be explained from the fact that the clause is not intended to introduce a new fact carrying on the narrative, but rather to describe a *state*. Verbal-clauses of this kind approximate closely in character to noun-clauses, and not infrequently (*viz.* when the verbal form might just as well be read as a participle) it is doubtful whether the writer did not in fact intend a noun-clause.

The particular *state* represented in the verb may consist—

(a) Of an act completed long before, to which reference is made only because it is necessary for understanding the sequel of the principal action. If the predicate be a perfect (as it almost always is in these cases), it is generally to be rendered in English by a pluperfect; cf. the examples discussed above in § 106 *f* (1 S 28<sup>3</sup>, &c.); also Gn 6<sup>8</sup> (not *Noah found grace*); 16<sup>4</sup>, 18<sup>17</sup>, 20<sup>4</sup>, 24<sup>1</sup>, 39<sup>1</sup> (*and Joseph in the meanwhile had been brought down to Egypt*); 41<sup>10</sup>, Ju 1<sup>6</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>15</sup>, 14<sup>27</sup>, 25<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>1</sup>, &c.—In a wider sense this applies also to such verbal-clauses as Gn 2<sup>6</sup> (see further, § 112 *e*), since when they serve to represent an action continuing for a long period in the past, and thus to some extent a *state*.

(b) Of a fact, contemporaneous with the principal events or continuing as *C* the result of them. To the former class belong all those instances in which the predicate is combined with וְהָיָה (provided that וְהָיָה has not, as in Gn 1<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, &c., been weakened to a mere copula, in which case the precedence of the subject is fully explained from the character of the clause as a noun-clause; cf. § 141 *i*, and the examples of וְהָיָה, &c., with a participle, § 116 *r*); as an example of the second class, cf. e.g. Gn 13<sup>12</sup> וַיֵּשֶׁב אַבְרָהָם בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן *Abraham accordingly continued to dwell in the land of Canaan, but Lot dwell, &c.*

<sup>1</sup> This of course applies also to the cases, in which the subject consists of a strongly emphasized personal pronoun, e.g. Gn 32<sup>13</sup> אַתָּה *thou thyself*; 33<sup>8</sup> הוּא *he himself*.



d Rem. 1. The close relation between verbal-clauses beginning with the subject and actual noun-clauses, is seen finally from the fact that the former also are somewhat frequently added with  $\dot{\imath}$  (or subordinated) to a preceding sentence in order to lay stress upon some accompanying circumstance; on such noun-clauses describing a *state* or *circumstance*, cf. § 141 e. This is especially the case, again, when the circumstantial appendage involves an antithesis; cf. Gn 18<sup>18</sup> *saying that nevertheless Abraham shall surely become, &c.*; 24<sup>56</sup>, 26<sup>27</sup>, Is 29<sup>13</sup>, Jer 14<sup>13</sup>,  $\psi$  50<sup>17</sup>, Jb 21<sup>22</sup>, and such examples as Gn 4<sup>2,4</sup>, 29<sup>17</sup>, where by means of  $\dot{\imath}$  a new subject is introduced in express antithesis to one just mentioned. Moreover, in the examples treated above, under b and c (1 S 28<sup>3</sup>, &c.), the subject is frequently introduced by  $\dot{\imath}$ , which then corresponds to the Greek  $\delta\epsilon$ , used to interpose an explanation, &c., see Winer, *Gramm. des newest. Sprachidioms*, § 53. 7 b.

e 2. By a peculiar construction verbal-clauses may be joined by means of  $\dot{\imath}$  and a following subject to participial clauses, e.g. Gn 38<sup>23</sup>  $\dot{\imath}$   $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי תִשְׁלַח$  *she was already brought forth, when she sent, &c.*; 44<sup>3,4</sup>, Ju 18<sup>3</sup>, 19<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>8</sup>; for other examples, see § 116 u (where it is pointed out, note 1, that the apodosis also frequently appears in the form of a *noun-clause*, a further proof of the close relation between verbal-clauses beginning with the subject and noun-clauses proper). Without doubt there is in all these cases a kind of inversion of the principal clause and the temporal subordinate clause; the latter for the sake of greater emphasis being raised to an independent noun-clause, while the real principal action is added as though it were an accompanying circumstance, and hence in the form of an ordinary circumstantial clause. [Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 166 ff.]

f 2. According to what has been remarked above, under a, the natural order of words within the verbal sentence is: *Verb—Subject*, or *Verb—Subject—Object*. But as in the noun-clause (§ 141 l) so also in the verbal-clause, a variation of the usual order of words frequently occurs when any member of the sentence is to be specially emphasized by priority of position.<sup>1</sup> Thus the order may be:—

(a) *Object—Verb—Subject*: Gn 30<sup>40</sup>, 37<sup>4</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>1</sup>, 2 K 23<sup>19</sup> and frequently. Naturally the examples are far more numerous, in which the object precedes a verbal form which includes the subject in itself, e.g. Gn 3<sup>10,14,18</sup>, 6<sup>16</sup>, 8<sup>17</sup>, 9<sup>13</sup>, Ex 18<sup>23</sup>, Ju 14<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 18<sup>17</sup>, 20<sup>9</sup>, 21<sup>10</sup>, 2 K 22<sup>5</sup>, Pr 13<sup>5</sup>, &c.

(b) *Verb—Object—Subject*: Gn 21<sup>7</sup>, Nu 5<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>33</sup>, 2 S 24<sup>16</sup> (but  $\text{וְהָיָה$  is probably only a subsequent addition); Is 19<sup>13</sup>,  $\psi$  34<sup>23</sup>, Jb 11<sup>19</sup>, &c.

(c) *Subject—Object—Verb*: Is 3<sup>17</sup>, 11<sup>8</sup>, 13<sup>18</sup>, Ho 12<sup>11</sup>,  $\psi$  6<sup>10</sup>, 11<sup>5</sup>, Jb 29<sup>25</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not infrequently also the striving after *chiasmus* mentioned in § 114 r, note, occasions a departure from the usual arrangement of words.

<sup>2</sup> This sequence occurs even in prose (Gn 17<sup>8</sup>, 23<sup>9</sup>, &c.); it is, however, more doubtful here than in the above prophetic and poetical passages, whether the preceding subject should not be regarded rather as the subject of a compound sentence (§ 143), the predicate of which is an independent verbal-clause; this would explain why the verbal-clause is usually separated from the subject by one of the greater disjunctives.—On the other hand, the sequence *Subject—Object—Verb* is quite common in Aramaic (e.g. Dn 27<sup>10</sup>); cf.



b (b) An independent verbal-clause: (a) with a retrospective suffix,<sup>1</sup> e.g. Gn 9<sup>6</sup> (cf. § 116 w); 17<sup>15</sup> *as for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai*; 26<sup>15</sup>, 28<sup>13</sup>, 34<sup>8</sup>, Ex 30<sup>37</sup>, 32<sup>1</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>10</sup>, 2 K 10<sup>20</sup>, Is 9<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>10</sup>, Ez 33<sup>2</sup>, Ho 9<sup>11</sup>,  $\psi$  11<sup>4</sup>, 46<sup>5</sup>, 65<sup>4</sup>, 74<sup>17</sup>, Dn 1<sup>17</sup>; with a pronoun as the principal subject, Gn 24<sup>27</sup>; (β) without a retrospective suffix, Is 19<sup>17</sup> *every one that mentions it (Judah) to it (Egypt), it (Egypt) is afraid*.

c Rem. 1. In all the above examples prominence is given to the principal subject (by its mere separation from the context by means of a greater disjunctive, as a *casus pendens*<sup>2</sup>) in a manner which would be quite impossible in a simple noun or verbal-clause (e.g. Na 1<sup>3</sup> if it were  $\text{יְהוָה בְּמִלְחָתוֹ}$ ); cf. the French *c'est moi qu'on a accusé*. But the statement or question contained in the clause which forms the predicate also receives greater weight. For the same purpose other members of the sentence also are sometimes placed at the beginning and resumed again by a following suffix; thus the object, Gn 13<sup>15</sup>, 21<sup>13</sup>, 35<sup>12</sup>, 47<sup>21</sup> (with the Samaritan and LXX read perhaps  $\text{וְהָעֵצָה}$ ); 1 S 25<sup>29</sup>; a specification of place, Gn 2<sup>17</sup>, 2 K 22<sup>18</sup>, &c.; a substantive with  $\text{ל}$ , 1 S 9<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 6<sup>29</sup>; cf. the examples in § 135 a.—In Nu 15<sup>29</sup> a dative is co-ordinated with the *casus pendens*, i.e. there is a transition to a different construction.

d 2. To compound sentences belong also the numerous examples already treated in the account of the tenses, where the predicate of a *casus pendens* is introduced by the *vāw apodosis*. The isolation and prominence of the principal subject is in this case still more marked than in the instances treated above; on the *casus pendens* with a following imperfect consecutive (e.g. Jer 6<sup>13</sup>, 33<sup>24</sup>), cf. § 111 h; with a following perfect consecutive (e.g. Ex 4<sup>21</sup>, 12<sup>44</sup>, Nu 23<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>27</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>10</sup>, Is 9<sup>4</sup>, 56<sup>6 f.</sup>), § 112 f and mm; on the participle as *casus pendens*, § 112 v and § 116 w.—In Jb 15<sup>17</sup> *vāw apodosis* follows with the cohortative; in Jb 23<sup>12</sup>,  $\psi$  115<sup>7</sup>, the imperfect is separated by  $\text{לֹא}$  from the *vāw apodosis*; in Jb 4<sup>8</sup> *as for thy hope, it is the integrity of thy ways*, 36<sup>26</sup>, Ec 5<sup>6</sup>, an incomplete noun-clause is appended by *vāw apodosis*. On *vāw apodosis* after disconnected specifications of time, cf. § 112 oo at the end, and Gn 40<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>34</sup>  $\text{וְעַתָּה וְאֲנִי עֶבְדְּךָ}$  and now (so far as the present is concerned) I will be thy servant, Nu 12<sup>12</sup>, Jer 4<sup>1</sup> (*me thou needest not fear*).

e 3. Sometimes a substantive introduced by  $\text{ל}$  (*in respect to*; cf. § 119 u) serves the same purpose as the *casus pendens* beginning the sentence, as Nu 18<sup>18</sup> (unless the  $\text{ל}$  here serves to introduce the object, according to § 117 n); Is 32<sup>1</sup> (where, however,  $\text{וְיִשְׁרָיִם}$  should most probably be read); Ec 9<sup>4</sup>, 1 Ch 7<sup>1</sup>, 24<sup>20 ff.</sup>, 2 Ch 7<sup>21</sup>. On the other hand,  $\psi$  16<sup>3</sup>, 17<sup>4</sup>, 32<sup>8</sup>, 89<sup>13</sup>, 119<sup>31</sup>, are very doubtful. The suggestion of P. Haupt (*Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, xiii. no. 114; Baltimore, 1894) also deserves attention, that in passages like Ec 9<sup>4</sup>, and in  $\text{לֹא}$  Gn 9<sup>10</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup>, Ex 27<sup>3, 10</sup>, Ez 44<sup>9</sup>, &c.,  $\text{ל}$  is not the preposition, but an emphasizing particle, answering to the Arab. *lā*, *surely*; Assyrian *lū*; with  $\text{לֹא}$  it is equivalent to *in short*. Cf. also  $\text{לֹא-לֹא}$  *sive—sive, et—et*, Jos 17<sup>16</sup>, Ezr 1<sup>11</sup>, Assyrian *lū—lū*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Mēša' inscription, l. 31, and *Horonain, therein dwelt*, &c.

<sup>2</sup> But this term must not (any more than that formerly used 'the subject preceding absolutely') be misunderstood to mean that the principal subject is, as it were, floating in the air, and that the whole sentence results in an anacoluthon. On the contrary, to the Semitic mind, such sentences appear quite as correctly formed as ordinary noun- and verbal-clauses.

§ 144. *Peculiarities in the Representation of the Subject*  
(especially in the Verbal-clause).

1. According to § 40 ff. most forms of the finite verb include a *a* specification of the subject in the form of *personal affirmatives* (in the imperfect also in the form of *preformatives*). Not infrequently, however, masculine forms are used in referring to feminines, e.g. וַיִּדְעָתָם Ez 23<sup>40</sup>; וַעֲשִׂיתָם Ru 1<sup>8</sup>; in the imperfect, Jo 2<sup>22</sup>, Ct 2<sup>7</sup>; in the imperative, Am 4<sup>1</sup>, Zc 13<sup>7</sup> (for other examples, see § 110 k). On emphasizing the pronominal subject by the addition of the separate pronoun, see § 135 a and b.

On the masculine as *prior gender*, cf. § 122 g; on similar anomalies in the use of the personal pronoun, § 135 o, in the connexion between substantive and adjective, § 132 d, between subject and predicate, § 145 2, 4, u.

2. The third person singular is often used impersonally, especially *b* in the masculine, e.g. וַיְהִי and *it came to pass*, וַיְהִיָּה and *it shall come to pass*; חָרָה followed by לוֹ, &c., *it became hot to him*, i.e. *he became angry*, Gn 4<sup>6</sup>, &c.; וַיָּצַר לוֹ lit. *and it became strait to him*, *he was distressed*, Gn 32<sup>8</sup>;<sup>1</sup> also in the feminine, e.g. 1 S 30<sup>6</sup> (Ju 10<sup>9</sup>) וַתִּצָּר לוֹ; Ju 11<sup>38</sup>, Jer 7<sup>31</sup>, Ez 12<sup>25</sup>, Jb 15<sup>32</sup> (unless תִּקְרִיתוֹ in verse 31 be the subject); cf. also the impersonal passives, Is 1<sup>6</sup> (רִבְכָּה), 29<sup>6</sup> (תִּפְסָר). Somewhat different are the instances in which the 3rd singular feminine occurs as the predicate of a feminine subject which is not mentioned, but is before the mind of the speaker, e.g. Is 7<sup>7</sup>, 14<sup>24</sup>, Jer 10<sup>7</sup>, Jb 4<sup>5</sup>, 18<sup>15</sup> (in 2 K 24<sup>7</sup> כָּל-אִשָּׁרָה is used in this way with a feminine predicate, and in Jer 19<sup>5</sup> אִשָּׁרָה alone); different, too, are the instances in which the 3rd singular masculine refers to an act just mentioned, e.g. Gn 17<sup>11</sup> וַיְהִיָּה and *this* (the circumcision) *shall be a token of a covenant*, &c.

Rem. The expressions for natural phenomena may be either in the 3rd sing. masculine or feminine, e.g. אֵזֶר *it becomes light*, 1 S 29<sup>10</sup> (but with an explicit subject, Gn 44<sup>3</sup>); וַיֵּאֵר and *it became light*; so also יִהְיֶה *it grows dark*, Jer 13<sup>16</sup>; but וַתִּשְׁכַּח Mi 3<sup>6</sup>; תִּעֲפֶה *though there be darkness*, Jb 11<sup>17</sup>; תִּמְטֵר *it rains*, Am 4<sup>7</sup> (where, however, the context requires the reading אֶמְטֵר); פֶּשַׁע *it is tempestuous*.

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic and Ethiopic the masculine is commonly used in this case, in Syriac the feminine.—The forms חם *hot*, טוב *good, well*, בֵּר *bitter*, צָר *narrow*, רָע *evil* (frequently joined by לוֹ, לוֹ, &c.), which many regard as impersonal, are no doubt to be regarded in most cases not as forms of the 3rd pers. sing. perf., but, with Hupfeld on ψ 18<sup>7</sup>, as adjectives.

d 3. The indefinite personal subject (our *they*, *one*, the French *on*, and the German *man*<sup>1</sup>) is expressed—

(a) By the 3rd person singular masculine, e. g. אָן *one* (sc. any *one* who named it, see the Rem.) called (or calls) it, Gn 11<sup>9</sup>, 16<sup>14</sup>, 19<sup>22</sup>, Ex 15<sup>23</sup>; אָן *one* said, Gn 48<sup>1</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>1</sup>; other examples are Gn 38<sup>18</sup> *one* put out a hand; Nu 23<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>18</sup>, Is 6<sup>10</sup> לֹא וְאֶחָד וְיָרֵם *and one* heals them; 8<sup>4</sup> (אֶחָד); 46<sup>7</sup> (וְאֶחָד); Am 6<sup>12</sup>, Mi 2<sup>4</sup>, Jb 27<sup>21</sup>; by the 3rd singular feminine (הִיא) Nu 26<sup>59</sup>.

c Rem. The Jewish commentators, following the Arab grammarians, usually explain these singulars by the addition of the participle (generally determinate) of the same stem, e. g. הֹלֵךְ הָרֶגֶל *the treader* *treads out*, for *one* *treads out*; 28<sup>4,24</sup> (דֹּלֵךְ *one* plow continually?); Dt 17<sup>6</sup> (Ez 18<sup>32</sup>); Dt 22<sup>8</sup>, 2 S 17<sup>9</sup> (Ez 33<sup>4</sup>), Jer 9<sup>23</sup>; with an indeterminate participle (as in Arabic, e. g. *qāla qā'ilun*, a *sayer* *says*, i. e. *some one* *says*), e. g. Nu 6<sup>9</sup>, Am 9<sup>1</sup>; cf. above, § 116 t, and, on the whole question, Driver on 1 S 16<sup>4</sup>.

f (b) Very frequently by the 3rd plural masculine, e. g. Gn 29<sup>2</sup> *for out of that well* וַיִּשְׁקוּ *they* (i. e. people generally) *watered the flocks*; 26<sup>18</sup>, 35<sup>5</sup>, 41<sup>14</sup>, 49<sup>31</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>2</sup>, Is 38<sup>16</sup>, Ho 12<sup>9</sup>, Jb 18<sup>18</sup>, 34<sup>20</sup>, Est 2<sup>2</sup>, Neh 2<sup>7</sup>.

g Rem. The 3rd plur. also is sometimes used to express an indefinite subject, where the context does not admit of a human agent or at least not of several, e. g. Gn 34<sup>27</sup>. In such a case the 3rd plur. comes to be equivalent to a passive, as very commonly in Aramaic (see Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 96. 1 c); e. g. Jb 7<sup>3</sup> *wearisome nights* כְּבִדֵּי לַיְלָה *have they* allotted to me (equivalent to *were* allotted to me; to make 'invisible powers' the subject is a merely artificial device); Jb 4<sup>19</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>18</sup>, 19<sup>26</sup>, 34<sup>20</sup>, Ez 32<sup>25</sup>, ψ 63<sup>11</sup>, Pr 2<sup>22</sup> (in parallelism with a passive); 9<sup>11</sup>.

h (c) By the 2nd singular masculine, e. g. Is 7<sup>25</sup> לֹא-תָבוֹא שָׁמָּה *one* will (or can) not come thither (prop. *thou* wilt . . .); Jer 23<sup>37</sup>, Pr 19<sup>25</sup>, 30<sup>28</sup> (unless the reading should be תִּפְתָּשׁ). Cf. also עֲדֵי-בָּאֵךְ or simply בָּאֵךְ (Gn 10<sup>10,30</sup>, 13<sup>10</sup> בְּבָאֵכָה) prop. *until thy coming*, i. e. *until one comes*.

i (d) By the plural of the participle, e. g. Jer 38<sup>23</sup> *and all thy wives and thy children* מְבִרְאִים (prop. *are they bringing out* =) *they will bring out*, &c.; cf. Is 32<sup>12</sup>, Ez 13<sup>7</sup>, Neh 6<sup>10</sup> (for *some are coming to slay thee*)

<sup>1</sup> In 1 S 9<sup>9</sup> הָאִישׁ (prop. *the man*) is used in exactly the same sense as our *one*.

<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere in such cases וְאֶחָד usually occurs (but not in the perfect, e. g. 1 S 23<sup>22</sup>), so that it is doubtful whether the present reading of Gn 48<sup>1</sup>, &c., would not be better explained according to § 7 d, note. In Gn 48<sup>2</sup> for the extraordinary וְאֶחָד the common form וְאֶחָד is to be read; so in 50<sup>26</sup> for וְאֶחָד (after a plural) either וְאֶחָד or the 3rd plur.; in 2 K 21<sup>21</sup> וְאֶחָד.

and the passages discussed above, § 116 z.<sup>1</sup> In 1 K 5<sup>1</sup> the text is corrupt.

(e) By the passive, e.g. Gn 4<sup>26</sup> *לְקַרְאֵם אֱלֹהִים* *then (was it begun =) k began men to call upon, &c.* (but read *הָיָה לְקַרְאֵם* *he began*).

4. A peculiar idiom, and one always confined to poetic language, *l* is the not infrequent occurrence of two subjects in a verbal sentence,<sup>2</sup> one of the person and the other of the thing. The latter then serves—whether it precedes or follows—to state the instrument, organ, or member by which the action in question is performed, and may be most often rendered in English by an adverb, as a nearer definition of the manner of the action. All the examples of this kind have this in common, that the subject denoting the thing takes a suffix in the same person as the personal subject.<sup>3</sup> They are thus distinguished from the *accusatives* treated in § 117 s, with which they are often confused.

(a) Examples where the subject denoting the thing precedes, *מִלִּי אֶל־יְהוָה* *m* *אָקְרָא* *my voice—I cry unto the Lord, i.e. I cry aloud unto the Lord, ψ 3<sup>5</sup>, 27<sup>7</sup>, 142<sup>2</sup>; פִּי־יִקְרָאֵנִי* *my mouth—I cried, i.e. I cried aloud, ψ 66<sup>17</sup> (cf. 17<sup>10</sup>); Is 26<sup>9</sup> נַפְשִׁי* *with my soul, i.e. fervently, and parallel with it אֶפְרָרְתִּי* *but נַפְשִׁי* *ψ 57<sup>5</sup> is rather a periphrasis for the 1st pers. I.*

(b) Where the subject denoting the thing follows, *צִוְּתִי קוֹלֶךָ* *cry—thy voice (i.e. aloud), Is 10<sup>30</sup>; so also after an imperative, ψ 17<sup>13</sup> (תִּרְפֹּדְךָ) and verse 14 (יִרְךָ); 60<sup>7</sup>, 108<sup>7</sup> (וַיִּנְיֶךָ); after a perfect, Hb 3<sup>15</sup> (סִנְיֶיךָ); after a cohortative, ψ 108<sup>2</sup> (אֶפְרָרְתִּי). The subject denoting the thing stands between the personal subject and the predicate in ψ 44<sup>3</sup> יִרְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֶיךָ.<sup>4</sup>*

Rem. 1. Sometimes (as in other languages) an action is ascribed to a *n* subject which can only have been performed at his direction by another

<sup>1</sup> That this form of expression also (see *g*) comes to be equivalent to a passive is seen from the analogy of such Aramaic passages as Dn 4<sup>22</sup>, which exclude any idea of human agency. Cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 76. 2 e at the end, and in post-bibl. Hebrew, e.g. *Pirge Aboth* 2, 16; 3, 5, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Two subjects occur in a noun-clause in ψ 83<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> In Ex 6<sup>3</sup> *שָׁמַי* is subordinated to the following passive *נִדְרָעָתִי* (§ 121 b); in 1 S 25<sup>26,33</sup> *רִי*, *יָרָךְ* are subjects to the infinitive absolute *הִישָׁע*, according to § 113 *gg*. In ψ 69<sup>11</sup> read *וַיִּצְעֲקֶהָ* for *וַיִּבְרַכָּהָ*.

<sup>4</sup> In several of the above examples it might naturally be supposed that the subject denoting the thing (especially when it follows the verb) is to be explained rather as a *casus instrumentalis*, i.e. as an accusative, analogous to the adverbial accusatives in § 118 *g*. But although it is true that the subject denoting the thing often defines more closely the manner in which the action is performed, and although in similar (but still different) examples, ψ 89<sup>2</sup>, 109<sup>30</sup>, Jb 19<sup>16</sup>, *פִּי* occurs with *בְּ* *instrumentale*, the explanation given above must nevertheless be accepted.

person; cf. e.g. Gn 40<sup>22</sup> (41<sup>13</sup>), 41<sup>14</sup>, 43<sup>34</sup> (and he commanded to set before them, &c.); 46<sup>29</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>9</sup>.

- O 2. Supposed ellipses of a definite subject are due either to a misunderstanding of the passage, or to a corruption of the text. Thus in 1 S 24<sup>11</sup> after הָיָה either עֵינַי has dropped out (through confusion with עָיִן) or we should read with the LXX וְאָחָז. In 2 S 13<sup>39</sup> (וְהַכֵּל דָּוִד) the text is obviously corrupt.

- P 3. In poetic (or prophetic) language<sup>1</sup> there sometimes occurs (supposing the text to be correct) a more or less abrupt transition from one person to another. Thus from the 2nd to the 3rd (i.e. from an address to a statement), Gn 49<sup>4</sup> (?), Is 31<sup>6</sup> (?), 42<sup>20</sup>, 52<sup>14</sup>, 61<sup>7</sup>, Mal 2<sup>10</sup> (where, however, for יִבְרָךְ we should undoubtedly read תִּבְרָךְ); ψ 22<sup>9</sup> [and regularly after a vocative, Is 22<sup>16</sup>, 47<sup>8</sup>, 48<sup>1</sup>, 54<sup>1,11</sup>, Jer 22<sup>16</sup>, 49<sup>1,16</sup>, Am 5<sup>6f.</sup>, Mic 1<sup>2</sup> (= 1 K 22<sup>28</sup>), Mal 3<sup>9</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>31</sup>; and after הוּא Is 5<sup>8</sup>, 29<sup>15</sup>, Jer 22<sup>18</sup>]. From the 3rd to the 2nd pers., Dt 32<sup>15</sup>, Is 1<sup>29</sup> (but read probably הִמְדִּיתֶם for הִמְדִּיתִם, which has caused the insertion of אֲשֶׁר), 5<sup>8</sup>, Jer 29<sup>19</sup>, Jb 16<sup>7</sup>, cf. also Dt 32<sup>17</sup>. From the 1st to the 3rd pers., La 3<sup>1</sup> (in a relative clause). In Jb 13<sup>28</sup> the 3rd pers. הוּא is probably employed *deuteronice* for the 1st.

### § 145. Agreement between the Members of a Sentence, especially between Subject and Predicate, in respect of Gender and Number.

- a 1. As in other languages, so also in Hebrew, the predicate in general conforms to the subject in gender and number (even when it is a pronoun, e.g. וְאֵת בְּרִיתִי *this is my covenant*, Gn 17<sup>10</sup>). There are, however, numerous exceptions to this fundamental rule. These are due partly to the *constructio ad sensum* (where attention is paid to the meaning rather than to the grammatical form; see b-l below), partly to the position of the predicate (regarded as being without gender) before the subject.
- b 2. Singular nouns which include in themselves a collective idea (§ 123 a), or which occasionally have a collective sense (§ 123 b), may readily, in accordance with their meaning, be construed with the plural of the predicate, whether it precedes or follows. This is also the case, when the collective is itself feminine but represents, exclusively or at least generally, masculine persons.

Examples:—

- C (a) Of collectives proper (cf. § 132 g): (a) with the predicate preceding, Gn 30<sup>38</sup> הָרֶצֶן תִּבְרָאן (cf. 30<sup>39</sup>, 31<sup>8</sup> and 33<sup>13</sup>); Ju 12<sup>2f.</sup> בָּרִית representing persons belonging to the tribe; Mi 4<sup>8</sup> גִּוִּי 2 K 25<sup>5</sup> חֵיל *army*; Pr 11<sup>26</sup> לְאִים

<sup>1</sup> In prose, Lv 2<sup>8</sup>; but וְהִקְרִיבָה here is hardly the original reading. Different from this is Gn 26<sup>7</sup>, where there is a transition to direct narration.



the people; Nu 10<sup>3</sup> בְּלִי הָעֵדָה all the congregation (cf. 1 K 8<sup>5</sup>); 1 K 1<sup>40</sup>, Is 9<sup>8</sup>, 25<sup>3</sup>, Am 1<sup>5</sup> עַם; 1 S 17<sup>47</sup>, Ezr 10<sup>12</sup> קָהָל assembly. Cf. also the construction of national names, as אֲרָם (§ 122 i), e.g. 1 K 20<sup>20</sup> וַיָּבֹאוּ אֲרָם and the Syrians fled; 1 S 4<sup>5</sup>.—(β) with the predicate following, 1 K 8<sup>5</sup> צֹאן וּבָקָר sheep and oxen, construed with the plural in the following relative clause; Jb 14<sup>14</sup> הַבָּקָר הָיוּ חֲרִשׁוֹת the cattle (cows) were ploughing; 2 S 3<sup>1</sup> and 1 Ch 10<sup>6</sup> בְּיָתָא=family (in 1 S 6<sup>18</sup> בֵּית שִׁמְשׁ on the analogy of names of countries, is used for the inhabitants of Bethshemesh); Ho 11<sup>7</sup>, Ezr 4<sup>4</sup> עַם; ψ 68<sup>11</sup> חֵיָה herd [if correct, figuratively for people]; Is 26<sup>19</sup> נַבְלָה נַבְלָה dead bodies; Is 27<sup>11</sup> קִצְוִיר boughs; 1 S 4<sup>1</sup> יִשְׂרָאֵל, preceded by a predicate in the singular.

(b) Of substantives occasionally used as collectives: (α) with the predicate preceding, Gn 34<sup>24</sup> וְכָר וְכָר; Ju 9<sup>55</sup>, 15<sup>10</sup> אִישׁ; Is 16<sup>4</sup> רֹמֵם the treader down.—(β) with the predicate following, Jb 8<sup>19</sup> אֲחֵר=others; Ez 28<sup>3</sup> סֵתֵם a secret; [ψ 9<sup>7</sup>, and even after Jb 19<sup>19</sup>.]

(c) Of feminines as collective terms denoting masculine persons: (α) with the predicate preceding, 1 S 17<sup>46</sup> בְּלִי הָאָרֶץ וְיָדָעוּ that all the earth may know, i.e. all the inhabitants of the earth; cf. Dt 9<sup>28</sup>, ψ 66<sup>1</sup>, 96<sup>1,3</sup>, &c.; Am 1<sup>8</sup> שְׁאֵרִית remnant; (ψ 33<sup>8</sup> בְּלִי הָאָרֶץ).—(β) with the predicate following, Gn 41<sup>57</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>23</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>24</sup>, Gn 48<sup>8</sup> מוֹלָדָת issue; 1 S 2<sup>28</sup> בְּלִי מַרְבִּית all the increase; Jb 30<sup>18</sup> פְּרָחָה rabble. In Hag 2<sup>7</sup> read חֲמֹרֶת with the LXX.

Examples of predicates in the singular, notwithstanding the collective meaning of the subject, occur in Gn 35<sup>11</sup>, Ex 10<sup>24</sup>, 14<sup>10</sup>, Dt 1<sup>30</sup>, &c.—For examples of bold enallage of the number in noun-clauses with a substantival predicate, see above, § 141 c.

Rem. Not infrequently the construction begins in the singular (especially when the predicate precedes; see o below), but is carried on, after the collective subject has been mentioned, in the plural; e.g. Ex 12<sup>20</sup> וַיִּבָּרֶךְ הָעָם וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ and the people multiplied, and waxed very mighty; 33<sup>4</sup>.

3. On the other hand, plurals which have a singular meaning (§ 124 a) are frequently construed with the singular, especially the *pluralis excellentiae* or *maiestatis* (§ 124 g-i; on the union of these plurals with attributes, cf. § 132 h), as אֱלֹהִים Gn 1<sup>1,3</sup>, &c. (but see the Rem.), מַלְאָכִים master, Ex 21<sup>4</sup> בָּעָלִים master, owner, Ex 21<sup>20</sup>; cf., moreover, פְּנִים with the singular, Jb 16<sup>16</sup> כֶּתֶם, Pr 12<sup>10</sup>.—So feminine forms with a masculine meaning are construed with a masculine predicate, e.g. Ec 12<sup>9</sup> חָכָם הָיָה הַמְּדַבֵּר the preacher was wise.

Rem. The construction of אֱלֹהִים God with the plural of the predicate may be explained (apart of course from such passages as 1 K 19<sup>2</sup>, 20<sup>10</sup>, where the speakers are heathen, and אֱלֹהִים may, therefore, be a numerical plural) partly as an acquiescence in a polytheistic form of expression, partly from the peculiar usage of one of the early documents of the Hexateuch, called *B* by Wellhausen, &c., *B* by Dillmann; cf. his commentary on Numbers—Joshua, p. 618, and above, § 124 g, note 2. So Gn 20<sup>18</sup> (but in conversation with a heathen); 31<sup>58</sup>, 35<sup>7</sup>, cf. also Jos 24<sup>10</sup>. That this construction was afterwards studiously avoided from fear of misconception, is shown by such passages as Neh 9<sup>18</sup> compared with Ex 32<sup>4,8</sup>, and 1 Ch 17<sup>21</sup> compared with 2 S 7<sup>28</sup>. Cf. Strack's excursus on Gen 20<sup>18</sup> in *Die Genesis*, Munich, 1905, p. 77.

k 4. Plurals of names of animals or things, and of abstracts, whether they be masculine or feminine, are frequently construed with the feminine singular of the verbal predicate<sup>1</sup> (on the collective sense of the feminine form, cf. § 122 s); thus Jo 1<sup>20</sup> בְּחֵמֹת שָׂרָה תַּעֲרֶג the *beasts of the field* long; Jer 12<sup>4</sup> (where the predicate precedes), cf. also Jb 12<sup>7</sup>; names of things with the predicate preceding occur in 2 S 24<sup>13</sup>, Is 34<sup>13</sup>, Jer 4<sup>14</sup>, 51<sup>20</sup>, ψ 18<sup>35</sup>, 37<sup>31</sup>, 73<sup>2</sup> K<sup>eth</sup>., 103<sup>5</sup> (unless הַמְחִדֵּשׁ is to be read for תַּחֲחִדֵּשׁ), Jb 14<sup>10</sup>, 27<sup>20</sup>; with the predicate following, Gn 49<sup>22</sup> (בְּנֹת = *branches*); Dt 21<sup>7</sup>, 1 S 4<sup>15</sup> (וְעֵינָי קָמָה),<sup>2</sup> 2 S 10<sup>9</sup>, Is 59<sup>12</sup>, Jer 2<sup>13</sup> K<sup>eth</sup>., 48<sup>41</sup>, 49<sup>24</sup>, Pr 15<sup>22</sup>, 20<sup>48</sup>, Jb 41<sup>10</sup>.<sup>3</sup>

l 5. Moreover, the plural of persons (especially in the participle) is sometimes construed with the singular of the predicate, when instead of the whole class of individuals, each severally is to be represented as affected by the statement. Undoubted examples of this *distributive* singular are Gn 27<sup>29</sup> (Nu 24<sup>9</sup>) אֲרֵרֶךְ אֶחָד וְכָבֵדְךָ כָּל־אֶחָד those *that curse thee, cursed be every one of them, and those that bless thee, blessed be every one of them*; Ex 31<sup>14</sup>, Lv 17<sup>14</sup> and 19<sup>8</sup> (in both places the Samaritan has אֶחָד); Is 3<sup>12</sup> unless נִשְׁאֵי is to be regarded as a *pluralis maiestatis* according to § 124 k; Pr 3<sup>18,35</sup> (?), 18<sup>21</sup> (?), 21<sup>27b</sup>, 27<sup>18</sup>, 28<sup>1b</sup>, 28<sup>16</sup> K<sup>eth</sup>..

m Rem. Analogous to the examples above mentioned is the somewhat frequent<sup>4</sup> use of suffixes in the singular (distributively) referring to plurals; cf. the *verbal*-suffixes in Dt 21<sup>10</sup>, 28<sup>48</sup>, Am 6<sup>10</sup>; and the *noun*-suffixes in Is 2<sup>8</sup>, 30<sup>22</sup>, Jer 31<sup>14</sup>, Ho 4<sup>8</sup> (but since ו follows, נִשְׁאֵי is undoubtedly a dittography for נִשְׁאֵשׁ), Ze 14<sup>12</sup>, ψ 5<sup>10</sup> (where, however, בִּימֹו is clearly to be read with all the early versions); 62<sup>5</sup>, 141<sup>10</sup> (?), Jb 38<sup>32</sup>, Ec 10<sup>15</sup> [but לִתְכַסִּיל]; finally, the suffixes with prepositions in Is 2<sup>10</sup> אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה־לִּי which *they made each one for himself* (according to others, *which they (the makers) made for him*); 5<sup>28</sup>, 8<sup>20</sup>, Jb 24<sup>5</sup>, in each case לו; in Gn 2<sup>19</sup> לו refers to the collectives חֵת and עֹף; cf. further, Jos 24<sup>7</sup>, Is 5<sup>28</sup> מִכְּנֹעַ after צִדִּיקִים (but read probably צִדִּיק with the LXX, &c.). Conversely in Mi 1<sup>11</sup> עֲבָרִי לָכֶם [cf. Jer 13<sup>20</sup> K<sup>eth</sup>..], but the text is undoubtedly corrupt.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in Greek the construction of the neuter plural with the singular of the predicate τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς βαλεῖ; in Attic Greek the plural of the predicate is allowed only when the neuter denotes actual persons, as τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἔλαβον. In Arabic also the *pluralis inhumanus* (i.e. not denoting persons) is regularly construed with the feminine singular of the attribute or predicate, as are all the *plurales fracti* (properly collective forms).

<sup>2</sup> On the possibility of explaining forms like קָמָה as 3rd plural feminine, cf. above, § 44 m; but this explanation would not apply to all the cases under this head, cf. Jo 1<sup>20</sup>, ψ 37<sup>31</sup>, 103<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> In Pr 14<sup>1</sup> an abstract plural חֲכָמוֹת (to be read thus with g<sup>1</sup>, &c., instead of חֲכָמֹת) is construed with the singular; but cf. § 86 l, § 124 e, end.

<sup>4</sup> In several of the above examples the text is doubtful, and hence Mayer Lambert (REJ. xxiv. 110) rejects the theory of distributive singulars generally. [Cf. Driver, *Jeremiah*, p. 362, on 16<sup>7</sup>.]

6. Subjects in the dual are construed with the plural of the predicate, *n* since verbs, adjectives, and pronouns, according to § 88 *a*, have no dual forms; thus עֵינַי לְאֵה רְפוּת Gn 29<sup>17</sup> and *Leah's eyes were dull*; 2 S 24<sup>3</sup>, Is 30<sup>20</sup>, Jer 14<sup>6</sup>, Mi 7<sup>10</sup>, ψ 18<sup>28</sup>, 38<sup>11</sup> (on the other hand, in 1 S 4<sup>15</sup> the predicate is in the feminine singular *after* the subject, and in Mi 4<sup>11</sup> *before* it; on both constructions cf. *k* above); so also אוְנַי ears, 2 Ch 40<sup>10</sup>; יָדַי hands, Is 1<sup>15</sup>, Jb 10<sup>8</sup>, 20<sup>10</sup> (in Ex 17<sup>12</sup> even with the plural masculine בְּבָרִים; cf. *p*); שְׁפָתַי lips, 1 S 1<sup>13</sup>, Jb 27<sup>4</sup>; שְׁדַי breasts, Ho 9<sup>14</sup>.

7. Variations from the fundamental rule (see above, *a*) very frequently occur *when the predicate precedes the subject* (denoting animals or things<sup>1</sup>). The speaker or writer begins with the most simple form of the predicate, the uninflected 3rd singular masculine, and leaves us without indication as to which of the following subjects (and so which gender or number) is to define the predicate thus left temporarily indefinite.<sup>2</sup> Thus inflexions are omitted in—

(*a*) The verb, with a following singular feminine, Is 2<sup>17</sup> יֵשֶׁה בְּבִהּוּת וְהָאָדָם and bowed down shall be the loftiness of man; 9<sup>18</sup>, 14<sup>11</sup>, 28<sup>18</sup>, 47<sup>11</sup>; 1 S 25<sup>27</sup> (see note 1 below); 1 K 8<sup>31b</sup>, 22<sup>36</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>26</sup>, Jer 51<sup>46</sup>, Ec 7<sup>7</sup>; with a following plural masc., Is 13<sup>22</sup> וְנָחָה וְנָחָה and there shall cry wolves, &c.; Ju 13<sup>17</sup> Keth., 20<sup>46</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 24<sup>15</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>33</sup>, Jer 51<sup>48</sup>, ψ 124<sup>5</sup>, Est 9<sup>23</sup> (see note 1 below); Gn 1<sup>14</sup> וְהָיָה כְּאֵלֶּיךָ let there be lights; with a following plural feminine, Dt 32<sup>35</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>3a</sup>, Is 8<sup>3</sup>, Jer 13<sup>18</sup>, Mi 2<sup>6</sup>, ψ 57<sup>2</sup>; before collectives and mixed subjects, e.g. Gn 12<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>5</sup>, 30<sup>43</sup>, 32<sup>6</sup>, &c.; before a following dual, Is 44<sup>13</sup>, ψ 73<sup>7</sup> (where, however, with the LXX עֲלֵינוּ should be read).

Rem. 1. The instances in which a preceding predicate appears in the plural masculine before a plural (or collective singular) feminine of persons (Ju 21<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>3b</sup>), of animals (Gn 30<sup>30</sup> where however אֵס may refer specially to male animals) or of things (Lv 26<sup>33</sup>, Jer 13<sup>15</sup>, Ho 14<sup>7</sup>, ψ 164, Jb 3<sup>24</sup>, Ct 6<sup>9</sup>), or before a dual (2 S 4<sup>1</sup>, Zp 3<sup>16</sup>, 2 Ch 15<sup>7</sup>) are to be explained not on the analogy of the examples under *a*, but from a dislike of using the 3rd plur. fem. imperf., for this is the only form concerned in the above examples (cf., however, Na 3<sup>11</sup> הָיָה instead of הָיָה); cf. the examples of a following predicate in the 3rd plur. masc., instead of the fem., under *t* and *u*, and on an analogous phenomenon in the imperative, see § 110 *k*.

2. As in the case of verbs proper so also the verb הָיָה, when used as a *q* copula, frequently remains uninflected before the subject; cf. Gn 5<sup>23</sup> <sup>π</sup>, 39<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Only rarely does an uninflected predicate precede a personal subject, as 1 S 25<sup>27</sup> (but וְהָיָה should probably be read, as in verse 35); Est 9<sup>23</sup> (before a plur. masc.). Such examples as Jb 42<sup>15</sup> are to be explained according to § 121 *a*.

<sup>2</sup> In a certain sense this is analogous to the German *es kommt ein Mann, eine Frau*, &c.

Dt 21<sup>8</sup> (according to the accents); 22<sup>28</sup>, Is 18<sup>5</sup> וְבִסְרָא זִמְלָה יִהְיֶה נֶצֶחַ and *a ripening grape the flower becometh*.

- r (b) The adjective in a noun-clause, e.g.  $\psi$  119<sup>137</sup> יֵשֶׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ *upright are thy judgements*; cf. verse 155.<sup>1</sup>—On the other hand, רָעָה in עֲבָדֶיךָ רָעָה נָא *thy servants are shepherds*, Gn 47<sup>3</sup>, is either an unusual orthography or simply a misspelling for רָעִי.

- S Rem. 1. As soon as a sentence which begins with an uninflected predicate is carried on after the mention of the subject, the gender and number of the subsequent (co-ordinate) predicates must coincide with those of the subject, e.g. Gn 14 וְהָיוּ יְהִי מְאֹרֶת . . . (see o above); Nu 9<sup>6</sup>, Ez 14<sup>1</sup>; cf. also Gn 30<sup>39</sup> (see p above).

- t 2. The dislike mentioned in p above, of using the feminine form (cf., further, § 144 a, with the sections of the Grammar referred to there, and below, under u), is exemplified sometimes by the fact that of several predicates only that which stands next to the feminine substantive is inflected as feminine (cf. the treatment of several attributes following a feminine substantive, § 132 d); thus in Is 14<sup>9</sup> רָגְזָה, and afterwards עוֹרֵר (but עוֹרֵר is better taken as an infin. abs. = *excitando*, reading הָקָם for הָקִים); 33<sup>9</sup> אָמַלְהָ אֶמְלִלָּהּ *mourneth, languisheth the land*. Cf. Jer 4<sup>30</sup>, and the examples (§ 47 k) where only the first of several consecutive forms of the 2nd sing. fem. imperf. has the affirmative i, Is 57<sup>9</sup>, Jer 3<sup>5</sup>, Ez 24<sup>4</sup>, 23<sup>32</sup> (תִּהְיֶה after תִּשְׁתִּי); on the converse sequence of genders in imperatives, Na 3<sup>15</sup>, cf. § 110 k.—Of a different kind are instances like Lv 2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 20<sup>6</sup>, where פָּשַׁע *person* (fem.) as the narrative continues, assumes (in agreement with the context) the sense of a masculine person.

- u 3. The instances in which the gender or number of the following predicate appears to differ from that of the subject are due partly to manifest errors in the text, e.g. Gn 32<sup>9</sup> read with the Samaritan הָאֶחָד instead of הָאֶחָת; וְהָיָה then follows correctly; 1 S 22<sup>0</sup> read with Wellhausen שָׁאֵל, according to 1<sup>28</sup>, instead of שָׁאֵל; 1 S 16<sup>4</sup> read וַיֹּאמְרוּ; Ez 18<sup>29</sup> instead of וְהָיָה read the plural as in verse 25; so also Ez 20<sup>38</sup> for יָבוֹא,<sup>2</sup> and in Jb 6<sup>20</sup> for בָּמָה; in La 5<sup>10</sup> read נִכְמַר, and cf. in general, § 7 d, note; 1 Ch 24<sup>8</sup> read יִלְחָה; in Jer 48<sup>15</sup> also the text is certainly corrupt. Other instances are due to special reasons. The anomalies in Is 49<sup>11</sup>, Ho 14<sup>1</sup>, Pr 1<sup>16</sup> (after רָגְלִי),  $\psi$  14<sup>4</sup> (after עֵינָיו), 63<sup>4</sup>, Pr 5<sup>2</sup>, 102<sup>1,32</sup>, 18<sup>9</sup>, 26<sup>28</sup>, Jb 15<sup>6</sup> (all after שְׁפָתַיִם), Pr 3<sup>2</sup> (after מִצְוֹתֵי,  $\psi$  102<sup>28</sup>, Jb 16<sup>22</sup> (after שְׁנוֹת), Dn 11<sup>41</sup> (read וְרִבּוֹת), and perhaps Gn 20<sup>17</sup> are also to be explained (see p) from the dislike of the 3rd plur. fem. imperf.; moreover, in Jer 44<sup>19</sup>, Pr 26<sup>28</sup> the plur. masc. even of a participle occurs instead of the plur. fem.—In Gn 31<sup>8</sup> יִהְיֶה, after a plural subject, is explained as a case of attraction to the following singular predicate.<sup>3</sup>—In Gn 47 רָבִין

<sup>1</sup> This does not include such cases as Jb 24<sup>7,10</sup>, where עָרוֹם is rather to be explained as an accusative denoting a state, § 118 n.

<sup>2</sup> יָבוֹא probably an error for יָבֵא. The Masora on Lv 11<sup>34</sup> reckons fourteen instances of יָבֵא, where we should expect the plural.

<sup>3</sup> So also the pronoun הוּא emphatically resuming the subject (see § 141 n) is attracted to the predicate in number in Jos 13<sup>14</sup> הוּא נַחֲלָתוֹ . . . אֲשֵׁי יְהוָה *the offerings of the Lord . . . that is his inheritance*; in number and gender, Lv 25<sup>33</sup> קֶרֶב; Jer 10<sup>3</sup>.

is a substantival participle (*a turker, a coucher*). In Gn 47<sup>24</sup> יָהִי־יָהִי remains undefined in gender (masc.), although the noun precedes for the sake of emphasis; so also in Gn 28<sup>22</sup>, Ex 12<sup>49</sup>, 28<sup>7,32</sup>, Nu 9<sup>14</sup>, 15<sup>29</sup>, Jer 50<sup>46</sup>, Ec 2<sup>7</sup> (יָהִי לִי as if the sentence began afresh, and servants born in my house . . . there fell to my lot this possession also). In Jb 20<sup>26</sup> לֹא-יִשָּׁח may (unless שָׁח is regarded as masculine, § 122 o) be taken impersonally, *fire, without its being blown upon*.—In Is 16<sup>8</sup> and Hb 3<sup>17</sup> the predicate in the singular is explained from the collective character of שְׂדֵמוֹת (see *k* above); on the other hand, the masculine form of the predicate is abnormal in ψ 87<sup>3</sup>, Pr 2<sup>10</sup>, 12<sup>25</sup>, 29<sup>25</sup>, Jb 8<sup>7</sup>, 36<sup>18</sup>.

## § 146. Construction of Compound Subjects.

1. When the subject is composed of a *nomen regens* (in the construct *a* state) with a following genitive, the predicate sometimes agrees in gender and number not with the *nomen regens*, but with the genitive, when this represents the principal idea of the compound subject.<sup>1</sup> Thus 1 S 2<sup>4</sup> שִׁשֶׁת גִּבּוֹרִים הָתִים הַבּוֹ שֶׁת the bow of the mighty men is broken, as if it were the mighty men with their bow are broken; Ex 26<sup>12</sup>, Lv 13<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>41</sup> (but the text is clearly very corrupt), 17<sup>16</sup>, Is 2<sup>11</sup>, 21<sup>17</sup>, Zc 8<sup>10</sup>, Jb 15<sup>20</sup>, 21<sup>21</sup>, 29<sup>10</sup>, 32<sup>7</sup> (רַב שָׁנִים equivalent to *many years*); 38<sup>21</sup>; with the predicate preceding, 2 S 10<sup>9</sup>, unless it is to be explained according to § 145 *k*.

Rem. 1. The cases in which קוֹל (*voice, sound*) with a following genitive *b* stands at the beginning of a sentence, apparently in this construction, are really of a different kind. The קוֹל is there to be taken as an exclamation, and the supposed predicate as in apposition to the genitive, e.g. Gn 4<sup>10</sup> the voice of thy brother's blood, which crieth (prop. as one crying) . . . ! = hark! thy brother's blood is crying, &c.; Is 13<sup>4</sup>, 66<sup>6</sup>. In Is 52<sup>8</sup> an independent verbal-clause follows the exclamation the voice of thy watchmen!; in Jer 10<sup>22</sup> and Ct 2<sup>8</sup> an independent noun-clause; in Is 40<sup>8</sup> קוֹל קָרָא the voice of one that crieth! i.e. hark! there is one crying is followed immediately by direct speech; in Mi 6<sup>9</sup> קוֹל hark! may be used disconnectedly (cf. the almost adverbial use of קוֹל in § 144 *m*) and הוֹדָה be taken as the subject to יִקְרָא.

2. When the substantive כֻּל (כָּל-) entirely is used in connexion with a *c* genitive as subject of the sentence, the predicate usually agrees in gender and number with the genitive, since כֻּל is equivalent in sense to an attribute (*whole, all*) of the genitive; hence, e.g. with the predicate preceding, Gn 5<sup>8</sup> וַיְהִי כָל-יְמֵי אָדָם and all the days of Adam were, &c. (in 5<sup>23</sup>, 9<sup>29</sup> וַיְהִי; but the Samaritan reads וַיְהִי here also); Ex 15<sup>20</sup>; with the predicate following, ψ 150<sup>6</sup>, &c. Exceptions are, e.g. Lv 17<sup>14</sup> (but cf. § 145 *l*), Jos 8<sup>25</sup>, Is 64<sup>10</sup>, Pr 16<sup>2</sup>, Na 3<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand, in such cases as Ex 12<sup>10</sup> the agreement of the

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes, however, the attraction of the predicate to the genitive may be merely due to juxtaposition.

predicate with **כָּל־** is explained from the stress laid upon the latter, **כָּל־מְלָאכָה**, **כָּל־** being equivalent to *the whole of work* (is forbidden).

d 2. When the subject of the sentence consists of several nouns connected by *wāw copulative*, usually

(a) The predicate *following* is put in the plural, e.g. Gn 8<sup>22</sup> *seed time and harvest, and cold and heat . . . shall not cease* (**לֹא יִשְׁפְּחוּ**); after subjects of different genders it is in the masculine (as the *prior gender*, cf. § 132 d), e.g. Gn 18<sup>11</sup> **אַבְרָהָם וְשָׂרָה זָקֵנִים** *Abraham and Sarah were old*; Dt 28<sup>32</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>21</sup>.

c Rem. Rare exceptions are Pr 27<sup>9</sup> **שֶׁמֶן וְקִטְרֹת יִשְׂמַח־לֵב** *ointment and perfume rejoice the heart*, where the predicate agrees in gender with the masculine **שֶׁמֶן** (as in Is 51<sup>3</sup> with **שִׁשְׁוֹן**); on the other hand, in Ex 21<sup>4</sup> (where **הָאִשָּׁה** are the subjects) it agrees with **הָאִשָּׁה** as being the principal person; in the compound sentence, Is 9<sup>4</sup>, it agrees with the feminine subject immediately preceding.<sup>1</sup>

f (b) The predicate *preceding* two or more subjects may likewise be used in the plural (Gn 40<sup>1</sup>, Jb 3<sup>5</sup>, &c.); not infrequently, however, it agrees in gender and number with the first, as being the subject nearest to it. Thus the predicate is put in the singular masculine before several masculines singular in Gn 9<sup>23</sup>, 11<sup>20</sup>, 21<sup>32</sup>, 24<sup>50</sup>, 34<sup>20</sup>, Ju 14<sup>5</sup>; before a masculine and a feminine singular, e.g. Gn 3<sup>8</sup>, 24<sup>55</sup> *then said* (**וַיֹּאמֶר**) *her brother and her mother*; 33<sup>7</sup>; before a masculine singular and a plural, e.g. Gn 7<sup>7</sup> **נֹחַ וְכָנֹחַ** *and Noah went in, and his sons, &c.*; Gn 8<sup>18</sup> (where feminines plural also follow); 44<sup>14</sup>, Ex 15<sup>1</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>21</sup>; before collectives feminine and masculine, 2 S 12<sup>2</sup>.

g Similarly, the feminine singular occurs before several feminines singular, e.g. Gn 31<sup>14</sup> **וַתֹּאמֶר רָחֵל וְלֵאָה** *then answered Rachel and Leah*; before a feminine singular and a feminine plural, e.g. Gn 24<sup>61</sup>; before a feminine singular and a masculine singular, Nu 12<sup>1</sup> **וַתִּדְבֹּר מִרְיָם וְאַהֲרֹן** *then spake Miriam and Aaron*; Ju 5<sup>1</sup>; before a feminine singular and a masculine plural, e.g. Gn 33<sup>7</sup> (cf., on the other hand, ψ 75<sup>4</sup> **וְכָל־יֹשְׁבֵיָהּ** *dissolved are the earth and all the inhabitants thereof*). The plural feminine occurs before a plural feminine and a plural masculine in Am 8<sup>13</sup>.—In Jer 44<sup>25</sup> for **וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִזְרְעֵל** read **אֲתָם** *אֲתָם* with the LXX, and cf. verse 19.

h (c) When other predicates follow after the subjects have been mentioned, they are necessarily put in the plural; cf. Gn 21<sup>32</sup>, 24<sup>61</sup>, 31<sup>14</sup>, 33<sup>7</sup>, &c., and § 145 s.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly with a mixed object, Gn 33<sup>2</sup> *he put . . . Leah and her children after*; **אֲחֵרֵיהֶם** agrees with the masculine immediately preceding.

§ 147. *Incomplete Sentences.*

1. Sentences are called *incomplete*, in which either the subject or  $\alpha$  the predicate or both must in some way be supplied from the context.<sup>1</sup> Besides the instances enumerated in § 116 s (omission of the personal pronoun when subject of a participial clause) and the periphrases for negative attributes § 152 u, this description includes certain (noun-) clauses introduced by הִנֵּה (see *b* below), and also a number of exclamations of the most varied kinds (see *c* below).

Rem. Incomplete sentences are very common in Chronicles, but are mostly due to the bad condition of the text; cf. Driver, *Introd.*<sup>6</sup>, p. 537, no. 27. Thus in 2 Ch 11<sup>22b</sup> restore הָשִׁיב, with the LXX, before לְהַמְלִיכוֹ; in 35<sup>21</sup> add אֲנִי, with the LXX, after הַיּוֹם and read פָּרַת for בֵּית; in 2 Ch 19<sup>6</sup> and 28<sup>21</sup> the pronoun הוּא is wanted as subject, and in 30<sup>9</sup> the predicate הָיָה; cf. also the unusual expressions in 1 Ch 9<sup>38</sup> (Ezr 3<sup>9</sup>), 1 Ch 15<sup>13</sup> (*ye were not present?*), 2 Ch 15<sup>3</sup>, 16<sup>10,12</sup> (*his*), 18<sup>3</sup>.

2. The demonstrative particle הִנֵּה, *en, ecce* may be used either *b* absolutely (as a kind of interjection, cf. § 105 *b*) before complete noun- or verbal-clauses, e. g. Gn 28<sup>15</sup> וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי עֹמֵד *and, behold! I am with thee*; 37<sup>7</sup>, 48<sup>21</sup>, Ex 3<sup>13</sup>, 34<sup>10</sup>, or may take the pronoun, which would be the natural subject of a noun-clause, in the form of a suffix, see § 100 o. Whether these suffixes are to be regarded as in the accusative has been shown to be doubtful in § 100 p. However, in the case of הִנֵּה the analogy of the corresponding Arabic demonstrative particle 'inna (followed by an accusative of the noun) is significant.<sup>2</sup> If הִנֵּה with a suffix and a following adjective or participle (see the examples in § 116 p and q) forms a noun-clause, the subject proper, to which הִנֵּה with the suffix refers, must, strictly speaking, be supplied again before the predicate.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes, however, the pronoun referring to the subject is wanting, and the simple הִנֵּה takes the place of the

<sup>1</sup> This does not apply to such cases as Gn 33<sup>8</sup>, where an infinitive with ל appears alone in answer to a question, the substance of the question being presupposed as a main clause; cf. also Gn 26<sup>7</sup>, where הִיא must again be supplied after אֲשֶׁתִּי.

<sup>2</sup> On the same analogy any substantive following הִנֵּה would have to be regarded as originally a virtual accusative. Since, however, Hebrew does not possess case-terminations (as the Arabic does, and uses the accusative necessarily after 'inna), it is very doubtful whether, and how far, substantives following הִנֵּה were felt to be accusatives.

<sup>3</sup> That these are real noun-clauses and that the participle (e. g. מֵת in מֵת הִנֵּה Gn 20<sup>3</sup>) cannot be taken as a second accusative (as it were *ecce te moriturum*), is also shown by the analogy of Arabic, where after 'inna with an accusative the predicate is expressly in the *nominative*.



subject and copula (as Gn 18<sup>9</sup> הִנֵּה בְּאֶהָלִי *behold she is in the tent*; 42<sup>28</sup>), or there is no indication whatever of the predicate, so that the sentence is limited to הִנֵּה with the suffix, as in the frequent use of הִנֵּנִי, הִנֵּנִי *here am I*, in answer to an address. Elsewhere a substantive follows הִנֵּה (or הִנּוּ Gn 11<sup>6</sup>, Jb 31<sup>35</sup>), and הִנֵּה then includes the meaning of a demonstrative pronoun and the copula, e.g. Gn 22<sup>7</sup> הִנֵּה הָאֵשׁ וְהָעֵצִים *here is the fire and the wood*, &c.; 12<sup>19</sup> *behold thou hast thy wife*! Ex 24<sup>8</sup>; with reference to the past, e.g. Am 7<sup>1</sup> וְהָיָה לְקֶשֶׁת וְגו' *and lo, it was the latter growth*, &c. By a very pregnant construction the simple הִנֵּה is used as the equivalent of a sentence in Jb 9<sup>19</sup>, *lo, here am I*!

- c 3. Examples of exclamations (threatening, complaining, triumphing, especially warlike or seditious) in which, owing to the excitement of the speaker, some indispensable member of the sentence is suppressed, are—(a) with suppression of the predicate (which has frequently to be supplied in the form of a jussive), e.g. Ju 7<sup>20</sup> *a sword for the Lord and for Gideon*! (verse 18 without הָיָה); 2 S 20<sup>1</sup> and 2 Ch 10<sup>16</sup> (cf. also 1 K 22<sup>26</sup>) *every man to his tents, O Israel*! (i.e. *let every man go to or remain in his tent*); without אֵשׁ 1 K 12<sup>16</sup>; moreover, Is 1<sup>28</sup>, 13<sup>4</sup> (on the exclamatory קול equivalent to *hark*! cf. § 146 b); 28<sup>10</sup>, 29<sup>16</sup> (הַפְּסִכָּה *O your perversity*! i.e. *how great it is*!); Jer 49<sup>18</sup> (if הַפְּלִצָּתָהּ be equivalent to *terror be upon thee*!); Jo 4<sup>14</sup>, Mal 1<sup>13</sup> (הִנֵּה מִתְלַאֶה *behold what a weariness*!); Jb 22<sup>20</sup>; perhaps also Gn 49<sup>4</sup> בִּפְּרוֹם *a bubbling over as water* (sc. happened), unless it is better to supply a subject אַתָּה (*thou wast*).—(b) With suppression of the subject, Ju 4<sup>20</sup>, cf. § 152 k; Jb 15<sup>23</sup> אֵיזָה *where* sc. is bread?—(c) With suppression of both subject and predicate, Ju 7<sup>18</sup> (see above); 1 K 12<sup>16</sup> (see above); 2 K 9<sup>27</sup> אֵתוּ גַם *him also*! explained immediately afterwards by הַבְּרוּ *smite him*! Ho 5<sup>8</sup> *after thee, Benjamin*! sc. is the enemy (differently in Ju 5<sup>14</sup>); ψ 6<sup>4</sup>, 90<sup>13</sup>, Hb 2<sup>6</sup> עֲרֻמָּתִי *and if not* (unless יָגִי is to be read), 2 S 13<sup>26</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>17</sup>, see § 159 dd.

- d Rem. 1. To the class of incomplete sentences naturally belong exclamations introduced by interjections הֵי, הֵי, הֵי, הֵי;<sup>1</sup> cf. § 105. After the first two the object of the *threat* or *imprecation* follows regularly with לְ (cf. *vae tibi*) or אֶל־ or עַל־, e.g. לְנוּ אֵי *woe unto us*! 1 S 4<sup>8</sup>, Is 6<sup>5</sup>; cf. also לְיוֹם אָהָה *alas for the day*! Jo 1<sup>11</sup>; on the other hand, the object of *commiseration* (after הֵי) follows mostly in the vocative, or rather in the accusative of exclamation (cf. *vae te* in Plautus); so in lamentation for the dead, הֵי אָחִי *alas, my brother*! 1 K 13<sup>30</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> We do not consider here the cases in which these interjections (e.g. הֵי Ju 3<sup>19</sup>, Am 6<sup>10</sup>) stand quite disconnectedly (so always אָחִי and הָאָחִי).

Jer 22<sup>18</sup>; אֵלֶּה הֵיוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ *ah, sinful nation!* Is 1<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>8, 11, 18, 20, 22</sup> (*ah! they that . . .*).—  
For הֵיוּ cf. Hb 2<sup>20</sup>, Zp 1<sup>7</sup>, Ze 2<sup>17</sup>.

2. Finally, instances of noun-clauses shortened in an unusual manner *c* may perhaps occur in יְדִיָּהֶם and רַגְלֵיהֶם *ψ* 115<sup>7</sup>, for יָדֵיהֶם *they have hands*, &c.; cf. verses 5 and 6 פְּהֵלָהֶם, &c. Perhaps also וּפִילֹשִׁי Gn 22<sup>24</sup>, and וְחִלִּי Ec 5<sup>16</sup> are to be regarded in the same way, but hardly נְבִיאָם Nu 12<sup>6</sup>; cf. § 128 *d* above.

## II. Special Kinds of Sentences.

### § 148. *Exclamations.*

The originally interrogative מָה is used to introduce exclamations *a* of wonder or indignation=*O how!* or ridicule, *why! how!* sometimes strengthened by וְהָאֵלֶּה or וְהָאֵלֶּה according to § 136 *c*.—Astonishment or indignation at something which has happened is introduced by אֵיךְ *how* (likewise originally interrogative) with the perfect; the indignant refusal of a demand by אֵיךְ (but also by מָה Jb 31<sup>1</sup>) with the imperfect; an exclamation of lamentation by אֵיכָה, less frequently אֵיךְ *how!*; in Jo 1<sup>18</sup> by מָה.

Examples:—

מָה (or מָה־ with a following *Dageš*, see § 37) expressing admiration (or *b* astonishment) before verbal-clauses, e.g. Gn 27<sup>20</sup> (מָה־רָחֵם); 38<sup>29</sup>, Nu 24<sup>5</sup> (*how goodly are . . .*); *ψ* 21<sup>2</sup>, Ct 7<sup>2</sup>; before the predicate of noun-clauses, e.g. Gn 28<sup>17</sup>, *ψ* 8<sup>2</sup>; mockingly before the verb, 2 S 6<sup>20</sup> (*how glorious was . . .*); Jer 22<sup>28</sup>, Jb 26<sup>2 f</sup>; indignantly, Gn 3<sup>13</sup> מָה־זֹּאת; 4<sup>10</sup>, 20<sup>9</sup>, 31<sup>26</sup> *what hast thou done!*

אֵיךְ with the perfect, e.g. Gn 26<sup>9</sup>, *ψ* 73<sup>19</sup>; in scornful exclamation, Is 14<sup>4, 12</sup>; in a lament (usually אֵיכָה), 2 S 1<sup>26, 27</sup>; with the imperfect, in a reproachful question, Gn 39<sup>9</sup>, 44<sup>9</sup>, *ψ* 11<sup>1</sup>, 137<sup>4</sup>; in a mocking imitation of lament, Mi 2<sup>4</sup>.

אֵיכָה with the perfect, Is 1<sup>21</sup>, La 1<sup>1</sup>; with the imperfect, La 2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>.

Rem. 1. The close relation between a question and an exclamation appears *c* also in the interrogative personal pronoun מִי in such cases as Mi 7<sup>18</sup> מִי־אֵל כְּמֹנֶךָ *who is a God like unto thee?* and so in general in *rhetorical* questions as the expression of a forcible denial; similarly in the use of an interrogative sentence to express a wish, see §§ 150 *d*, 151 *a*.

2. A weaker form of exclamation is sometimes produced by the insertion *d* of a corroborative כִּי *verily, surely*, before the predicate, Gn 18<sup>20</sup>; cf. 33<sup>11</sup>, Is 7<sup>9</sup>, and the analogous cases in the apodoses of conditional sentences, § 159 *ea*.

### § 149. *Sentences which express an Oath or Asseveration.*

The particle אִם, in the sense of *certainly not*, and אִם־לֹא (rarely כִּי *a* Gn 22<sup>16</sup>) in the sense of *certainly*, are used to introduce promises or threats confirmed by an oath (especially after such formulae as מִי־יִהְיֶה, &c.).

חַי־נַפְשְׁךָ, &c., as well as after imprecations, see below), and also simple asseverations, e.g. 1 S 2<sup>30</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>20</sup>, Jb 27<sup>5</sup> after חַי־לִי *far be it from me*, but mostly without any introductory formula.

- b Rem. No certain explanation of these particles has yet been given. According to the usual view, phrases expressing an oath depend on the suppression of an imprecation upon oneself, e.g. *the Lord do so unto me, if I do it* equivalent to *I certainly will not do it*; then naturally אִם-לֹא properly *if I do it not* equivalent to *I certainly will do it*. It is indeed difficult to understand such self-imprecations, put into the mouth of God, as in Dt 1<sup>34 f.</sup>, Is 14<sup>24</sup>, 22<sup>14</sup>, Jer 22<sup>6</sup>, Ez 3<sup>6</sup>, 35<sup>6</sup>, ψ 95<sup>11</sup>. Possibly, however, the consciousness of the real meaning of the formula was lost at an early period, and אִם-לֹא simply came to express *verily*, אִם *verily not*.—In 1 S 25<sup>22</sup>, where, instead of a self-imprecation, a curse is pronounced upon others, read לָרֹדֶר with the LXX for לֹא־יָרֹדֶר.

Examples:—

- c (a) The particles אִם and אִם-לֹא used after the utterance of an oath and after formulae of swearing, e.g. 2 S 11<sup>11</sup> (see note on a) חַי־יְהוָה וְחַי נַפְשְׁךָ אִם-אֶעֱשֶׂה אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not do this thing*; 1 S 14<sup>45</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>18</sup> (after חַי יְהוָה; in 1 S 14<sup>29</sup> and 29<sup>6</sup> חַי־י is followed by a simple כִּי); Ct 2<sup>7</sup>, 3<sup>5</sup> (after הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי *I adjure you*); cf. also Gn 14<sup>23</sup>, 21<sup>13</sup>, 26<sup>20</sup>; spoken by God, Dt 1<sup>34 f.</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>14</sup>, ψ 95<sup>11</sup>; similarly אִם-לֹא Gn 24<sup>37 f.</sup>; spoken by God, Is 14<sup>24</sup>, where אִם-לֹא occurs first with the perfect in the sense of a prophetic perfect, § 106 n, but in the parallel clause with the imperfect; Jer 22<sup>6</sup>; in Gn 31<sup>52</sup> the negative oath introduced by אִם-אֶנִּי, אִם-אֶתָּה is immediately afterwards continued by לֹא with the imperfect.—In Ez 34<sup>10</sup> the threat introduced in verse 8 by אִם-לֹא is, after a long parenthesis, resumed with הִנְנִי.
- d (b) אִם and אִם-לֹא after formulae of cursing, e.g. 1 S 3<sup>17</sup> יַעֲשֶׂה-לְךָ בֹה אֱלֹהִים וְכֹה יוֹסִיף אִם-תִּכְבֹּד מִפְּנֵי דָבָר וּג' *God do so to thee, and more also! thou shalt not hide anything from me, &c.*; cf. 1 S 25<sup>22</sup>. On the other hand, כִּי follows the curse, in 1 S 14<sup>44</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>28</sup> (here with a perfect), and in 2 S 3<sup>35</sup> אִם כִּי; in 1 S 25<sup>34</sup> the preceding כִּי is repeated before אִם; in 1 S 20<sup>13</sup> the purport of the asseveration is repeated (after the insertion of a conditional sentence) in the perfect consecutive.
- e (c) אִם and אִם-לֹא as simple particles of asseveration, e.g. Ju 5<sup>8</sup> כִּנָּן 'אִם-רָאָה זֶרְמָח וְרֶמֶס וּג' *truly, there was not a shield and spear seen, &c.*; Is 22<sup>14</sup>, Jb 6<sup>28</sup> (in the middle of the sentence); after חַי־לֵךְ *absit*, 2 S 20<sup>20</sup>; אִם-לֹא with the imperf. Is 5<sup>9</sup>, with the perfect, Jb 22<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Also combined חַי־יְהוָה וְחַי נַפְשְׁךָ 1 S 20<sup>3</sup>, 25<sup>26</sup> *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul (i.e. thou) liveth!* (Also in 2 S 11<sup>11</sup> read חַי־יְהוָה instead of the impossible חַי־יָדֶךָ). On חַי and חַי־י in these noun-clauses (prop. *living is the Lord, &c.*), cf. § 93 aa, note.

## § 150. Interrogative Sentences.

H. G. Mitchell, 'The omission of the interrogative particle,' in *Old Test. and Sem. Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, Chicago, 1907, i, 113 ff.

1. A question need not necessarily be introduced by a special *α* interrogative pronoun or adverb. Frequently<sup>1</sup> the natural emphasis upon the words is of itself sufficient to indicate an interrogative sentence as such; cf. Gn 27<sup>24</sup> אַתָּה הָיָה בְּנִי עִשָּׂו *thou art my son Esau?* (but cf. note 1 below) Gn 18<sup>12</sup>, Ex 33<sup>14</sup> (בְּנִי יְיָ); 1 S 11<sup>12</sup> יִמְלֹךְ יִשְׁאֵל *Saul shall reign over us?* 1 S 22<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>17</sup>, 18<sup>29</sup> לְנֶעַר שְׁלֹמֹה *is it well with the young man?* (but cf. note 1); 1 S 16<sup>4</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>24</sup>, Is 28<sup>28</sup>, Ho 4<sup>16</sup>, Zc 8<sup>6</sup> (should it also be marvellous in mine eyes?); Pr 5<sup>16</sup>. So especially, when the interrogative clause is connected with a preceding sentence by *וְ*, e.g. Jn 4<sup>11</sup> וְאֵינִי לֹא אֲחָהּ *and I should not have pity?* Ex 8<sup>22</sup> *will they not stone us?* Ju 11<sup>23</sup>, 14<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 20<sup>9</sup>, 24<sup>20</sup>, 25<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 11<sup>11</sup>, 15<sup>20</sup>, Is 37<sup>11</sup>, 44<sup>19b</sup>, Jer 25<sup>29</sup>, 45<sup>5</sup>, 49<sup>13</sup>, Ez 20<sup>31</sup>, Jb 2<sup>10</sup>, 10<sup>9</sup>; or when (as in some of the examples just given) it is negative (with *לֹא* for *הֲלֹא* *nonne?*), 2 K 5<sup>26</sup> (but cf. note 1), La 3<sup>83</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. The statement formerly made here that the interrogative particle is *δ* omitted especially before gutturals, cannot be maintained in view of Mitchell's statistics (op. cit. p. 123 f.). The supposed considerations of euphony are quite disproved by the 118 cases in which *ה* or *ו* occurs before a guttural.

2. As a rule, however, the simple question is introduced by *He c* interrogative *הֲ* (*ה*); as to its form, cf. § 100 k-n), *ne?* *num?* the disjunctive question by *הֲ* (*num?* *utrum?*) in the first clause, and *אִם*<sup>3</sup> (also *אִם־כֵּן*, less frequently *אִם־כֵּן*) *an?* in the second, e.g. 1 K 22<sup>15</sup> . . . הֲנִלְכֶּה

<sup>1</sup> Mitchell (op. cit.) restricts the number of instances to 39, of which he attributes 12 (or 17) to corruption of the text. Thus in Gn 27<sup>24</sup> he would read, with the Samaritan, אַתָּה הָיָה בְּנִי as in verse 21, in 1 S 16<sup>4</sup> הֲשִׁלֹּם, in 2 S 18<sup>29</sup> הֲשִׁלֹּם as in verse 32; similarly he would read the interrogative particle in 2 K 5<sup>26</sup>, Ez 11<sup>3</sup>, Jb 40<sup>25</sup>, 41<sup>1</sup>; 1 S 30<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>19</sup>, Ez 11<sup>13</sup>, 17<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> But in 1 S 27<sup>10</sup> instead of *אִלֵּי* (which according to the usual explanation would expect a negative answer) read either *עַל־מִי* *אִלֵּי־מִי* with the LXX, or better, *אֵן* (*הֲנִי*) *whither?* with the Targum. In 2 S 23<sup>5</sup> read *הֲלֹא* *הֲלֹא־כֵּן* with Wellhausen.

<sup>3</sup> Quite exceptional is the use of the particle *אִין* *num?* (common in Aramaic) in 1 S 21<sup>9</sup> *אִין־יֵשׁ־כֹּה־נָאִין* *num est hic?* The text is, however, undoubtedly corrupt; according to Wellhausen, *Text der Bücher Sam.*, the LXX express the reading *הֲיֵשׁ* *הֲיֵשׁ־כֵּן*; but cf. the full discussion of the passage by König, *ZAW.* xviii. 239 ff.—The above does not apply to interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative pronouns (§ 37) or by the interrogatives compounded with *מָה* *what?* such as *מָה־כָּמֶה* *how many?* *מָה־לָּמָּה* *why?* (see § 102 k), *מָה־כֵּן* *why?* (§ 99 e), or by *אֵימָה* *where?* *אֵימָה־כֵּן* *how?* (§ 148), &c. On the transformation of

נָהָלָם אִם shall we go . . . or shall we forbear? Cf. also אֵי where? whither? אֵיָהּ whither, and J. Barth, *Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen*, i. 13 ff.

d The particular uses are as follows:—

(a) The particle הֲ stands primarily before the simple question, when the questioner is wholly uncertain as to the answer to be expected, and may be used either before noun-clauses, e.g. Gn 43<sup>7</sup> הֲעוֹר אֲבִיכֶם חַי הָיִשׁ לָכֶם אָח is your father yet alive? have ye another brother? for חַיִּשׁ cf. Gn 24<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>11</sup>; for הֲכִי is it that? Jb 6<sup>22</sup>; for הֲכִי יֵשׁ is there yet? 2 S 9<sup>1</sup> (but in 2 S 23<sup>19</sup> for הֲכִי read הֲנָּו with 1 Ch 11<sup>25</sup>); for הֲאֵין is there not? 1 K 22<sup>7</sup>, &c.; or before verbal-clauses, e.g. Jb 2<sup>3</sup> הֲשָׁמַעְתָּ לְבָרְךָ my servant Job? In other cases הֲ (= *num?*) is used before questions, to which, from their tone and contents, a negative answer is expected, e.g. Jb 14<sup>14</sup> הֲיִחְיֶה shall he indeed live again? Sometimes a question is so used only as a rhetorical form instead of a negative assertion, or of a surprised or indignant refusal,<sup>2</sup> e.g. 2 S 7<sup>5</sup> הֲאֵתָה תִּבְנֶה לִּי בַּיִת shalt thou build me an house? (in the parallel passage 1 Ch 17<sup>4</sup> לֹא אֵתָה וג' thou shalt not, &c.); Gn 4<sup>9</sup> הֲאֵמִי אֲחִי אֲנֹכִי am I my brother's keeper? cf. 2 K 5<sup>7</sup>, and the two passages where הֲ is used before the infinitive (*const.* Jb 34<sup>18</sup>, *absol.* Jb 40<sup>2</sup>; on both, see § 113 *ec*, with the note). —On the other hand, in 1 K 16<sup>31</sup> הֲנִקֵּל (after וַיְהִי) read הִנֵּקֵל.

c Rem. 1. A few passages deserve special mention, in which the use of the interrogative is altogether different from our idiom, since it serves merely to express the conviction that the contents of the statement are well known to the hearer, and are unconditionally admitted by him. Thus, Gn 3<sup>11</sup> *surely* thou hast eaten; Gn 27<sup>36</sup> הֲכִי קָרָא prop. is it so that one names? &c., i.e. of a truth he is rightly named Jacob; Gn 29<sup>15</sup> *verily* thou art my brother; Dt 11<sup>30</sup>, Ju 4<sup>6</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>27</sup> I did indeed, &c.; 20<sup>37</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>3</sup> ye know surely . . .; Mi 3<sup>1</sup>, Jb 20<sup>4</sup>.—In 1 S 23<sup>19</sup> (cf. ψ 54<sup>2</sup>) a surprising communication is introduced in this way (by הֲלֹא) in order to show it to be absolutely true, and in Am 9<sup>7</sup> a concession is expressed by הֲלוֹא I have, it is true, &c. Finally, we may include the formula of quotation הֲלֹא הִיא כְּתוּבָה Jos 10<sup>13</sup> or כְּתוּבִים הֲלֹא equivalent to *surely it is, they are written* (the latter in 1 K 11<sup>41</sup>, 14<sup>29</sup>, and very often elsewhere in the books of Kings and Chronicles), synonymous with the simple formula of assertion הִנֵּה כְּתוּבָה 2 S 1<sup>18</sup>, and הִנֵּם כְּתוּבִים 1 K 14<sup>19</sup>, 2 K 15<sup>11</sup>, 2 Ch 27<sup>7</sup>, 32<sup>32</sup>.

Of very frequent occurrence also are questions introduced by לָמָּה, which really contain an affirmation and are used to state the reason for a request or warning, e.g. 2 S 2<sup>22</sup> turn thee aside . . . wherefore should I smite thee to the ground? i.e. otherwise I will (or must) smite, &c.; cf. 1 S 19<sup>17</sup>, and Driver on the passage; 2 Ch 25<sup>16</sup>; also Gn 27<sup>45</sup>, Ex 32<sup>12</sup> (Jo 2<sup>17</sup>, ψ 79<sup>10</sup>, 115<sup>2</sup>); Ct 1<sup>7</sup>, Ec 5<sup>5</sup>, 7<sup>17</sup>, Dn 1<sup>10</sup>.

pronouns and adverbs into interrogative words by means of a prefixed אֵי, see the Lexicon.

<sup>1</sup> On the use of the *imperfect* in deliberative questions, see § 107 *i*; on the *perfectum confidentiae* in interrogative sentences, see § 106 *n*.

<sup>2</sup> Analogous to this is the use of the interrogative מָה in the sense of a reproachful remonstrance instead of a prohibition, as Ct 8<sup>4</sup> מָה תַעֲרִיר why should ye stir up? i.e. pray, stir not up; cf. also Jb 31<sup>1</sup>; see above, § 148.

2. The rare cases in which a *simple* question is introduced by **אִם** (as sometimes in Latin by *an? is it?*) are really due to the suppression of the first member of a double question; thus 1 K 1<sup>27</sup>, Is 29<sup>16</sup>, Jb 6<sup>13</sup>, 39<sup>13</sup>.

(b) Disjunctive questions are, as a rule, introduced by **אִם**—**וְ** (*utrum—an?*) <sup>g</sup> or sometimes by **אִם**—**וְ**, e. g. Jo 1<sup>2</sup>, Jb 21<sup>4</sup> (even with **וְ** repeated after **אִם**) in a question which implies disbelief, Gn 17<sup>17</sup>. In Jb 34<sup>17</sup>, 40<sup>8</sup>, special emphasis is given to the first member by **הֲאִם** prop. *is it even?* The second member is introduced by **וְ** or in 2 K 6<sup>27</sup>, Jb 16<sup>3</sup>, 38<sup>28</sup>, 31<sup>36</sup> (Mal 1<sup>8</sup> **וְ** **אִם**), in each case before **וְ**, and hence no doubt for euphonic reasons, to avoid the combination **וְ** **אִם**; cf. also Ju 18<sup>19</sup>, Ec 2<sup>19</sup>.

Double questions with (**אִם**) **אִם**—**וְ** need not always be mutually exclusive; <sup>h</sup> frequently the disjunctive form serves (especially in poetic parallelism; but cf. also e. g. Gn 37<sup>8</sup>) merely to repeat the same question in different words, and thus to express it more emphatically. So Jb 4<sup>17</sup> *shall mortal man be just before God? or (אִם) shall a man be pure before his Maker?* Jb 6<sup>5</sup>, 8<sup>3</sup>, 10<sup>4</sup>, 11<sup>2,7</sup>, 22<sup>3</sup>, Is 10<sup>15</sup>, Jer 5<sup>29</sup>. The second member may, therefore, just as well be connected by a simple **וְ**, e. g. Jb 13<sup>7</sup>, 15<sup>7</sup>, 38<sup>16</sup> f. 22.32.39; cf. also **וְ** 8<sup>5</sup> after **וְ**; Jb 21<sup>17</sup> after **וְ**; or even without a conjunction, Jb 8<sup>11</sup>, 22<sup>4</sup>; after **וְ** 144<sup>3</sup>.

(c) With regard to *indirect* questions<sup>2</sup> after verbs of inquiring, doubting, examining,<sup>3</sup> &c., simple questions of this kind take either **וְ** *whether*, Gn 8<sup>8</sup>,<sup>4</sup> or **אִם** Gn 15<sup>5</sup>, 2 K 1<sup>2</sup>, Ct 7<sup>13</sup>; even before a noun-clause, Jer 5<sup>1</sup>; in 1 S 20<sup>10</sup> the indirect question is introduced by **אִם**, i. e. probably *if perchance*. In disjunctives (*whether—or*) **אִם**—**וְ** Nu 13<sup>18</sup> at the end (or **וְ**—**אִם**—**וְ** Gn 24<sup>21</sup>, 27<sup>21</sup>, 37<sup>32</sup>, Ex 16<sup>4</sup>), and **וְ**—**וְ** Nu 13<sup>18</sup>, which is followed by **אִם**—**וְ**; also **וְ**—**וְ** Ec 2<sup>19</sup>. The formula **אִם** יָדַעַתְּ מִי has an affirmative force, *who knows whether...* <sup>not</sup>, like the Latin *nescio an*, Est 4<sup>14</sup>.

In Jon 1<sup>7,8</sup> the relative pronouns **מִי** and **מִי** owing to the following **לְ** have become also interrogative, *for whose cause?*

(d) **וְ** and **הֲוֵא** (cf. § 136 c) immediately after the interrogative serve to give vividness to the question; so also **הֲוֵא** (for which **הֲוֵא** five times in Job) *then, now*, Gn 27<sup>23</sup> **הֲוֵא** **מִי** *who then is he?* Ju 9<sup>38</sup>, Is 19<sup>12</sup>, Jb 17<sup>15</sup>; **הֲוֵא** **מִי**

<sup>1</sup> **אִם** occurs in Pr 27<sup>24</sup> after a negative statement; we should, however, with Dyserinck read **וְ**. Not less irregular is **וְ** instead of **אִם** in the second clause of Ju 14<sup>15</sup>, but the text can hardly be correct (cf. Moore, *Judges*, New York, 1895, p. 337); in 1 S 23<sup>11</sup> the second **וְ** introduces a fresh question which is only loosely connected with the first.—In Nu 17<sup>28</sup> and in the third clause of Jb 6<sup>13</sup>, **הֲוֵא** is best taken with Ewald in the sense of **וְ**, since **אִם** from its use in oaths (see above, § 149 b) may simply mean *verily not*.

<sup>2</sup> It should here be remarked that the distinction between direct and indirect questions cannot have been recognized by the Hebrew mind to the same extent as it is in Latin or English. In Hebrew there is no difference between the two kinds of sentence, either as regards mood (as in Latin) or in tense and position of the words (as in English). Cf. also § 137 c.

<sup>3</sup> In Gn 43<sup>8</sup> the **וְ** after **וְ** is explained from the fact that the latter, according to the context, implies *to give information upon a question*.

<sup>4</sup> Also in Ec 3<sup>21</sup> we should read **וְ** and **וְ** (*whether—whether*) instead of the article which is assumed by the Masora.

where then is . . . ? However, **אִם** may also be placed at the end of the entire question (Ex 33<sup>16</sup>, Is 22<sup>1</sup>; also Ho 13<sup>10</sup>, since either **וְהָיָה** is a dialectical form of **וְהָיָה**, or **וְהָיָה** should be read instead of it) or at the beginning of the question proper, after a strongly emphasized word, as in Gn 27<sup>37</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

- m (e) Sometimes one interrogative governs two co-ordinate clauses, the first of which should rather be subordinated to the second, so that the interrogative word strictly speaking affects only the second; thus Is 5<sup>4</sup> after **וְהָיָה** *wherefore looked I . . . and it brought forth?* i.e. wherefore brought it forth, while I looked, &c.; Is 50<sup>2</sup>; after **וְהָיָה** Nu 32<sup>6</sup>, Jer 8<sup>4</sup>, also Nu 16<sup>22</sup> (read **וְהָיָה**); after **וְהָיָה** Jos 22<sup>20</sup>; after **וְהָיָה** Is 58<sup>9</sup>, 2 Ch 32<sup>4</sup>; after **וְהָיָה** Is 40<sup>25</sup>.<sup>2</sup> But **וְהָיָה** Jb 4<sup>2</sup> and **וְהָיָה** 4<sup>21</sup> are separated from the verb to which they belong by the insertion of a conditional clause.

- n 3. The affirmative answer is generally expressed, as in Latin, by repeating the emphatic word in the question (or with the second person changed to the first, Gn 24<sup>58</sup>, 27<sup>24</sup>, 29<sup>5</sup>, Ju 13<sup>11</sup>), Gn 29<sup>6</sup>, 37<sup>32</sup><sup>1</sup>, 1 S 23<sup>11</sup>, 26<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>10</sup>, Jer 37<sup>17</sup>. (On **וְהָיָה** *if it be so* in the corrected text of 2 K 10<sup>15</sup>, see § 159 dd.) As a negative answer the simple **אֵין** is sometimes sufficient, as in Gn 19<sup>3</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>22</sup>, &c.; cf. § 152 c; and in Ju 4<sup>20</sup> the simple **אֵין** equivalent to *no* or *no one*.

### § 151. Desiderative Sentences.

- a A wish may be expressed not only by the simple imperfect (§ 107 n), cohortative (§ 108, especially with **אִם** § 108 c), jussive (§ 109; with **אִם** § 109 b), imperative (§ 110 a), perfect consecutive (§ 112 aa) or by a simple noun-clause (§ 116 r, note, and § 141 g) but also in the following ways:—

1. By exclamations in the form of *interrogative* clauses:<sup>3</sup> especially sentences with **וְהָיָה** followed by the imperfect as being the mood of that which is still unfulfilled but possible, and hence also of that which is desired, e.g. 2 S 15<sup>4</sup> **וְהָיָה שֹׁפֵט** *who maketh me judge?* i.e. *O that I were made judge!* 1 S 20<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 23<sup>15</sup>. On the other hand, **וְהָיָה** with the perfect (Gn 21<sup>7</sup>, Nu 23<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 26<sup>9</sup>, Is 53<sup>1</sup>, &c.) or participle (**וְהָיָה** 59<sup>3</sup>, Pr 24<sup>22</sup>, &c.), rather expresses a rhetorical question, i.e. a denial, cf. § 150 d. Especially frequent is the use of **וְהָיָה** (prop. *who gives?*) to introduce all kinds of desiderative clauses (see under b).—In Mal 1<sup>10</sup> the desiderative clause proper is co-ordinated with an interrogative clause,

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, in Jb 9<sup>24</sup> and 24<sup>25</sup> **וְהָיָה** is not prefixed to the **וְהָיָה**, but appended to the conditional sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the analogous sentences after **וְהָיָה** *because*, Is 65<sup>12</sup>, Jer 35<sup>17</sup>; after causal **וְהָיָה** 1 S 26<sup>23</sup>; after **וְהָיָה** Is 12<sup>1</sup>; likewise after **וְהָיָה** § 153 at the end; after **וְהָיָה** Dt 8<sup>12-14</sup>, 25<sup>3</sup>, Jos 6<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The transition from a question to a wish may be seen, e.g. in Nu 11<sup>4</sup> *who shall give us flesh to eat?* i.e. *O that we had flesh to eat!*



וְיִשְׁכְּרוּם וְיִסְגְּרוּ דְלָתֵינוּ *would that one were among you and would shut the doors*, i. e. O that one would shut the doors!

Rem. Sometimes the original sense of *מִי־יִתֶּן* is still plainly discernible, *b* e. g. Ju 9<sup>29</sup> *מִי־יִתֶּן אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה בְּיָדִי* *who gives this people into my hand?* equivalent to, O that this people were given into my hand! cf. ψ 55<sup>7</sup>. In these examples, however, *מִי־יִתֶּן* is still equivalent to *O had I!* and in numerous other instances the idea of *giving* has entirely disappeared, *מִי־יִתֶּן* having become stereotyped as a mere desiderative particle (*utinam*). Its construction is either—

(a) With the *accusative* (in accordance with its original meaning) of a substantive, Dt 28<sup>67</sup> *would that it were even! . . . morning!* Ju 9<sup>29</sup>, ψ 14<sup>7</sup> (53<sup>7</sup>), 55<sup>7</sup>; with an accusative and a following infinitive, Jb 11<sup>5</sup>; with two accusatives, Nu 11<sup>20</sup>, Jer 5<sup>23</sup>; with the accusative of an infinitive, Ex 16<sup>2</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>1</sup> *מִי־יִתֶּן קָמָהּ* *would that I had died for thee* (for *אֲנִי* cf. § 135 f); of a participle, Jb 31<sup>35</sup>; of a personal pronoun (as a suffix), Jb 29<sup>2</sup> (with a following *כִּי*; but *מִי־יִתֶּן* Is 27<sup>4</sup> and Jer 9<sup>1</sup> with a following accusative is not simply equivalent to *מִי־יִתֶּן* *li*, but is properly *who endows me with*, &c.; cf. § 117 f).—With a still greater weakening of the original meaning *מִי־יִתֶּן* is used with an adjective in Jb 14<sup>4</sup> *could a clean thing but come out of an unclean!* i. e. *how can a clean thing come*, &c.; similarly in Jb 31<sup>31</sup> *who can find one that hath not been satisfied!*

(b) With a following perfect, Jb 23<sup>3</sup> (cf. § 120 e); with a perfect consecutive, C Dt 5<sup>26</sup> *O that they had such an heart!*

(c) With a following imperfect, Jb 6<sup>8</sup>, 13<sup>5</sup>, 14<sup>13</sup>; in Jb 19<sup>13</sup> the imperfect is *לֹא* twice added with *Wāw* (cf. *a* above, on Mal. 1<sup>10</sup>).

On the cohortative in the apodosis to such desiderative clauses, cf. § 108 f.

2. The wish may also be expressed by the particles *אִם* (ψ 81<sup>9</sup>, 95<sup>7</sup>, e 139<sup>19</sup>, Pr 24<sup>11</sup>, 1 Ch 4<sup>10</sup>; always with a following imperfect) and *לֵי* (for which in ψ 119<sup>5</sup> we have *אֶחָדִי*, 2 K 5<sup>3</sup> *אֶחָדִי*, from *אֶח* *ah*! and *לֵי=לֵי*; both with a following imperfect) *si, o si!* *utinam*.<sup>1</sup> *לֵי* is followed by the imperfect, Gn 17<sup>13</sup>, Jb 6<sup>2</sup>; by the jussive, Gn 30<sup>34</sup> (rather concessive, equivalent to *let it be so*); by the perfect, as the expression of a wish that something might have happened in past time (cf. § 106 p), Nu 14<sup>2</sup> *לֵי מָתוּ* *would that we had died*; 20<sup>3</sup> and Jos 7<sup>7</sup> (both times *וְלֵי*); on the other hand, Is 48<sup>18</sup> and 63<sup>19</sup> (both times *לֵי*) to express a wish that something expected in the future may already have happened.—On *לֵי* with the imperative (by an anacoluthon) Gn 23<sup>13</sup> cf. § 110 e. On the perfect after *אִם* *כִּי* Gn 40<sup>14</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>20</sup>, cf. § 106 n, note 2.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. a similar transition from a conditional to a desiderative particle, in consequence of the suppression of the apodosis, in the English, *O if I had!* and the like; e. g. Nu 22<sup>29</sup> *if there were* (לֵי *ישׁ*) *a sword in my hand now had I surely killed thee!*

## § 152. Negative Sentences.

*a* 1. Besides the use of rhetorical questions (§§ 150 *d*, 151 *a*), independent sentences are made negative by the adverbs לֹא (Jb 6<sup>21</sup>, where instead of the *Keth.* לוּ we must evidently read לֹא; perhaps preserved as a substantive)=the Greek οὐ, *not*, לֹא=μή (Jb 24<sup>25</sup> as a substantive), יֵשׁ (it is) *not*; עַדְּמָה *not yet*, עַדְּמָה *not*, אַפְסִי (cf. § 90 *m*) *not*. The forms בִּלְיָ, בִּלְיָ, בִּלְיָ *not* belong almost entirely to poetry.—With regard to לֹא and יֵשׁ the main distinction is that verbal-clauses (rarely noun-clauses, see *c*) are regularly negated by לֹא (besides its use as negating *single words*<sup>1</sup>), while יֵשׁ is used exclusively with noun-clauses (see the examples below).

*b* The conjunctions וְלֹא and לֹא־כֵן *that not*, serve to negative dependent clauses. The particular uses of these particles are as follows:—

(*a*) לֹא (less frequently לֹא־יֵשׁ), like οὐ, οὐκ, is used regularly for the *objective, unconditional* negation, and hence is usually connected with the perfect or imperfect (as indicative); on לֹא with the imperfect to express an unconditional prohibition, see § 107 *o*; on its use with the jussive, see § 109 *d*.—On לֹא for לֹא־יֵשׁ *nonne*, in interrogative sentences, cf. § 150 *a*. In connexion with בִּלְיָ, בִּלְיָ (= *any*), לֹא is used to express an *absolute* negation, *nullus, none whatever* (cf. the French *ne . . . personne, ne . . . rien*), usually in the order בִּלְיָ . . . לֹא, e.g. Gn 3<sup>1</sup> הֵן עֵץ הָאֵל לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִכּוֹל פְּרִי הָעֵץ *ye shall not eat of any tree of the garden*; 9<sup>11</sup>, Ex 10<sup>15</sup>, 20<sup>10</sup>, Lv 7<sup>23</sup>, Dt 8<sup>9</sup>, Jer 13<sup>7</sup>, 32<sup>17</sup> בִּלְיָ־דָבָר לֹא *nothing at all*; cf. the same statement in the form of a rhetorical question, Jer 32<sup>27</sup>; Pr 12<sup>21</sup>, 30<sup>30</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Especially in compounds, e.g. לֹא־אֱלֹהִים lit. *a no-God* (Germ. *Ungott*) who is indeed called a god, but is not really a god, Dt 32<sup>21</sup>; לֹא־אֱלֹהִים verse 17, cf. Jer 5<sup>7</sup>, 2 Ch 13<sup>9</sup>; לֹא־עַם lit. *a not-people* (Germ. *Unvölk*), Dt 32<sup>21</sup>; לֹא־דָבָר *a nothing*, Am 6<sup>13</sup>; לֹא־עֵץ lit. *not-wood*, Is 10<sup>15</sup>; לֹא־אִישׁ, לֹא־אָדָם lit. *not-man, superhuman* (of God), Is 31<sup>8</sup>; לֹא־צֶדֶק *unrighteousness*, Jer 22<sup>13</sup>, cf. Ez 22<sup>29</sup>; לֹא־סֶדֶק *disorder*, Jb 10<sup>22</sup>; לֹא־חֶמֶס *not-violence*, 16<sup>17</sup>; after לֹא Jb 26<sup>24</sup> (לֹא־כֶחַח) *helplessness*, לֹא־חֶמֶס *insipientia*; cf. also Is 55<sup>2</sup> לֹא־יִשְׁבְּעָהּ *for what is unsatisfying*; ψ 44<sup>13</sup>, Jb 8<sup>11</sup>, 15<sup>32</sup>, 1 Ch 12<sup>33</sup>.—In Nu 20<sup>5</sup> a construct state with several genitives is negated by לֹא.—Also לֹא is used with an infinitive, Nu 33<sup>28</sup>; with an adjective, לֹא־חָכָם *unwise*, Dt 32<sup>6</sup>, Ho 13<sup>13</sup>; לֹא־חָסִיד *impious*, ψ 43<sup>1</sup>; לֹא־עָזַז and לֹא־עָזָז *not strong*, Pr 30<sup>25</sup>; לֹא־רָאוּ *unsuitably*, 2 K 7<sup>9</sup>; לֹא־טוֹב *not-good*, Is 65<sup>2</sup>, Ez 20<sup>25</sup>, &c.; לֹא־טָהוֹר *not-clean*, 2 Ch 30<sup>17</sup>; with a participle, e.g. Jer 2<sup>2</sup> (unsown); 6<sup>8</sup>, Ez 4<sup>14</sup>, 22<sup>24</sup>, Zp 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>5</sup>; the Masora, however, requires נִחְמָה in Is 54<sup>11</sup>, נִחְמָה in 62<sup>12</sup>, נִחְמָה in Jer 6<sup>8</sup>, נִחְמָה in Ho 1<sup>6</sup>, i.e. always 3rd sing. fem. perf. in pause= *she was not comforted*, &c., and consequently not compounds, but either relative clauses or (Is 54<sup>11</sup>, Ho 1<sup>6</sup>, and especially 2<sup>25</sup>) main clauses instead of proper names.—On the above compounds generally, cf. the dissertation mentioned in § 81 *d*, note 2; on their use in sentences expressing a state, to convey attributive ideas, see *u* below.

לֹא . . . מִפְּנֵי-לֹא and turneth *not away for any*; 2 Ch 32<sup>15</sup>; but cf. also the inverted order, Ex 12<sup>16</sup> לֹא-יֵשָׁעָה לֹא-מִלְאָכָה *no manner of work shall be done*; 12<sup>43</sup>, 15<sup>26</sup>, 22<sup>21</sup>, Lv 16<sup>17</sup>, Jb 33<sup>13</sup>, Dn 11<sup>37</sup>. The meaning is different when בָּל by being determinate is used in the sense of *whole*, e.g. Nu 23<sup>13</sup> בָּלֹא לֹא תִרְאֶה *thou shalt not see them all, but only a part*.

Analogous to בָּל . . . לֹא is the use of לֹא . . . אִישׁ Gn 23<sup>6</sup>, &c., in verbal-clauses in the sense of *no one at all, not a single one*. On אִין-בָּל *nothing at all*, see under p.

Rem. 1. The examples in which לֹא is used absolutely as a negative answer, C equivalent to *certainly not! no!* must be regarded as extremely short verbal-clauses, e.g. Gn 19<sup>2</sup> (לֹא according to the context for נִסְדֹר &c.); 23<sup>11</sup>, 42<sup>10</sup>, Hag 2<sup>12</sup>, Jb 23<sup>6</sup>, sometimes with a following כִּי *but*, Gn 19<sup>2</sup> (see above); Jos 5<sup>14</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>22</sup>.

2. The negation of noun-clauses by לֹא (as opposed to the regular negation אִין by אִין) always includes a certain emphasis, since the force of the negation falls rather upon a particular word (cf. e.g. Ez 36<sup>32</sup>), than upon the whole clause. In 2 S 3<sup>34</sup> לֹא-אִסְדֹרוּת יָדֶיךָ *thy hands were not bound*, a participle is thus specially negated by לֹא; cf. ψ 74<sup>9</sup>, where, however, לֹא is separated from the participle by אִתָּנִי, and Jb 12<sup>3</sup>. As a rule, noun-clauses with a pronominal subject are thus negated by לֹא, Gn 20<sup>12</sup>, Nu 35<sup>23</sup> (Dt 4<sup>42</sup>, 19<sup>4</sup>); 1 S 15<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>2</sup>, Jer 4<sup>22</sup>, ψ 22<sup>7</sup>, Jb 28<sup>14</sup>, parallel with אִין; generally with לֹא before a substantival predicate, e.g. Ex 4<sup>10</sup> לֹא אִישׁ דְּכָרִים אֲנִכִּי *I am not a man of words*; Am 5<sup>18</sup>.—Noun-clauses with a substantival subject, Gn 29<sup>7</sup>, Nu 23<sup>19</sup>, Is 2<sup>32</sup>, 44<sup>19</sup>, Hag 1<sup>2</sup>, ψ 22<sup>3</sup>, Jb 9<sup>32</sup>, 18<sup>17</sup>, 21<sup>9</sup>, 22<sup>16</sup>, 36<sup>26</sup> (with ׀ of the apodosis); 41<sup>2</sup>; in Jb 9<sup>33</sup> even יֵשׁ לֹא *non est* is used instead of אִין.—In Pr 18<sup>3</sup> לֹא is used before an adjectival predicate; in 1 S 20<sup>26</sup> (where a preceding noun-clause is negated by בְּלִפְתִּי read לֹא בְּלִפְתִּי with the LXX, for לֹא מְהֹרָה. On לֹא for אִין in circumstantial clauses to express attributive ideas, see *u* below.

3. As a rule לֹא stands immediately before the verb, but sometimes is C separated from it (frequently to bring into special prominence another word which follows it); thus Jb 22<sup>7</sup>, Ec 10<sup>10</sup> before the object and verb; Nu 16<sup>20</sup> before the subject and verb; Dt 8<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>34</sup>, ψ 49<sup>18</sup>, 103<sup>10</sup>, Jb 13<sup>16</sup>, 34<sup>23</sup> before a complementary adjunct. In Dt 32<sup>5</sup> לֹא according to the accentuation even stands at the end of the clause (*they offend him not*); but undoubtedly לֹא בָנִי are to be taken together.—On the position of לֹא with the infinitive absolute, see § 113 v.

(b) אִל is used like μή and *ne* to express a *subjective and conditional negation*, f and hence especially in connexion with the jussive (§ 109 c and e) to introduce prohibitions, warnings, negative desires, and requests. On אִל with the imperfect, see § 107 p; with the cohortative, see § 108 c; on 2 K 6<sup>27</sup>, see § 109 h.

Rem. 1. אִל (like לֹא, see note on *a* above) may be used to form a compound g word, as in Pr 12<sup>28</sup> אִל-מָוֶת *not-death* (immortality); though all the early versions read אִל-מָוֶת. The instances in which אִל appears to stand absolutely, equivalent to *no, certainly not* (like μή for μή γένηται), e.g. Ru 1<sup>18</sup> אִל בָּנֵי נָא *nay, my daughters*, and Gn 19<sup>18</sup>, 33<sup>10</sup> (אִל-נָא), are also due (see under c) to extreme shortening of a full clause (in 2 S 13<sup>25</sup> such a clause is repeated immediately

afterwards); thus in 2 S 1<sup>21</sup>, Is 62<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  83<sup>2</sup> יְהִי is evidently to be supplied, and in Jo 2<sup>13</sup>, Am 5<sup>14</sup>, Pr 8<sup>10</sup> the corresponding jussive from the preceding imperatives, in Pr 17<sup>12</sup> from the preceding infinitive absolute.

h 2. אֵל, like אֵל, regularly stands immediately before the verb, but in Is 64<sup>8</sup>, Jer 10<sup>24</sup>, 15<sup>15</sup>,  $\psi$  6<sup>2</sup>, 38<sup>2</sup> before another strongly emphasized member of the sentence.<sup>1</sup>

i (c) אֵין construct state (unless it be sometimes merely a contracted connective form, cf. שָׁנִים for שָׁנִים § 97 d) of אֵין non-existence (as also the absolute state, see below) is the negative of אֵין existence; cf. e.g. Gn 31<sup>29</sup> with Neh 5<sup>5</sup>. As אֵין (he, she, it is, was, &c.) includes the idea of being in all tenses, so אֵין, אֵין includes the idea of not being in all tenses. Hence—

k (1) The absolute state אֵין, with an evident transition to the meaning of a verbal predicate, *there does not exist*, always follows the word negated, e.g. Is 37<sup>8</sup> (2 K 19<sup>9</sup>) וְכַח אֵין לְלִרְהָ and strength does not exist to bring forth; Gn 2<sup>5</sup> אֵין was not present; Ex 17<sup>7</sup> אֵין-אֵם or is he not? after הִי־שֵׁ is he...? (cf. Nu 13<sup>20</sup>); Lv 26<sup>37</sup>, Nu 20<sup>5</sup>, Ju 4<sup>20</sup> (אֵין no). In 1 S 9<sup>4</sup> and 10<sup>14</sup> אֵין is used in reference to a plural; 1 K 18<sup>10</sup>, Is 41<sup>17</sup>, 45<sup>21</sup>, 59<sup>11</sup>, Mi 7<sup>2</sup>, Pr 13<sup>4</sup>, 25<sup>14</sup>, Jb 3<sup>9</sup> אֵין and let there be none, let none come! Ec 3<sup>13</sup>.—Cf. finally אֵין-אֵם if it be not so, Gn 30<sup>1</sup>, Ex 32<sup>22</sup>, Ju 9<sup>15</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>10</sup>.—Quite anomalous is אֵין Jb 35<sup>15</sup> before a perfect as an emphatic negation; the text, however, can hardly be correct.

l (2) The construct state אֵין stands in its natural position immediately before the substantive whose non-existence it predicates, or before the subject of the sentence which is to be negated. To the former class belong also the very numerous instances in which אֵין is joined to a participle, e.g. 1 S 26<sup>12</sup> וְאֵין יָרַע וְאֵין רָאָה and there was not one seeing, &c., i.e. and no man saw it, nor knew it, neither did any awake; so especially וְאֵין with a participle in subordinate circumstantial or descriptive clauses, such as Is 5<sup>20</sup> וְאֵין מְצִיל and he shall carry it away, while there is none delivering, i.e. without any one's delivering it;  $\psi$  7<sup>3</sup>, &c.; Lv 26<sup>6</sup> &c., וְאֵין מְחַרֵּד without any one's making you afraid; cf. § 141 e. אֵין is used as the negation of an entire noun-clause, e.g. in Gn 39<sup>23</sup>, Nu 14<sup>42</sup> אֵין יְהוָה בְּקִרְבְּכֶם the Lord is not among you; Gn 37<sup>29</sup> אֵין-יֹסֵף בְּבֹרַ Joseph was not in the pit.

m (3) When the subject which is to be negated is a personal pronoun, it is joined as a suffix to אֵין, according to § 100 o, e.g. אֵין־אֵין I am not, was not, shall not be; אֵין־הָ, fem. אֵין־הָ, thou art not, &c.; אֵין־הָ, fem. אֵין־הָ he, she is not, &c.; also absolutely, Gn 42<sup>15</sup> he is (5<sup>24</sup> he was) no longer alive; אֵין־הָ they are not, &c. When the accompanying predicate is a verb, it follows again (see l) in the form of a participle, since אֵין always introduces a noun-clause, e.g. Ex 5<sup>10</sup> אֵין־אֵין I will not give; 81<sup>7</sup>, Dt 1<sup>82</sup>.

n Rem. In Neh 4<sup>17</sup> אֵין אֵין for אֵין־אֵין is due to its being co-ordinate with three other (substantival) subjects; these are again expressly summed up in אֵין־אֵין־אֵין.—In Hag 2<sup>17</sup> אֵין אֵין the pronominal complement of אֵין appears

<sup>1</sup> In Jer 51<sup>8</sup> the pointing אֵל occurs twice instead of אֵל, and is thus, in the opinion of the Masoretes, equivalent to *against him that bendeth*; but undoubtedly we should read אֵל.

to follow with the sign of the accusative;<sup>1</sup> but most probably we should read with the LXX אַחֲרֵם for אַחֲרֵם.

(4) The fact that אֵין (like אֵין) always includes the idea of a verb (*is not*, *O was not*, &c.) led finally to such a predominance of the verbal element, that the original character of אֵין as a construct state (but cf. *i* above) was forgotten, and accordingly it is very frequently separated from its noun (substantive or participle); especially so by the insertion of shorter words (of the nature of enclitics), e.g. בּוֹ Is 1<sup>6</sup>, לוֹ Lv 11<sup>10,12</sup>, לָהּ Gn 11<sup>30</sup>, בָּם ψ 14<sup>3</sup>, שָׁם Ju 18<sup>10</sup>, Ex 12<sup>30</sup>; but cf. also ψ 5<sup>10</sup>, 6<sup>6</sup>, 32<sup>2</sup>, and אֵין used absolutely in Ex 22<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 5<sup>9</sup>, Ru 4<sup>4</sup>.—Hence, finally, even the transposition of אֵין and its noun became possible, e.g. Gn 40<sup>8</sup> and 41<sup>15</sup> וַפְתֹּר אֵין אֹתוֹ *and an interpreter there is not of it*; Gn 47<sup>13</sup>, Ju 14<sup>6</sup>, 1 S 21<sup>2</sup>, Is 1<sup>30</sup>, Jer 30<sup>13</sup>, Hb 2<sup>19</sup>, Pr 5<sup>17</sup> (וַאֲיִן) = *never shut*; cf. *k* above, on Jb 3<sup>9</sup>); 30<sup>27</sup>.—In Gn 19<sup>31</sup>, Ex 5<sup>16</sup> אֵין is placed between the subject and predicate.

Rem. r. Like פֶּל . . . לֹא or לֹא . . . פֶּל (see *b* above) so also פֶּל אֵין *p* expresses an absolute negation, e.g. Ec 1<sup>9</sup> אֵין כֵּל-חַדָּשׁ *there is no new thing*, &c.; 2 S 12<sup>3</sup>, Dn 1<sup>4</sup> (cf. also אֵין מְאֻמָּה *there is nothing*, 1 K 18<sup>43</sup>, Ec 5<sup>13</sup>); as also אֵין . . . פֶּל Hb 2<sup>19</sup>; cf. אֵין מְאֻמָּה Ju 14<sup>6</sup>.

2. Undoubtedly akin to אֵין in origin is the negative syllable אֵי occurring *q* in the two compounds אֵי כְבוֹד *אי* (as a proper name, 1 S 4<sup>21</sup>; Baer אֵי-כְבוֹד) and אֵי-נָקִי *not innocent*, Jb 22<sup>30</sup>; but the proper name אֵי-חֶמֶד is doubtful, and the fem. אֵי-בֶל very doubtful. In Ethiopic this אֵי is the most common form of negation, prefixed even to verbs.

(d) אֵינִי *not yet*, when referring to past time is used, as a rule (§ 107 c), *r* with the imperfect, Gn 2<sup>5</sup> אֵינִי . . . פֶּל *none . . . yet*; see *b* and *p* above; Gn 19<sup>4</sup>, 24<sup>45</sup>, Jos 2<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>3</sup>; with the imperfect in the sense of a present, Ex 10<sup>7</sup> הֲיָדָעְתָּ הַיּוֹמָהּ *knowest thou not yet?* Ex 9<sup>30</sup>; but cf. Gn 24<sup>15</sup>, and בְּיָוֶם with the perfect in ψ 90<sup>2</sup> (but see § 107 c), Pr 5<sup>25</sup>.

(e) אֵפֶס (prop. a substantive, *cessation*) *no longer*, including the verbal idea *of existing*, cf. Dt 32<sup>36</sup>, Is 45<sup>6,14</sup>, 46<sup>9</sup>; used absolutely, Am 6<sup>10</sup> in the question הֲאֵפֶס עוֹד אֵישׁ *is there none left?* &c., 2 S 9<sup>3</sup>; frequently also in the sense of *non nisi*; with אֵין paragogic (§ 90 m) אֵפֶס Is 47<sup>8,10</sup>, Zp 2<sup>15</sup> אֵפֶס עוֹד *I am, and there is none else*.

(f) פֶּל, <sup>2</sup> in poetic and prophetic style, and with a certain emphasis, = לֹא, *t* is used with the imperfect, e.g. Is 26<sup>14</sup>, 33<sup>20,23</sup> (immediately afterwards with a perfect); Ho 7<sup>2</sup>, ψ 49<sup>13</sup>, Pr 10<sup>30</sup> (but Is 14<sup>21</sup> before the jussive, = אֵל); before an adjective, Pr 24<sup>23</sup>; before a preposition, ψ 16<sup>2</sup>, Pr 23<sup>7</sup>.

(g) בְּלִי with a perfect, Gn 31<sup>20</sup>, Is 14<sup>6</sup>; with an imperfect, Jb 41<sup>18</sup>; to negative a participle, Ho 7<sup>8</sup>, ψ 19<sup>4</sup>; to negative an adjective, 2 S 1<sup>21</sup>.

(h) בְּלִי to negative an adjective, 1 S 20<sup>26</sup>; on בְּלִי Ez 13<sup>3</sup>, see *x*; on

<sup>1</sup> According to De Lagarde, *Novae psalterii graeci editionis specimen*, p. 26, יְשׁוּעָתָה ψ 3<sup>3</sup> is also an accusative after אֵין.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently from בָּלָה *to waste away*, from which stem also בָּלִי and בָּלָת (whence בְּלִי § 90 m), originally substantives, are formed.

לֹא־כִלְכִּיל as the regular negative with the infinitive construct, see § 114 s; on לֹא־כִלְכִּיל as a conjunction, see x below.

On אֵין as a negative particle in oaths (*verily not*), see § 149 c above.

- u Rem. on לֹא, אֵין, בְּלִי. To the category of negative sentences belongs also the expression of negative attributes by means of לֹא, בְּלִי *not* (both so used almost exclusively in poetic language) or אֵין with a following substantive, mostly in the simplest form of circumstantial clause; e.g. 2 S 23<sup>4</sup> לֹא בָקָר עֲבוּר a morning when there are *not* clouds, i.e. a cloudless morning; cf. Jb 12<sup>24</sup>, 26<sup>2b</sup>, 38<sup>26</sup> (לֹא־אִישׁ) where no man is, i.e. uninhabited; 1 Ch 23<sup>30.32</sup> לֹא בָנִים childless; so also בְּלִי e.g. Jb 24<sup>10</sup> and אֵין e.g. ψ 88<sup>6</sup> I am as a man אֵין־אֵיל there is *not* help, i.e. like a helpless man; Is 9<sup>6</sup> אֵין־מֶן endless; 47<sup>1</sup>, Ho 7<sup>11</sup>; אֵין־מִסְפָּר countless, Ct 6<sup>8</sup>, &c., but usually (ψ 104<sup>25</sup>, &c.) like a proper circumstantial clause (cf. § 141 e) connected by Wāw, וְאֵין־מִסְפָּר.—Less frequently such periphrases take the form of relative clauses (cf. § 155 e), e.g. Jb 30<sup>13</sup> לֹא עֹזֵר לָמוֹ they for whom there is *no* helper, i.e. the helpless (but probably עֹזֵר is only an intrusion from 29<sup>12</sup>, and we should read עֲזָר without any one's restraining them; in 29<sup>12</sup> translate the fatherless and him that had none to help him; in ψ 72<sup>12</sup> וְאֵין־עֹזֵר is used in the same sense); Hb 1<sup>14</sup>; with אֵין Is 45<sup>9</sup> thy work is that of a man who hath no hands; Zc 9<sup>11</sup> out of the waterless pit.<sup>1</sup>

- v How far such compounds finally came to be regarded by the language simply as negative adjectives, may be seen partly from the fact that they (as also relative clauses analogous to the above) are frequently co-ordinated with real adjectives, Jo 1<sup>6</sup>, ψ 72<sup>12</sup>, Jb 29<sup>12</sup>; cf. also Is 59<sup>10</sup>, where בְּאֵין־עֲלֵימִים is parallel with חֲסִידִים; partly from their being introduced by the sign of the dative לְ, e.g. Is 40<sup>29</sup> (= and to the powerless); Jb 26<sup>2a.3</sup>, Neh 8<sup>10</sup>.

- w (i) לֵאמֹר *lest, that not*, at the beginning of a clause expressing a fear or precaution, hence especially after such ideas as *fearing*, Gn 32<sup>12</sup>, &c. (cf. δειδῶ μὴ, *vereor ne*), taking heed, frequently after הִשָּׁמֵר, הִשְׁמָרָה Gn 24<sup>6</sup>, 31<sup>24</sup>, &c., taking care, 2 K 10<sup>23</sup>, &c. Not infrequently the idea on which לֵאמֹר depends, is only virtually contained in the main clause, e.g. Gn 19<sup>19</sup> I cannot escape to the mountain (because I am afraid), הִרְעָה לֵאמֹר תִּהְיֶה בְּקִנְיִי *lest* some evil overtake me; Gn 26<sup>9</sup>, 38<sup>11</sup>; also in Gn 44<sup>34</sup> from the rhetorical question *how shall I...*? we must understand *I cannot*, governing לֵאמֹר. This is especially the case after an appeal to do or not to do an action by which something may be prevented (in which case לֵאמֹר is simply equivalent to the final *ne*); cf. e.g. Gn 11<sup>4</sup>, 19<sup>15</sup>, Nu 20<sup>18</sup> (where לֵאמֹר *lest* is separated from the verb by a strongly emphasized substantive); Ju 15<sup>12</sup> after *swear unto me*; Pr 24<sup>18</sup>.—In Gn 32<sup>2</sup> and now, *lest* he put forth his hand, &c., לֵאמֹר is to be regarded as virtually dependent on a cohortative, which immediately afterwards (verse 23) is changed into an historic tense; cf. also Gn 26<sup>7</sup>, 31<sup>31</sup>, 42<sup>4</sup> Ex 13<sup>17</sup>, 1 S 13<sup>19</sup>, 27<sup>11</sup>, ψ 38<sup>17</sup>, in every case after בִּי אָמַרְתִּי, בִּי אָמַרְתִּי, &c. = I thought, &c., I must beware *lest*, &c.

Rem. According to § 107 g, לֵאמֹר is naturally followed by the imperfect; for the exceptions, 2 S 20<sup>6</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>16</sup>, see § 107 g, note 3; cf. moreover, 2 K 10<sup>23</sup> הִנֵּה רָאָה לֵאמֹר look *lest* there be here, &c.

<sup>1</sup> In Pr 9<sup>13</sup> (perhaps also 14<sup>7</sup>; but see Delitzsch on the passage) a verbal clause is used co-ordinately in this way as a periphrasis for an adjective.

(k) לְבִלְתִּי *that . . . not*, with the imperfect, Ex 20<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>14</sup> (in Jer 23<sup>14</sup> *ℳ* read the infinitive שָׁב for שָׁבוּ, in 27<sup>8</sup> יָבֹאוּ for יָבֹאוּ). In Ez 13<sup>8</sup> רָאֵה בְלִתִּי is a relative clause governed by לְ = *according to things which they have not seen*.

2. Two negatives in the same sentence do not neutralize each other *ℳ* (as in *nonnulli, non nemo*), but make the negation the more emphatic (like οὐκ οὐδεὶς, οὐκ οὐδανῶς, *nulli—non, nemo non*); e.g. Zp 2<sup>2</sup> (if the text is correct) לֹא יָבוֹאוּ בְּתֹרֶם before there shall (not) come.<sup>1</sup> This especially applies to the compounds formed by the union of אֵין or בְּלִי with מִן without (§ 119 *y*), e.g. Is 5<sup>9</sup> (6<sup>11</sup>) מֵאֵין יֵשֵׁב (for which in Jer 2<sup>15</sup> מִבְּלִי יֵשֵׁב, prop. *without no inhabitant*, i. e. *so that no inhabitant is left there*). On the other hand, in Is 50<sup>2</sup> מֵאֵין מִן the מִן is causative, *because there is no water*; as also in Ex 14<sup>11</sup> הֲמִבְּלִי אֵין is it *because there were no . . . ?* 2 K 1<sup>3,6,16</sup>. In Ec 3<sup>11</sup> לֹא מִבְּלִי אֲשֶׁר לֹא except that (*yet so that man cannot, &c.*).

3. The negative sometimes extends its influence from the first to ~ a second negative sentence parallel with it (which may or may not have *Wāw*); e.g. 1 S 2<sup>3</sup> *talk not so much arrogancy; let (not) boasting come out of your mouth*; Ex 28<sup>43</sup>, Lv 19<sup>12</sup>, 22<sup>9,15 f.</sup>, Nu 16<sup>14</sup>, 23<sup>19</sup>, Dt 7<sup>25</sup>, Is 23<sup>4</sup>, 28<sup>27</sup>, 38<sup>18</sup>, 47<sup>14</sup>, Ez 16<sup>47</sup>, ψ 9<sup>19</sup>, 13<sup>5</sup>, 35<sup>19</sup>, 38<sup>2</sup>, 44<sup>19</sup>, 75<sup>6</sup>, Jb 28<sup>17</sup> (so לֹא לָמָּה *why . . . not ?* in Jb 3<sup>11</sup> also affects the parallel clause).

### § 153. Restrictive and Intensive Clauses.

The particles אֵף, רַק *only*, serve to introduce restrictive clauses, and אֲפֹ, אֲשֶׁ *also, besides, even*, intensive clauses. It is to be observed that the force of these particles does not necessarily affect the word which immediately follows (as is the case with אֵף Gn 7<sup>23</sup>, 34<sup>15</sup>; רַק Gn 6<sup>3</sup>, Am 3<sup>2</sup>; even אֲשֶׁ הֲרַק *hath he indeed only ?* Nu 12<sup>2</sup>; אֲפֹ Gn 27<sup>34</sup>, Jb 7<sup>11</sup>; אֲשֶׁ Dt 15<sup>17</sup>), but very frequently extends to the whole of the following sentence. Thus with אֵף, e.g. Nu 14<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 17<sup>13</sup>, Pr 17<sup>11</sup>, Jb 13<sup>15</sup>, 14<sup>22</sup>, 16<sup>7</sup>, 23<sup>6</sup>; רַק Gn 20<sup>11</sup>, 24<sup>8</sup>, ψ 32<sup>6</sup>, Pr 13<sup>10</sup>; אֲפֹ Gn 27<sup>33</sup>, 32<sup>21</sup> (אֲפֹ הִנֵּה), 44<sup>10</sup>; 1 S 22<sup>7</sup>, 28<sup>20</sup>, Zc 9<sup>11</sup>, Pr 17<sup>26</sup>, 20<sup>11</sup>; אֲשֶׁ Jb 14<sup>3</sup>, 15<sup>4</sup>.—In Mal 1<sup>10</sup> and Jb 2<sup>10</sup> אֲפֹ is placed before two co-ordinate sentences, although, strictly speaking, it applies only to the second. Cf. the analogous examples in § 150 *m*.

<sup>1</sup> In 1 K 10<sup>21</sup> אֵין יִשְׁכְּנוּ goes with what precedes and must be emended, with the LXX and Lucian, to הֵשְׁכְּנוּ בִּי.



§ 154. Sentences connected by *Wāw*.

- a *Wāw copulativum*<sup>1</sup> (?) serves to connect two or more sentences, or single words (on its various vocalization, cf. § 104 d-g). Its use, however, is by no means restricted merely to joining sentences which

<sup>1</sup> For further particulars of the use of *wāw copulativum*, see Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, i. 393 ff. On its use in the co-ordination of similar tenses and moods (e.g. five imperfects consecutive in Gn 25<sup>24</sup>, five perfects with וַיְהִי) as well as of dissimilar tenses and moods, the remarks made in the treatment of the tenses will suffice. With regard to the connexion of single nouns by ו (which strictly speaking is always really a contraction of so many clauses into a single sentence) the following observations may be made:—

(a) Contrary to English usage, which in lengthy enumerations uses the *and* to connect only the last member of the series, in Hebrew *polysyndeton* is customary, as in Gn 12<sup>16</sup> *wāw copulativum* six times, 24<sup>35</sup> seven times, 15<sup>19</sup> ff. nine times, and in Jos 7<sup>24</sup> ten times. Sometimes, however, only the last two words are joined (so in a series of three members, Gn 5<sup>32</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>26</sup>, 13<sup>2</sup>, 14<sup>1</sup>, 30<sup>23</sup>, &c.; the last three out of a series of four, Jer 2<sup>28</sup>); less frequently only the first two, ψ 45<sup>9</sup>; cf. § 132 d. The formula הָיָה מָחָר שֶׁלֹּשְׁמִיּוֹם yesterday (and) the day before yesterday, Ex 5<sup>8</sup>, &c., is always without the copula. On the other hand, the *constructio asyndetos* in a series of verbs is used as a rhetorical expedient to produce a hurried and so an impassioned description; e.g. Ju 5<sup>27</sup> at her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay; Ex 15<sup>9</sup>, Dt 32<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>6</sup>, Jer 4<sup>7</sup>, Am 5<sup>21</sup>, ψ 10<sup>10</sup>, 14<sup>1</sup>, 45<sup>5</sup>, Jb 20<sup>19</sup>, 28<sup>4</sup>, 29<sup>8</sup>, Ct 2<sup>11</sup>, 5<sup>6</sup>, &c.

(b) Frequently *wāw copulativum* is also *explanatory* (like *isque*, *et—quidem*, and the German *und zwar*, English to wit), and is then called *wāw explicativum*, e.g. Gn 4<sup>4</sup> and (i.e. namely) of the fat thereof (unless it is simply copulative); Ex 24<sup>12</sup>, 25<sup>12</sup> (to wit two); 27<sup>14</sup>, 28<sup>23</sup>, Ju 17<sup>3</sup> (in וַיִּסְתַּכֶּה; here as often elsewhere, to introduce an explanatory gloss, cf. Is 17<sup>8</sup>, Ez 3<sup>15</sup>, and especially P. Haupt, *SBOT*. Isaiah, p. 90, l. 21 ff.), 1 S 17<sup>34</sup> and that too with the bear; 2 S 13<sup>20</sup>, Is 57<sup>11</sup>, Jer 17<sup>10</sup>, Am 3<sup>11</sup>, 4<sup>10</sup>, Ze 9<sup>9</sup>, Pr 3<sup>12</sup>, Neh 8<sup>12</sup>, 2 Ch 23<sup>10</sup> (but in 1 S 28<sup>3</sup> the ו before כִּן-וְעַד is to be omitted with the LXX); cf. also such combinations as כִּן-וְעַד from . . . and even to . . . , Gn 13<sup>8</sup>, 14<sup>23</sup>, 19<sup>4,11</sup>, &c.—In 1 S 6<sup>11</sup> (see Driver on the passage), 2 S 1<sup>23</sup>, &c., ו is equivalent to *yea, and*; in Is 32<sup>7</sup> *even*.

ו is used to express emphasis (= *and especially*), e.g. in Gn 3<sup>16</sup> וְהָרְבֵּה; Is 2<sup>1</sup>, ψ 18<sup>1</sup>, perhaps also in Jb 10<sup>17</sup> *yea, a whole host*; 2 Ch 16<sup>14</sup>.—An undoubted example of what is called *wāw concomitantiae* occurs in Jb 41<sup>12</sup> *a seething pot with burning rushes*; cf. Ex 10<sup>10</sup> (*with your little ones*), 10<sup>28</sup>, Lv 1<sup>12</sup>, Is 42<sup>5</sup>. In Arabic this *wāw concom.* is followed by the accusative.

ו— is used in the sense of *both—and* in ψ 76<sup>7</sup>, Dn 1<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>13</sup>. On ו— as meaning *sive*—*cf.* § 162 b.

(c) See the Lexicon on adverbs used in a copulative sense, such as אֲנִי *also, moreover*, summing up a number, e.g. אֲנִי-וְאֵם *both together*, Gn 27<sup>46</sup>, Pr 17<sup>15</sup>; אֲנִי-כֻלָּם *all together*; as an intensive *and*, e.g. Gn 30<sup>8</sup>, 37<sup>7</sup>, 1 S 30<sup>8</sup>; cf. also such examples as 1 S 24<sup>12</sup> *see, yea see!* אֲנִי-אֲנִי or אֲנִי-וְאֵם Gn 24<sup>44</sup> = *both—and*; אֲנִי occurs three times in Gn 24<sup>25</sup> and 32<sup>20</sup>; also אֲנִי, which is generally still more intensive, in the sense of *also, in addition to this, even*, and belongs rather to poetry, and to the later language; frequently also equivalent to a mere *and*, but sometimes adversative *but now*, ψ 44<sup>10</sup>, &c.; and אֲנִי-אֲנִי (also three times), equivalent to *both—and*; cf. אֲנִי אֲנִי *and even*, Lv 26<sup>44</sup>; אֲנִי-אֲנִי prop. *add to this also that*, equivalent to *not to mention*, according to the context either *quanto magis* or *quanto minus*.

are actually co-ordinate. Frequently the language employs merely the simple connexion by *Wāw*, even to introduce an antithesis (Gn 17<sup>21</sup>, 19<sup>19</sup>, Lv 2<sup>12</sup>, Jb 6<sup>25</sup>, and very frequently in circumstantial noun-clauses), or when one of the two clauses is not co-ordinated, but subordinated to the other. On the use of ׀ to introduce circumstantial clauses, cf. especially § 141 e and § 142 d; introducing causal clauses, § 158 a; comparative clauses, § 161 a; final clauses, § 165 a; consecutive clauses, § 166 a. On *wāw apodosis*, cf. § 143 d, and the sections there cited; on the use of *Wāw* in numerical sayings, cf. § 134 s.

Rem. Sometimes *wāw copulativum* joins a sentence apparently to what immediately precedes, but in reality to a sentence which is suppressed and which must, therefore, be supplied from the context. So especially ׀ with imperatives to express inferences, e.g. 1 K 2<sup>22</sup> וְשִׂיבָהּ ask now rather; Ez 18<sup>22</sup> for I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth . . . , וְשִׂיבָהּ wherefore turn yourselves. Also at the beginning of a speech in loose connexion with an act or speech of another person, e.g. Ex 2<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>11</sup>, 24<sup>3</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>14,41</sup>, 7<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 25<sup>9</sup>; cf. also Jos 7<sup>7</sup> (וְלֵךְ), ψ 2<sup>10</sup>, 4<sup>4</sup>, Is 8<sup>7</sup>. Sometimes the suppression of the protasis is due to passionate excitement or haste, which does not allow time for full expression; this is especially illustrated by Nu 12<sup>14</sup>, 20<sup>3</sup> (וְלֵךְ), 1 S 10<sup>12</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 22<sup>14</sup>, 28<sup>16</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>12</sup>, 24<sup>3</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>22</sup> (וְלֵךְ), 2 K 1<sup>10</sup>, 7<sup>10</sup> (cf. verse 2); Is 3<sup>14</sup>, Ze 2<sup>10</sup>, ψ 2<sup>6</sup> (at the same time a circumstantial clause *whereas I = and yet I have, &c.*); cf. also a new clause beginning with the formula of wishing וְיָמֵי Nu 11<sup>20</sup>; Ju 9<sup>20</sup>; on the disconnected use of וְלֵךְ and וְיָמֵי cf. § 159 d*l*.

## § 155. *Relative Clauses.*

See V. Baumann, *Hebräische Relativsätze*, Leipzig, 1894 (cf. the heading of § 138 above); G. Bergsträsser, 'Das hebr. Präfix וְ', *ZATW.* 1909, p. 40 ff.<sup>1</sup>

1. By § 138 a, e, relative clauses are divided into two classes: those α which are used for the nearer definition of a noun (substantive or pronoun), and those which are not dependent on a noun. The former may be called *incomplete*, the latter *complete* relative clauses.

Complete relative clauses, as a rule (see the exceptions under n), β are introduced by the originally demonstrative pronoun וְשֵׁנִי; see further in § 138 e. Similarly, incomplete relative clauses may also be introduced by וְשֵׁנִי, or by some other demonstrative pronoun; see further in § 138 a and g-h. Very frequently, however, especially

<sup>1</sup> In this exhaustive article the author shows that between וְ (on the pronunciation see § 36) and וְשֵׁנִי there is syntactically no primary difference, but only a secondary distinction which arose in the course of the development of the language, namely that וְשֵׁנִי is preferred in combinations which are customary in the old literary language, and וְ in those which are derived from the popular language or from Aramaic.

in poetic style, the attributive relation is expressed by simple co-ordination.<sup>1</sup>

- c The governing substantive or pronoun is frequently (in certain cases *always*) resumed by a pronominal suffix or an adverb. The resumption may, however, be omitted, just as in relative clauses introduced by *אֲשֶׁר*, &c.; see § 138 f.

- d In Arabic a distinction is made between relative clauses used for the nearer definition of a *determinate* substantive (*sifa*), and those which are attached to an *indeterminate* substantive (*sifa*). The former must be introduced by the demonstrative pronoun *alladī*, the latter are always simply co-ordinated. The same distinction was no doubt originally observed in Hebrew, since simply co-ordinated relative clauses are most commonly found after *indeterminate* substantives (see the examples below), and in cases like Dt 28<sup>49</sup> (לְשׁוֹן אֲשֶׁר לֹא-תִשְׁמַע לְשׁוֹן) *a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand*; cf. Is 66<sup>13</sup>, and especially 1 S 3<sup>11</sup>), the addition of *אֲשֶׁר* is explained from the special stress laid on the indeterminate substantive,<sup>2</sup> *a nation of such a kind, thou understandest not their tongue*. On the other hand, in poetic style at least, *אֲשֶׁר* is somewhat frequently omitted even after a determinate noun, but only rarely in prose (except by the Chronicler; cf. 1 Ch 9<sup>22</sup>, 12<sup>23</sup>, 29<sup>1</sup> (read prob. *אֲשֶׁר* for *אֲחֵר*), 2 Ch 15<sup>11</sup>; after *כֹּל־* 1 Ch 29<sup>8</sup>, 2 Ch 18<sup>23</sup>, 30<sup>17</sup>, 31<sup>10</sup>, Ezr 1<sup>6</sup>, but also Gn 39<sup>4</sup>; for further instances, see Driver, *Introd.*<sup>8</sup>, p. 537, no. 30); so Ex 18<sup>20</sup>, Ju 8<sup>1</sup>, 20<sup>15</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>12</sup> (= *which way*), so 2 K 3<sup>8</sup>, 2 Ch 18<sup>23</sup>; Neh 13<sup>23</sup>; after a pronominal subject, 1 S 6<sup>9</sup>. In Jer 52<sup>12</sup> for *עַמָּר* read *עַמָּר* with the LXX.

- e 2. If the nearer definition of a substantive or pronoun is effected by simple co-ordination of the relative clause, it may take the form—

(a) Of a noun-clause, e.g. 2 S 20<sup>21</sup> *a man of the hill country of Ephraim* שֵׁבַע שְׁבַע *whose name was Sheba*; Zc 6<sup>12</sup>, Jb 1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>15</sup> *with princes* לְהָם לְהָם *that had gold*; ψ 11<sup>4</sup>, Pr 22<sup>11</sup>; when referring to a noun-suffix, e.g. ψ 49<sup>14</sup> לְמֹו וְרַבָּם בְּפֶסֶל לְמֹו *this is the way of them who have (self)-confidence*.—On periphrases of this kind to express negative attributes, as in Jb 38<sup>26</sup> עַל-אֶרֶץ לֹא-אִישׁ *on a land where no man is*, see § 152 u, and cf. for this very short form of the relative clause, Gn 15<sup>13</sup> לְהָם לֹא בְּאֶרֶץ *in a land that belongs not to them*; Dt 32<sup>17</sup> (לְאִשִּׁים לֹא אֵלֶּה); Hb 1<sup>6</sup>, Pr 26<sup>17</sup> (לֹא-לִי).

- f (b) Of a verbal clause.

Here we must distinguish the cases in which the retrospective pronoun—

- (1) Is the subject of the relative clause, and is contained in the

<sup>1</sup> The old view that all these cases arise from the omission of *אֲשֶׁר* is incorrect. These co-ordinated attributive clauses are rather a mere subdivision of the various kinds of circumstantial clauses (see § 156) which may be attached to a *nomen regens*. Cf. in English *this is the letter (which) he wrote to me*.

<sup>2</sup> So Baumann, op. cit., p. 14 f., following Böttcher, *Lehrbuch*, ii. 80.

verb; so after a determinate substantive,  $\psi$  34<sup>9</sup> *happy is the man* יְחַסְדֵּהוּ *that trusteth in him*; Jb 3<sup>ab</sup> הַלַּיְלָה אָמַר *the night which said*; after  $\psi$  71<sup>18</sup>; referring to a vocative, which is determinate in itself even without the article, Is 54<sup>1</sup>, or to a noun-suffix (see under *e*),  $\psi$  16<sup>4</sup>; after an indeterminate substantive, e.g. Jb 31<sup>12</sup> *it is a fire* (that) *devoureth unto Abaddon*; Dt 32<sup>17b</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>9</sup>, Is 55<sup>13</sup>, 56<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  68<sup>31</sup>, 78<sup>6</sup>, Pr 30<sup>17</sup>, La 1<sup>10</sup>, 2 Ch 28<sup>9</sup>; referring to the suffix in הִנְנִי Is 28<sup>16</sup>, prop. *behold me, who have laid, &c.*, but perhaps the participle יֹסֵר is to be read; 29<sup>14</sup>, 38<sup>5</sup> (but probably again the participle יֹסֵר should be read instead of the imperfect); Ez 25<sup>7</sup>. The relative clause is used in this way especially to supply the place of an adjective, e.g. Gn 49<sup>27</sup> יֹאכָב יִמְרָר *a wolf that ravineth, i. e. a ravining wolf*; Is 51<sup>12</sup>; to express a negative quality, e.g. Is 40<sup>20</sup>, Ho 4<sup>14</sup> עַם לֹא־יָבִין *an undiscerning people*.

Rem. Very frequently such relative sentences are attached to substantives which have the particle of comparison בְּ, e.g. Jb 7<sup>2</sup> בְּעֶבֶר וְשֹׁאֵף צֶלֶל *as a servant that earnestly desireth the shadow, &c.*; Dt 32<sup>11</sup>, Is 62<sup>1</sup>, Jer 23<sup>20</sup>, Ho 6<sup>6</sup>,  $\psi$  42<sup>2</sup>, 83<sup>15</sup>, Jb 9<sup>26</sup>, 11<sup>16</sup>; so also after כִּמּוֹן  $\psi$  58<sup>6</sup>; after a determinate substantive, e.g. Is 53<sup>7</sup> (but the better reading is בְּעֶשֶׂה without the article), 61<sup>10f</sup>, Hb 2<sup>14</sup>,  $\psi$  45<sup>13,21</sup>, 125<sup>1</sup>; see also the examples under *h*. Sometimes it seems simpler in such cases, to take the verb directly as predicate to the preceding substantive, and to explain בְּ (for בְּאִשְׁרָא; see *Comparative Clauses*, § 161 b) as a conjunction—a view which even Hupfeld was ready to accept, at least as regards  $\psi$  90<sup>6</sup>, 125<sup>1</sup>, Is 53<sup>7</sup>, 61<sup>11</sup>, but it can hardly be right.

(2) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun represents an *h* accusative of the object, or would do so if not suppressed, as it usually is in such cases in relative clauses with אֲשֶׁר, cf. § 138 b. Examples with the retrospective pronoun are, Dt 32<sup>17</sup> אֱלֹהִים לֹא יָדְעוּם *gods whom they knew not* (see also the end of the verse); after a substantive with בְּ (see above, *g*), Jer 23<sup>9</sup>, Jb 13<sup>28</sup>. Without a retrospective pronoun, after a determinate substantive, Ju 8<sup>1</sup>,  $\psi$  33<sup>12</sup> (preceded by a relative clause with אֲשֶׁר; Jb 28<sup>1</sup>). Other examples of this kind, though the article is omitted according to poetic usage, are Is 15<sup>7</sup> יְתֵרָה עָשָׂה (יְתֵרָה עָשָׂה) for which Jer 48<sup>36</sup> יְתֵרָה עָשָׂה with the substantive in the construct state governing the relative clause, see § 130 d),  $\psi$  7<sup>16</sup>, 51<sup>10</sup>, La 1<sup>21</sup>.—Without the retrospective pronoun, after an indeterminate substantive, e.g. Is 6<sup>6</sup> רֹצֵפָה בְּמִלְקָתָם לָקַח מֵעַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ *a live coal which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar*; Ex 15<sup>17</sup>, Is 42<sup>16</sup> (48<sup>17</sup>,  $\psi$  25<sup>12</sup>, all after בְּרָדָה; but  $\psi$  32<sup>8</sup> בְּרָדָהּ חִלָּה (בְּרָדָהּ חִלָּה); Is 64<sup>2</sup>; Ec 10<sup>6</sup> (in 6<sup>1</sup> the same clause with אֲשֶׁר); moreover, in Jer 14<sup>18</sup> read with the LXX אֶל־אֲדָמָה לֹא יָדְעוּ *into a land (that) they know not*.

(3) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun is dependent on *i* a preposition, or its place is taken by the adverb שָׁם, as in Jer 2<sup>6</sup> end.

Thus after a determinate substantive,  $\psi$  18<sup>3</sup> צִיּוֹרִי אֲהַסֶּה בּוֹ *my rock in which I take refuge*; Ex 18<sup>20</sup>, Is 42<sup>1</sup>; in Jb 3<sup>2a</sup> also, the omission of the article with יִם is only a poetic licence. After an indeterminate substantive, Jer 2<sup>6</sup>, last clause but one;  $\psi$  32<sup>2</sup>.

k In this case also the retrospective word is not infrequently suppressed, giving rise to extremely short, bold expressions, such as Is 51<sup>1</sup> look unto the rock הַצִּבְתָּם (whence) ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit הַפְּתַתֶּם (whence) ye were digged; Jb 21<sup>27</sup> the devices (where-with) ye act violently against me.—A retrospective adverb is suppressed in Jb 38<sup>19</sup> where is the way (to the place where) the light dwelleth? cf. 38<sup>24</sup>.

l Rem. 1. The omission of the retrospective word occurs most frequently in relative clauses which are governed by the construct state of a preceding substantive (especially an expression of time) and hence are virtually in the genitive. In addition to the instances already given in § 130 d, cf. the following: after בַּיּוֹם Lv 7<sup>35</sup>,  $\psi$  56<sup>10</sup>; after בַּיּוֹם Jer 36<sup>2</sup>; after simple יוֹם  $\psi$  56<sup>4</sup> (אִיּוֹם on the day when I am afraid); after בָּעֵת 2 Ch 29<sup>27</sup> הָעוֹלָה (at the time when the burnt offering began); 2c<sup>22</sup>, 24<sup>11</sup>, Jb 6<sup>17</sup>; after לָעֵת Dt 32<sup>35</sup>; after עַד-עֵת Mi 5<sup>2</sup>; after מִנְעֵת  $\psi$  4<sup>8</sup> thou hast put gladness in my heart more than (their gladness) at the time (when) their corn and their wine are increased.

m 2. The agreement (§ 138 d) of the retrospective pronoun with a pronominal regens in the 1st or 2nd person also takes place in a simple co-ordinated relative clause in 1 S 26<sup>14</sup> who art thou (that) criest? Cf., however, Is 63<sup>10</sup> we are become as they over whom (בָּם not בָּנֵנוּ) thou no longer bearest rule.

n 3. Occasionally—chiefly in poetic or otherwise elevated style—even independent relative clauses are simply co-ordinated with a regens, whereas we should expect them always to be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, on the analogy of the examples in § 138 e. The suppressed pronoun would stand—

(a) As subject, Is 41<sup>24</sup> an abomination (is he) that chooseth you (but read perhaps לְבַחֵר); Jb 30<sup>13</sup>, cf. § 152 u.

(b) As object, Is 41<sup>2</sup>, with a retrospective pronoun; Mal 2<sup>16</sup> וְכַסֶּה and him that covereth (or read וְכַסֶּה ?); Jb 29<sup>12</sup> I delivered . . . the fatherless also, and him that had none to help him.

(c) In the genitive governed by a substantive (cf. § 130 d), Ex 4<sup>13</sup> שְׁלַחֲנָא בְּיַד-תְּשַׁלַּח send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send, i.e. by the hand of some one else;  $\psi$  65<sup>3</sup> and Pr 8<sup>32</sup>, verbal-clauses after אֲשֶׁר O the happiness of the man, &c.;  $\psi$  81<sup>6</sup>, 141<sup>9</sup>, Jb 29<sup>16</sup>, La 1<sup>14</sup>; after כֹּל Gn 39<sup>4</sup>, but we must certainly read here, with the Samaritan and LXX, כֹּל-אִשְׁרֵי יְשׁוּלוֹ as in verses 5 and 8; Ex 9<sup>4</sup>; verbal-clauses after כֹּל 1 Ch 29<sup>3</sup>, 2 Ch 30<sup>19</sup>, 31<sup>19</sup>, Ezr 1<sup>6</sup>.

(d) Governed by a preposition; so verbal-clauses after אֲהַסֶּה Jer 2<sup>6</sup>; after אֵל (= to the place where), 1 Ch 15<sup>12</sup>, but Ex 23<sup>20</sup> before the same

verb  $\text{אֵל־הַמְּקוֹם הַזֶּה}$ ; after  $\text{בְּ}$  Jer 2<sup>11</sup>, 2 Ch 1<sup>4</sup> ( $\text{בְּהָהָרְ=בְּהַרְיָן}$  = *to the place where*); after  $\text{לֹא שָׁאַלְנִי לָלוֹא}$  Is 65<sup>1</sup> by them *that asked not for me* . . .  $\text{לָלוֹא בְּקִשְׁתִּי}$  them *that sought me not*; Ez 13<sup>3</sup> that which *they have not seen*, but the text is hardly correct; after  $\text{עַל}$   $\psi$  119<sup>186</sup>, cf. § 158 b; after  $\text{עַם}$  2 Ch 16<sup>9</sup>.—A noun-clause follows  $\text{לֵּ$  in Neh 8<sup>10</sup>. An analogous instance in Aramaic is Ezr 5<sup>14</sup> *to one whose name was Sheshbazzar* [so in the papyri, see the Lexicon, p. 1116<sup>a</sup>].

### § 156. Circumstantial Clauses.

1. The statement of the particular circumstances under which *a* a subject appears as performing some action, or under which an action (or an occurrence) is accomplished, is made especially (apart from relative clauses, see § 155) by means of noun-clauses connected by *Wāw* with a following subject (see further on this kind of *circumstantial clause* in § 141 e), and by verbal-clauses (see § 142 d). Very frequently, however, such statements of the particular circumstances are subordinated to the main clause by being simply attached, without *Wāw*, either as noun-clauses, sometimes extremely short (see c), or as verbal-clauses (see d-g).

Rem. Among relative clauses of this kind the commonest are the various *b* noun-clauses, which are most closely subordinated to a preceding substantive without  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$ , e. g. Gn 16<sup>12</sup>; also statements of weight, Gn 24<sup>22</sup>; of name, Jb 1<sup>1</sup> (also introduced by  $\text{וַיִּשְׁמֹר}$  Gn 24<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>1</sup>, &c., or  $\text{וַיִּשְׁמָהּ}$  Gn 16<sup>1</sup>, 22<sup>24</sup>, &c.); of a condition of body, Ju 1<sup>7</sup>, and others.—Noun-clauses which begin with *wāw* and the predicate have a somewhat more independent character than those introduced by *wāw* and the subject<sup>1</sup> (Gn 19<sup>1</sup>, &c.). The former, however, are also to be regarded as circumstantial clauses, in so far as they describe a state which is simultaneous with the principal action; thus Is 3<sup>7</sup> *I will not be an healer, לֹא אֶחְיֶה וּבֵיתִי אֵין לֶחֶם וְכִבְיִיתִי אֵין* while in my house is neither bread nor clothing; Is 6<sup>6</sup> (Am 7<sup>7</sup>); 2 S 13<sup>18</sup>, 16<sup>1</sup>. Cf. also the instances in § 152 l of  $\text{וַאֲיִן}$  followed by a participle, as  $\text{וַאֲיִן מַעֲלִיל}$ , &c.

2. Characteristic examples of circumstantial noun-clauses are Gn 12<sup>8</sup> *c* and pitched his tent  $\text{וַהֲעִי בֵּית־אֵל מִזֵּם וְהָעִי מִזֵּם}$  with Bethel on the west and Ai on the east; Nu 22<sup>24</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>14</sup> through the heart of Absalom,  $\text{עוֹרְנִי חַי}$  while he was yet alive; Jer 30<sup>6</sup>, Ez 9<sup>2</sup> (cf. Ct 3<sup>8</sup>), Na 3<sup>8</sup>, Ze 14<sup>5</sup>, 2 Ch 23<sup>10</sup>; with the predicate preceding, e. g. 1 S 26<sup>13</sup>,  $\psi$  32<sup>8</sup>.—In Gn 41<sup>29</sup> a noun-clause serves to announce a state in the future.—We may also include here certain set phrases, as  $\text{פְּנִים אֵל־פְּנִים}$  face to face (prop. while face was turned towards face), Gn 32<sup>31</sup>, Ex 33<sup>11</sup>, Dt 34<sup>10</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> In Dt 32<sup>31</sup> this form of sequence appears to be selected for another purpose, and indeed our enemies are judges thereof, with *wāw* emphatic; to take it as a circumstantial clause is too artificial.

&c.;<sup>1</sup> so also to cast oneself down, אָרָץ the face being turned to the earth, Gn 19<sup>1</sup>, &c. (for אָרָץ we find אָרָץ in 1 K 1<sup>31</sup>, Is 49<sup>23</sup>).<sup>2</sup>—Cf. finally the formula אִם עַל־בָּנִים mother with children, Gn 32<sup>12</sup>; cf. Ho 10<sup>14</sup> and § 119 aa, note 2.

Rem. On circumlocutions of this kind to express negative attributes by means of short noun-clauses (complete or incomplete), cf. § 152 u.

- d 3. As circumstantial verbal-clauses,<sup>3</sup> we find (1) sometimes affirmative clauses (see below), but far more frequently (2) negative clauses (see f), and among these (3) a certain number of expressions which may be regarded simply as equivalent to negative adverbial ideas (see g).

Examples of (1) Is 5<sup>11b</sup> woe unto them, that tarry late in the evening, וְיִרְאִים while wine inflames them; Is 1<sup>5</sup>, 10<sup>24</sup>, 30<sup>31</sup>, Jer 7<sup>26</sup>, 20<sup>15</sup>, ψ 4<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>12</sup>, 21<sup>13</sup>, 61<sup>5</sup>. The circumstantial verbal-clause is used to particularize an action which has before been expressed generally, in Gn 44<sup>12</sup>, 48<sup>14</sup> = crossing his hands; Dt 2<sup>27</sup>, Ju 6<sup>10</sup>; antithetically, 1 K 13<sup>18</sup> לֹא כִּי שָׁם wherewith however he lied unto him. The verbal-clause seems to assign a reason in ψ 7<sup>7</sup> מִשְׁפָּט צִוִּיתָ since thou hast commanded judgement; a consequence in ψ 103<sup>5</sup>.<sup>4</sup>

e Rem. On the cases in which an imperfect in the sense of a final clause is subordinated to a verb of motion (generally קָם), see § 120 c.

f Of (2), subordinate verbal-clauses with לֹא (in English usually rendered by without and the gerund, if the subject be the same as in the principal clause), e.g. Lv 1<sup>17</sup> לֹא יִבְדֵּיל without dividing it asunder; Jb 31<sup>34</sup>; לֹא with the perfect is so used in Gn 44<sup>4</sup>, Ex 34<sup>28</sup>, 1 S 30<sup>2</sup>, Jb 20<sup>26</sup> (without its being blown upon it). With a different subject, equivalent to a consecutive clause in English, Is 27<sup>9</sup> לֹא יִקְמוּ so that they shall rise up no more.—Moreover, verbal-clauses in the same sense (without doing, &c.) are frequently connected by וְלֹא; cf. 1 S 20<sup>2</sup>, Jb 24<sup>22</sup>, 42<sup>3</sup>; in a concessive sense, Is 33<sup>1</sup>, ψ 44<sup>18</sup>.

g Of (3), cf. יָדַע לֹא (prop. he knows it not) unawares, ψ 35<sup>8</sup>, Pr 5<sup>6</sup> יָהֳמַל לֹא unsparingly, Is 30<sup>14</sup> (after an infinitive absolute); Hb 1<sup>17</sup>, Jb 6<sup>10</sup> (but יָהֳמַל לֹא Jb 16<sup>13</sup>, 27<sup>22</sup>; see f at the end); לֹא כִּהְרִי (prop. they hide not) openly, Is 3<sup>9</sup> (but

<sup>1</sup> The expression הִתְרָאָה פְּנִים to look one another in the face (i. e. to contend in combat) 2 K 14<sup>8,11</sup>, 2 Ch 25<sup>17,21</sup>, is probably only a shortened form for הִתְרָאָה פְּנִים אֶל־פְּנִים.

<sup>2</sup> That אָרָץ (אָרָץ) is really to be regarded as a virtual predicate to אָפִים, and not אָפִים as a *casus instrumenti*, is seen from Is 49<sup>23</sup>, where אָרָץ precedes the verb.

<sup>3</sup> Some examples of these have been already discussed in another connexion above, § 120 a-c.

<sup>4</sup> In Gn 21<sup>14</sup> the circumstantial verbal-clause שָׁם עַל־שִׁכְמָה is only due to a harmonizing transposition; read וְאֶת־הַיֶּלֶד שָׁם עַל־שִׁכְמָה. According to the source used in cap. 21 Ishmael was still a young child; according to 17<sup>25</sup> he was about 16 or 17 years old.



Jb 15<sup>18</sup> בְּלִי חֶשֶׁן; (prop. *he restrains not*) *unceasingly*, Is 14<sup>6</sup>; בְּלִי-יָמוּט; Jb 41<sup>15</sup> (ψ 93<sup>1</sup>) בְּלִי-יָמוּט and לֹא יָמוּט Is 40<sup>20</sup> (*without tottering*) *immorably*; cf. also לֹא יִצְעָד *without wavering*, ψ 26<sup>1</sup>.

### § 157. Object-Clauses (Oratio Obliqua).

Clauses which depend on a transitive verb, especially on what are *a* called *verba cordis*, i.e. verbs denoting any mental act, such as *to see, to hear, to know, to perceive, to believe, to remember, to forget, to say, to think, &c.*, may be subordinated to the governing verb without the help of a conjunction by simple juxtaposition (§ 120 a), or they may be co-ordinated with it either with or without *wāw copulative* (§ 120 d-h). As a rule, however, the objective clause is introduced by the conjunction כִּי *that*, less frequently by אֲשֶׁר *that*.<sup>1</sup>

Examples:—

(a) Object-clauses without a conjunction. Besides the passages mentioned in § 120 (especially under c) there are a number of examples, in which a clause depending on a *verbum dicendi* or *sentienti* (the *oratio obliqua* of the Latin and English Grammar) is added in the form of an independent noun-clause or verbal-clause; e.g. Gn 12<sup>13</sup> אָמַרְתָּ אֵלַי אִשְׁתִּי אָמַרְתָּ אֵלַי say, *I pray thee, thou art my sister*; ψ 10<sup>13</sup>, Jb 25<sup>3a,14</sup>, Neh 6<sup>6</sup>; Ze 8<sup>23</sup> (after שָׁמַע); ψ 9<sup>21</sup> (after יָדַע); verbal-clauses, e.g. ψ 50<sup>21</sup> *thou thoughtest* כְּמֹדֶה הָיִיתָ אֵלֶיךָ *I was surely like thyself* [but read הָיִיתָ for הָיִיתָ]; Gn 41<sup>15</sup>, Ju 9<sup>48</sup> *what ye have seen me do*; Is 48<sup>8</sup>, Ho 7<sup>2</sup>.

(b) Object-clauses introduced by כִּי, e.g. Gn 6<sup>5</sup> וַיַּרְא יְהוָה כִּי רַבָּה רָעַת הָאָדָם *and the Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great, &c.*—Direct narration also is very frequently introduced by כִּי (analogous to the *ſubiunctivum*; frequently, indeed, with the secondary idea of a particle of asseveration, as in Gn 26<sup>9</sup>, 27<sup>20</sup>), e.g. Gn 21<sup>30</sup>, 22<sup>16 f.</sup>, 26<sup>22</sup>, 29<sup>22</sup>, 37<sup>35</sup>, Jos 2<sup>24</sup>, &c., even when the direct narration is not expressly indicated, Gn 4<sup>25</sup>, 32<sup>21</sup>, 41<sup>51 f.</sup>, Ex 18<sup>4</sup>.—On the expression of a second object by means of a clause introduced by כִּי, see § 117 h.<sup>2</sup>

(c) Object-clauses introduced by אֲשֶׁר, e.g. Est 3<sup>4</sup> בְּיָדָם אֲשֶׁר-הָיוּ לָהֶם *for he had told them that he was a Jew*; 1 S 18<sup>15</sup>, Ez 20<sup>26</sup>, Ec 8<sup>12</sup>,<sup>3</sup> even before direct narration, 1 S 15<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>4</sup>. Somewhat frequently אֲשֶׁר is preceded by

<sup>1</sup> On these clauses with כִּי and אֲשֶׁר and generally on clauses which we should render as subordinate, cf. P. Dürwald 'Zur hebr. Syntax' in *Neue Jahrb. für Philol. und Pädag.* 1890, p. 115 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of a complete objective clause we sometimes find a kind of accusative and infinitive construction, especially after נָתַן (prop. *to give up*) in the sense of *to allow*, e.g. Nu 21<sup>23</sup> וְלֹא-נָתַן סִיחֹן אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל עָבַר בְּנִבְלוֹ *and Sihon did not suffer Israel to pass through his border*; 20<sup>21</sup>; followed by an infinitive with ל, e.g. Gn 20<sup>6</sup>, 31<sup>7</sup>, Ex 3<sup>19</sup>.—Cf. also the analogous examples in Dt 28<sup>50</sup> (after נָפַח *to venture*; see § 113 d); Ju 11<sup>20</sup> (after הֶאֱמִין *to trust*); 1 K 19<sup>4</sup> (after שָׁאַל *to request*).

<sup>3</sup> In Jer 28<sup>9</sup> a *subject-clause* is thus introduced by אֲשֶׁר instead of the usual כִּי.

the *nota accusativi* אֲנִי (equivalent to *the circumstance, the fact, that*), e.g. Jos 2<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 24<sup>11,19</sup>, 2 S 11<sup>20</sup>, Is 38<sup>9</sup>, but in Gn 30<sup>20</sup>, Dt 29<sup>15</sup> equivalent to *the way in which*.

### § 158. Causal Clauses.

- a* A complete clause, assigning the reason for statements, demands, threats, &c., sometimes follows with the simple *wāw copulative*, e.g.  $\psi$  60<sup>13</sup> *give us help against the adversary, and (for) vain is the help of man*; Gn 6<sup>17</sup> (אֲנִי), 22<sup>12</sup>, Ex 23<sup>9</sup>, Jb 22<sup>12</sup>, perhaps also  $\psi$  7<sup>10</sup>; or even without *Wāw*, e.g. Gn 17<sup>14</sup>. As a rule, however, special conjunctions in various combinations are used to introduce causal clauses.
- b* The most common causal conjunctions are כִּי Is 3<sup>16</sup>, &c., and אֲשֶׁר because, prop. *on account of the fact that*; both, however, may also be shortened to the simple וְ Nu 20<sup>12</sup>, &c., or to כִּי because, Gn 3<sup>14,17</sup>, &c., or to אֲשֶׁר Gn 30<sup>18</sup>, 31<sup>49</sup>, 34<sup>13,27</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>15</sup>, 20<sup>42</sup>, 26<sup>16,23</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>19</sup>, S<sup>33</sup>, Ho 14<sup>4</sup>, Ze 1<sup>15</sup>; also אֲשֶׁר Gn 39<sup>5,23</sup>. On the other hand, the simple וְ is sometimes repeated for emphasis, וְ וְ (something like the German *sintemal und alldieweil*) Lv 26<sup>48</sup>, Ez 13<sup>10</sup> (without וְ 36<sup>3</sup>); also וְ אֲשֶׁר 2 S 3<sup>30</sup>, and וְ אֲשֶׁר Dt 31<sup>17</sup>, Ju 3<sup>12</sup>, Mal 2<sup>14</sup> *on the ground that*; וְ אֲשֶׁר because of the circumstance that, Dt 23<sup>5</sup>; וְ אֲשֶׁר עַל-כֵּן אֲדוֹת for this very cause that, Jer 3<sup>8</sup>. But just as the simple וְ is used for אֲשֶׁר, so also the simple וְ with the perfect stands for אֲשֶׁר  $\psi$  119<sup>136</sup>, Ezr 3<sup>11</sup>; cf. וְ אֲשֶׁר Gn 31<sup>20</sup> and מִכֵּן Dt 28<sup>55</sup> both with the perfect, equivalent to *because . . . not*.—Cf. further אֲשֶׁר עָקַב Gn 22<sup>18</sup>, 26<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>6</sup>, all with the perfect, and כִּי עָקַב (2 S 12<sup>10</sup> with the perfect; Am 4<sup>12</sup> with the imperfect) prop. *in return for the fact that*; similarly again the simple עָקַב Nu 14<sup>24</sup> with the perfect, and Dt 7<sup>12</sup>, S<sup>20</sup> with the imperfect; finally, מֵאֲשֶׁר Is 43<sup>4</sup> *arising from the fact that, = because*; מֵחֵן אֲשֶׁר 1 S 26<sup>21</sup>, &c., and מֵחֵן כִּי Dt 4<sup>37</sup>, Pr 1<sup>20</sup> *for the reason that*.
- c* Rem. 1: The preposition וְ (because of, on account of) with the infinitive (§ 114 e) is frequently used as the equivalent of a full causal clause; cf. e.g. Am 1<sup>3,6,13</sup>, 2<sup>1,6</sup>. Such a construction with the infinitive may, however, according to § 114 r, be continued by means of a finite verb, in which case וְ governs the verb as a conjunction; e.g. Am 1<sup>9</sup> וְלֹא זָכְרוּ . . . וְלֹא חֲסִיִּים because they delivered up . . . and remembered not, &c.; 1<sup>11</sup>, 2<sup>4</sup>; without *Wāw*, Is 30<sup>14</sup>.
- d* 2. The choice of tense is regulated by the general principles stated in § 106 ff., viz. the perfect (cf. especially § 106 f) refers to causes already brought fully into effect, the imperfect to those which may contingently arise; cf. e.g. Dt 7<sup>12</sup>, S<sup>20</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>33</sup>, where the imperfect leaves the possibility still open that the persons addressed will perhaps escape the threatened punishments by avoiding disobedience.—Cf. further, § 111 k on the imperfect consecutive, and § 112 m on the perfect consecutive in the apodosis to causal clauses.

<sup>1</sup> Also כִּי-עַל-כֵּן prop. *for therefore*, Gn 18<sup>5</sup>, 19<sup>8</sup>, 33<sup>10</sup>, 38<sup>26</sup>, Nu 10<sup>31</sup>, 14<sup>43</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>20</sup> *forasmuch*, and אֲשֶׁר עַל-כֵּן Jb 34<sup>27</sup>, always mean *forasmuch as*.

## § 159. Conditional Sentences.

Cf. H. Ferguson, 'The Use of the Tenses in Conditional Sentences in Hebrew' (*Journal of the Society of Bibl. Lit. and Exeg.*, Middletown, Conn., June and September, 1882).—P. Friedrich, *Die hebr. Conditionalsätze*, Königsberg, 1884 (Inaug.-Diss.).—Driver, *Use of the Tenses*, 3rd ed., p. 174 ff.

1. The great variety of construction in conditional sentences is *a* owing to the fact that it frequently depends on the subjective judgement of the speaker, whether he wishes a condition to be regarded as *capable of fulfilment* (absolutely, or at least possibly), thus including those already fulfilled, or as *incapable of fulfilment*. On this distinction depends the choice both of the conditional particle to be used (see below), and especially (as also in Greek and Latin) of the tense. The use of the latter is naturally determined according to the general principles laid down in § 106 ff.<sup>1</sup> In the following sketch, for the sake of clearness, conditional sentences *without* conditional particles will be first discussed (under *b*), and afterwards sentences *with* these particles (under *l*).

2. The relation between condition and consequence may be expressed, *b* as in English, by the simple juxtaposition of two clauses. At the same time, it is to be observed in general as a fundamental rule (in accordance with the original character of the two tenses), that the *imperfect*, with its equivalents (the jussive, cohortative, imperative, perfect consecutive, and participle), is used to express a condition and consequence which are regarded as being *capable of fulfilment* in present or future time, while the *perfect* represents a condition already fulfilled in the past, and its consequence as an accomplished fact. The other use of the perfect—to represent conditions regarded as *impossible*—occurs only in connexion with particles.

Examples:—

(a) *Imperfect* (cf. § 107 x) in protasis and apodosis, Jos 22<sup>13</sup>, ψ 104<sup>28</sup> ff. C יִלְכְּטוּ<sup>2</sup> לָהֶם תִּתֵּן (if) thou givest unto them, they gather, &c.; ψ 139<sup>18</sup>, Pr 12<sup>17</sup>, Jb 20<sup>24</sup>, Ec 1<sup>18</sup>, Neh 1<sup>8</sup>; with an interrogative imperfect in the apodosis, Ju 13<sup>12</sup>; with the jussive, Jb 10<sup>16</sup>; with the cohortative, Pr 1<sup>28</sup>; with the perfect, Is 26<sup>10</sup> (yet will he not learn righteousness; the apodosis forcibly denies

<sup>1</sup> It may, moreover, happen that a different idea is introduced in the apodosis, from that with which the protasis started—a source of many further variations.

<sup>2</sup> On the termination יִ- cf. § 47 m. In verse 28 *b* also יִשְׁבְּעוּ is probably to be explained from its immediately preceding the greater pause. These terminations in verses 28–30 and ψ 139<sup>18</sup> can scarcely have any connexion with the conditional sentence, although it is strange that יִ- in Nu 32<sup>23</sup> appears after לֹא-אֲנִי in the protasis. In Nu 16<sup>29</sup>, 32<sup>20</sup> יִ- as before אֲנִי (as in Jb 31<sup>10</sup> in the apodosis) is to be explained from the dislike of hiatus.

what the imperfect in the protasis had represented as still conceivable; cf. Ho 8<sup>12</sup>); with the perfect consecutive, Gn 47<sup>25</sup>, Ex 33<sup>5</sup>; with the protasis suppressed, Jb 5<sup>8</sup> (see § 107 x).

d (b) *Jussive* in protasis (cf. § 109 h, i) and apodosis,  $\psi$  104<sup>10</sup>  $\text{וְשִׁתְּחֹשֶׁךְ}$   $\text{וְיָהִי לַיְלָה}$  (if) *thou makest darkness, it is night*; imperfect in the apodosis,  $\psi$  104<sup>23 b</sup>; cohortative Pr 1<sup>23</sup>. Also in Ex 7<sup>9</sup>  $\text{וְיָהִי לְחֹפִין}$  *it shall become a serpent*, is the apodosis to a suppressed protasis *if thou cast it down*; so in 2 K 5<sup>10</sup>  $\text{וְיִשָּׁע}$  is the apodosis to a protasis *if thou wash*, contained in what precedes.

e (c) *Cohortative* (see § 108 e) in the protasis; perfect in the apodosis,  $\psi$  46<sup>6</sup>; imperfect consecutive, Jb 19<sup>18</sup>  $\text{וְיָרִידוּ בִּי אֲנָקוּהָ}$  (if) *I arise, they speak against me*; on the cohortative in the apodosis, cf. § 108 f.

f (d) *Imperfect consecutive* in the protasis (§ 111 x),  $\psi$  139<sup>11</sup>  $\text{וְאָמַר}$  *if I say*, &c. (with a noun-clause as the apodosis); with a frequentative perfect consecutive in the apodosis, 1 S 2<sup>16</sup>.

g (e) *Perfect consecutive* in the protasis and apodosis (see the examples, § 112 k k and ll), Gn 44<sup>22</sup>  $\text{וְעָזַב אָבִיו וְנָמַת}$  *and should he leave his father, his father would die*; 9<sup>15</sup>, 44<sup>20</sup>, Ex 4<sup>14</sup>, 12<sup>13</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>2</sup>, 19<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>28</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>30</sup>; with frequentative perfects, Ex 16<sup>21</sup> (referring to the past, Jer 20<sup>9</sup>); with imperfect in the apodosis (being separated from the *Wāw* by  $\text{לֵךְ}$ ), Nu 23<sup>20</sup>, Jb 5<sup>24</sup>; introduced by an infinitive absolute, 1 K 2<sup>37</sup>; an interrogative clause in the apodosis, Lv 10<sup>19</sup>; a noun-clause,  $\psi$  37<sup>10</sup>, Jb 7<sup>21</sup>.

h (f) *A simple perfect* (to represent actions which are to be regarded as completed) in the protasis and apodosis, Pr 18<sup>22</sup>  $\text{מָצָא אִשָּׁה מָצָא טוֹב}$  *has one found a wife, he has found a good thing*; an imperfect in the apodosis, Jb 19<sup>4</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup>; an imperfect consecutive, Ex 20<sup>25</sup>, Pr 11<sup>2</sup>, Jb 3<sup>25</sup>, 23<sup>13 b</sup>, 29<sup>11</sup>; an interrogative clause, Nu 12<sup>14</sup>, Jb 7<sup>20</sup> *if I have sinned* (prop., well, now I have sinned!) *what can I do unto thee?* 21<sup>31</sup>, 35<sup>6</sup>, Am 3<sup>8</sup>; a noun-clause, Jb 27<sup>10</sup>.

i (g) *A participle as casus pendens* (cf. § 143 d, and the sections of the Grammar there cited, esp. § 116 w) or a complete noun-clause in the protasis; the apodosis mostly introduced by *wāw* apodosis, e.g. Pr 23<sup>24</sup>  $\text{כֹּחֶם יוֹלֵךְ הָכֶם}$  *if one begetteth a wise child, he shall have joy of him*; with perfect frequentative in the apodosis, 1 S 2<sup>13</sup>, &c.; but also with a simple imperfect, e.g. Ex 21<sup>12</sup> (cf. § 112 n); with an interrogative imperfect, 2 K 7<sup>2, 19</sup>; with an interrogative perfect, Ju 6<sup>13</sup>.

k (h) *Infinitive with preposition* (also as the equivalent of a conditional clause) in the protasis, and a perfect consecutive in the apodosis (cf. § 112 mm), e.g. 2 S 7<sup>14 f</sup>.  $\text{וְהִבְהִיתוּ וְיִקְרָא}$  *if he commit iniquity, I will correct him*; Ex 34<sup>24 f</sup>. (with imperfect, followed by perfects frequentative in the apodosis).

Rem. On the expression of condition and consequence by means of two co-ordinate imperatives, see § 110 f.

l 3. Particles used to introduce conditional sentences are  $\text{אִם}$  (for which in the later and latest Books sometimes  $\text{כִּי}$ , see below, under *w*) and  $\text{וְלִי}$  (1 S 14<sup>30</sup>, Is 63<sup>19</sup>  $\text{לִאֵל}$ ; Ec 6<sup>6</sup>, Est 7<sup>4</sup>  $\text{אֵלַי}$ , from  $\text{אִם לִי}$ ) *if*, negative  $\text{אִם לֹא}$  and  $\text{לֹא אִם}$  ( $\text{לֵלִי}$ ) *unless*;  $\text{כִּי}$  *supposing that* (Lat. *ut*), *in case that*, sometimes used almost in the same sense as  $\text{אִם}$ . With regard to the difference between  $\text{אִם}$  ( $\text{אִם לֹא}$ ) and  $\text{וְלִי}$  ( $\text{לֹא אִם}$ ), the fundamental rule is that  $\text{אִם}$  is used if the condition be regarded either as already fulfilled, or if it, together with its consequence, be thought of as possibly (or

<sup>1</sup> On  $\text{לִי}$  cf. Kohler in Geiger's *Zeitschr. für Wiss. und Leben*, vi (1868), p. 21 ff.

probably) occurring in the present or future. In the former case, **אם** is followed by the perfect, in the latter (corresponding to the Greek **ἐάν** with the present subjunctive) by the imperfect or its equivalent (frequently in the apodosis also). On the other hand, **וְ** (**וְלֵינָא**) is used when the condition is to be represented as *not fulfilled* in the past, or as *not capable of fulfilment* in the present or future, and the consequence accordingly as not having occurred or never occurring. In the former case, **וְ** and **וְלֵינָא** are necessarily followed by the perfect (mostly also in the apodosis) corresponding to the Greek **εἰ** with the indicative of an historic tense, and the Latin imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive. In the latter case (which is extremely rare) the perfect, or the participle, or even the imperfect, may be used.

Rem. Since it again frequently depends on the subjective judgement of the speaker (see under a), whether a condition is to be regarded as possible or impossible, we cannot wonder that the distinction between **אם** and **וְ** is not always consistently observed. Although naturally **וְ** and **וְלֵינָא** cannot take the place of **אם** and **אִם** (on the strange use of **וְ** in Gn 50<sup>15</sup> see below), yet conversely **אם** is sometimes used where **וְ** would certainly be expected; cf. e.g. **ψ** 50<sup>12</sup>, 137<sup>7</sup>, 139<sup>8</sup>, Ho 9<sup>12</sup> (cf. verse 11). These examples, indeed (**אם** with the imperfect), may without difficulty be explained from the fact that the connexion of **וְ** with the imperfect was evidently avoided, because the imperfect by its nature indicates a still unfinished action, and consequently (as opposed to **וְ**) a still open possibility. But **אם** is also used for **וְ** in connexion with the perfect, especially when an imprecation is attached by the apodosis to the condition introduced by **אם**, e.g. **ψ** 74<sup>10</sup>. . . **אִם-עֲשִׂיתִי זֹאת . . . יִרְדֶּה וְ** if I have done this . . . let the enemy pursue my soul, &c., cf. Jb 31<sup>10</sup>. The speaker assumes for a moment as possible and even actual, that which he really rejects as inconceivable, in order to invoke the most severe punishment on himself, if it should prove to be the case.

On the frequent addition of an infinitive absolute to the verb in clauses with **אם** see § 113 o above.

Examples:—

A. **אם** 1. with perfect in the protasis to express conditions, &c., which have  $\eta$  been completely fulfilled in the past or which will be completely fulfilled in the future (the perfect is here equivalent to the *futurum exactum*, § 106 v). The apodosis<sup>1</sup> takes—

(a) A perfect also, e.g. Pr 9<sup>12</sup> **אִם-חֲכָמָה תִּכְסָּמָה לָךְ** if thou art wise, thou art wise for thyself; **ψ** 73<sup>15</sup> (see below on **וְ**).

(b) Imperfect, e.g. Dt 32<sup>41</sup> **אִם-שִׁנּוּתִי אֶשְׂפּוֹתִי** if I whet my glittering sword . . . **אֶשִׁיב** I will render vengeance, &c.; Jb 9<sup>31.30</sup> (in both cases we should expect **וְ** rather than **אִם**; so also in **ψ** 44<sup>21 f.</sup>, with an interrogative imperfect in the apodosis); Jb 11<sup>13</sup> (the apodosis is in verse 15).

(c) Jussive (or optative), e.g. Jb 31<sup>10</sup> (see m above); Gn 18<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> We are not here concerned with the fact that the logical apodosis (the consequence of the condition) is sometimes mentioned before the condition; as in Gn 18<sup>28.30</sup>, Ju 1<sup>10</sup>, 6<sup>1 f.</sup>, 137<sup>1</sup>, and according to Dillmann Is 4<sup>4</sup>.

- O** (d) *Perfect consecutive* (see the examples in § 112 gg), e.g. Gn 43<sup>9</sup> אֲנִי לֹא הֵבִיאֲתִיו וְג' *if I bring him not . . . then I shall have sinned, &c.*; Ju 16<sup>17</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>33</sup>, 2 K 7<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, e.g. Gn 47<sup>6</sup>, Mi 5<sup>7</sup>, Jb 7<sup>4</sup> refer to actions already completed; in Gn 38<sup>9</sup> and Nu 21<sup>9</sup> the perfect with וְ is a perfect frequentative and refers to past time.
- (e) *Imperfect consecutive* (see § 111 q), e.g. Jb 8<sup>4</sup> *if thy children have sinned* (הָטָאָה) . . . , וַיִּשְׁפָּחֵם *he has delivered them, &c.*
- (f) *Imperative*, e.g. Gn 50<sup>4</sup> אֲמַנָּה מְצִאתִי הֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ דְּבַר־נָא וְג' *if now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, &c.*; the imperative precedes in Gn 47<sup>16</sup> and Jb 38<sup>13</sup>.
- P** (g) A (complete or incomplete) noun-clause, e.g. Jer 14<sup>18</sup> (a vivid realization of the future) *if I have gone forth into the field (= if I go, &c.), then, behold, the slain with the sword! &c.*; Pr 24<sup>14</sup> (apodosis with *wāw apodosis*).
- Q** 2. אֲם with *imperfect* in the protasis, to express what is possible in the present or future, as well as (according to § 107 b) what has continued or been repeated in the past. The apodosis takes—
- (a) The *perfect*, e.g. Nu 32<sup>23</sup> וְאִם־לֹא תַעֲשׂוּן בְּןֵי הַנָּהָה תַּטְאֲתֶם *but if ye will not do so, behold, ye have sinned*; here the apodosis represents the time when the consequence has already taken place; so also Jb 20<sup>12-14</sup>. On the other hand, Nu 16<sup>29</sup> (as also 1 S 6<sup>9</sup> and 1 K 22<sup>28</sup>) is a case of a pregnant construction, *if these men die as all men die, then (it will follow from this) the Lord hath not sent me*.
- (b) The *imperfect*, e.g. 2 K 7<sup>4</sup> אֲם־יִחְיֶינוּ נִחִיהָ *if (they save us alive, we shall live, &c.*; Gn 13<sup>16</sup>, 15<sup>28,30</sup>, 28<sup>20</sup> π, Ex 20<sup>25</sup> (the second imperfect is equivalent to a jussive); Is 1<sup>8</sup>, 10<sup>22</sup>, Am 9<sup>2-4</sup>, ψ 50<sup>12</sup> (where אֲם ironically represents an impossibility as possible); Jb 8<sup>5 f.</sup> (with the insertion of a second condition in the form of a noun-clause); 9<sup>3,20</sup>, 14<sup>7</sup>; a frequentative imperfect referring to the past, Gn 31<sup>8</sup> יֹאמַר אֲם־כֵּן *if (ever) he said thus . . . , וְיֹלְדוּ then they bare . . .*; Ex 40<sup>37</sup>. In Gn 42<sup>87</sup> the consequence (on תָּמִית cf. § 107 s) precedes the condition.
- (c) The *jussive* (or *optative*), e.g. ψ 137<sup>5</sup>; cf. § 109 h.
- (d) The *cohortative*, e.g. Gn 13<sup>3</sup>, Jb 31<sup>7</sup>; cf. § 108 f.
- S** (e) The *perfect consecutive* (see the examples in § 112 ff and gg), e.g. 1 S 20<sup>6</sup> וְאִם־כֵּן יֹאמַר אֲבִיךָ יִפְקְדֵנִי אֲפָקֵר אֲם־פָּקֵר יִפְקְדֵנִי *if thy father miss me at all, then shall thou say, &c.*; Gn 24<sup>41</sup>, Ju 4<sup>20</sup>; with a frequentative perfect consecutive, Gn 31<sup>8</sup> *if he said (as often happened) . . . , then, &c.*
- (f) The *imperfect consecutive*; so perhaps ψ 59<sup>16</sup>, if וְיִלְכֶנּוּ is to be explained according to § 111 t.
- (g) The *imperative*, e.g. Gn 31<sup>50</sup>, 1 S 20<sup>21</sup> (with *wāw apodosis*, but in verse 22 simply הָיָה), 21<sup>10</sup>, Jb 33<sup>5</sup>.
- T** (h) A noun-clause, e.g. Gn 47, ψ 139<sup>8</sup>, Jb 8<sup>6</sup>, 31<sup>26 f.</sup>
3. אֲם with *cohortative*, e.g. Gn 30<sup>31</sup>; cf. the passages in § 108 e.
- U** 4. אֲם with *infinitive*, Jb 9<sup>27</sup> אֲם־אֶמְרִי prop. *if my saying is* (but probably we should read אֲמַרְתִּי).
- V** 5. אֲם with a noun-clause, e.g. Dt 5<sup>22</sup> (in the apodosis a perfect with *wāw apodosis*), Gn 27<sup>46</sup>, Ju 6<sup>15</sup> (imperative in the apodosis); 11<sup>9</sup> (imperfect in the apodosis); 2 S 12<sup>8</sup> (cohortative in the apodosis); Ho 12<sup>22</sup>; especially if the subject of the conditional clause be a personal pronoun. In an affirmative sentence this pronoun is often joined to וְ, in a negative sentence to אִין (cf. on both, § 100 o), while the predicate (cf. § 116 q) is represented by a participle, usually expressing the future, e.g. Ju 6<sup>36 f.</sup> אֲם־יִשְׁקֶךָ מוֹשִׁיעַ

if thou wilt save, &c.; Gn 24<sup>49</sup> אִם-יִשְׁכַּח עֲשֵׂים if ye will deal, &c.; 1 S 23<sup>23</sup>. In Gn 24<sup>42f.</sup> the condition is expressed in a more humble form by the addition of אֵל. With אֵין Gn 43<sup>5</sup> וְאִם-אֵינְךָ מְשַׁלֵּחַ but if thou wilt not send, &c.; 20<sup>7</sup> (with imperative in the apodosis); Ex 8<sup>17</sup>, 9<sup>2f.</sup>, 1 S 19<sup>11</sup> (all with a participle also in the apodosis). But יֵשׁ and אֵין may also be used after אִם without a suffix; thus יֵשׁ Gn 23<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 20<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>15</sup>, &c., אִם-אֵין (if it be not the case) Gn 30<sup>1</sup>, Ex 32<sup>32</sup>, Ju 9<sup>15</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>10</sup>; cf. also אִם-כֵּן if it be so, Gn 25<sup>22</sup>.

B. הֵן if, generally supposed to be originally identical with הֵן behold!<sup>1</sup> Probably, however, הֵן if, is a pure Aramaism, and since the Aramaic word never has the meaning behold, it is at least improbable that it had originally any connexion with הֵן or הֵנָּה. Cf. Ex 8<sup>22</sup>, Lv 25<sup>20</sup>, Is 54<sup>15</sup>, Jer 3<sup>1</sup>, Hag 2<sup>12</sup>, 2 Ch 7<sup>13</sup>, and frequently in Job, as 9<sup>11,12</sup>, 12<sup>14,15</sup>, 19<sup>7</sup>, 23<sup>8</sup>, 40<sup>23</sup>, always with wāw apodosis following, except in 13<sup>15</sup>, where consequently the meaning see is no doubt preferable.

C. לִי if, (לִינִי) if not.

a

1. With perfect in the protasis and apodosis (cf. § 106 p), e.g. Ju 8<sup>19</sup>: אֵלַי is used in the same sense as לִי in Est 7<sup>4</sup>, cf. Ec 6<sup>6</sup> (with a question in the apodosis).—With the perfect in protasis and apodosis after לִינִי Gn 31<sup>42</sup>, 43<sup>10</sup>, Ju 14<sup>18</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>34</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>27</sup>, Is 1<sup>9</sup>. On the other hand, in Dt 32<sup>29</sup> לִי with a perfect is followed by an imperfect in the apodosis, if they were wise, they would understand this; in Mi 2<sup>11</sup> by a perfect consecutive.

2. With imperfect after לִינִי Dt 32<sup>27</sup>, אֲנֹכִי probably as the *modus rei repetitae*, y were it not that I ever and again feared, &c.; so also the imperfect after לִי with the apodosis suppressed, Gn 50<sup>15</sup> supposing that Joseph should hate us; since, according to the context, the danger was real, the use of לִי here is strange; conversely in other cases, e.g. ψ 73<sup>15</sup>, Jb 9<sup>15f.30</sup>, לִי would be more natural than אִם.

3. A noun-clause occurs after לִי 2 S 18<sup>12</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>14</sup>, ψ 81<sup>14</sup>, all with imperfect in the apodosis; Jb 16<sup>4</sup> יֵשׁ לִי, with cohortative in the apodosis.

D. כִּי supposing that, if:—

1. כִּי with perfect in the protasis, e.g. Nu 5<sup>20</sup> וְאַתָּה כִּי שָׁטִיתָ but thou, if thou hast gone astray, &c.; with a frequentative perfect consecutive in the apodosis, Jb 7<sup>13f.</sup>; with an imperfect consecutive, Jb 22<sup>29</sup>.

2. כִּי with imperfect in the protasis, e.g. ψ 23<sup>4</sup> כִּי-אֵלֶךְ יָם yea, though I walk (have to walk) . . . , I will fear no (לֹא-אֵירָא) evil; 37<sup>24</sup>; Ex 21<sup>2</sup> כִּי-תִקְנֶה עֶבֶד קִי-תִקְנֶה if thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve (but in verses 3-5 a series of definite conditions with definite consequences is introduced by אִם; so also the כִּי in verse 7 is followed in verses 8-11 by the special cases with אִם; cf. also verse 17 ff.); cf. Gn 4<sup>24</sup>, 24<sup>41</sup>, Jb 38<sup>5</sup>; with a perfect consecutive in the apodosis, Gn 32<sup>18f.</sup>, Ex 18<sup>16</sup>; with a noun-clause, Is 1<sup>15</sup>.

3. כִּי with a noun-clause (and imperfect in the apodosis), 2 S 19<sup>8</sup>.

#### REMARKS.

1. In 2 K 5<sup>13</sup> the particle אִמִּי (Masora אִמִּי, probably in the sense of my CC father) appears exceptionally for לִי; its meaning here is unquestionable, but

<sup>1</sup> There could be no doubt of their identity if הֵנָּה in 1 S 9<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>11</sup>, simply meant if. We must, however, keep to the meaning but behold.



its origin is obscure. Cf. the exhaustive discussion of Delitzsch and Wetzstein on Jb 34<sup>30</sup>, where this **כִּי** appears to be used as a desiderative particle.—Sometimes when one case has been already discussed, another of the same character is added by means of **וְכִי** or, e.g. Ex 21<sup>16</sup> **וְכִי נִוְרַע וְכִי** or (another possible case) it is known that, &c., i.e. but if it be known, &c., LXX *ἐὰν δέ, Vulg. sin autem*; cf. Lv 4<sup>23,28</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 25<sup>49</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>13</sup>; with a following imperfect, Ez 14<sup>17</sup>.—On the hypothetical use of **אִם** (which is interchangeable with **כִּי** in other senses also) Lv 4<sup>22</sup> (in verses 3 and 27 **אִם**), Dt 11<sup>27</sup> (verse 28 **אִם**), Jos 4<sup>21</sup>, see the Lexicon.

**dd** 2. The conditional sentence is frequently found in an abridged form, where the suppressed clauses can be easily supplied from the context; cf. Gn 13<sup>9</sup>, 24<sup>40</sup>, 1 S 21<sup>6</sup> **לֹא-דָנָה** and if not, i.e. and if thou wilt not give it to me, then I take it (perfect according to § 106 n) by force; cf. 1 S 6<sup>9</sup>. The use of **וְיֵשׁ** alone in Ju 6<sup>13</sup> is peculiar, as also **וְיֵשׁ** in 2 K 10<sup>15</sup> (where read with the LXX **וְיֵשׁ יְהוָה יְהוָה**) in the sense of if it be so.—In 2 S 13<sup>26</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>17</sup> **וְלֹא** alone appears to be used in the sense of if really... not, in each case with a following jussive equivalent to may there at least, &c. (cf. § 143 d); but perhaps with Matthes, ZAW. 1903, p. 122 ff., following Kuipers, we should read **וְלֹא** would that!—In 1 S 13<sup>18</sup>, Jb 3<sup>18</sup> the condition must be supplied from the preceding clause to complete the sentence introduced by **כִּי עָתָה**, in Jb 31<sup>28</sup> by **כִּי**, in 2 K 13<sup>19</sup> by **אִם**.—The apodosis also appears sometimes in an abridged form (e.g. Gn 4<sup>24</sup>, Is 43<sup>2</sup>) or is entirely suppressed, e.g. Gn 30<sup>27</sup>, 38<sup>17</sup>, 50<sup>15</sup> (see *y* above), Ex 32<sup>32</sup>, ψ 27<sup>18</sup>, Jb 38<sup>6</sup>, where properly **הִנֵּה** must be supplied with **כִּי** as in verses 4 and 18; cf. § 167 a.—In ψ 8<sup>4</sup>, instead of the apodosis I expect which we should expect, the exclamation itself follows.

**ee** 3. The absolute certainty with which a result is to be expected is frequently emphasized by the insertion of **כִּי** Is 7<sup>9</sup>; **כִּי אֵין** 2 S 22<sup>27</sup>, 19<sup>7</sup>, Jb 11<sup>18</sup>; or **עָתָה כִּי** now verily, Nu 22<sup>28</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>30</sup> after **לֵךְ**, Gn 31<sup>42</sup>, 43<sup>10</sup> after **לֵךְ**, Jb 8<sup>6</sup> after **אִם**. On this corroborative **כִּי** cf. such passages as Gn 18<sup>20</sup>, &c., and § 148 d. On **אִם כִּי** after an oath cf. 163 d.

**ff** 4. Sometimes the force of a hypothetical particle extends beyond the apodosis to a second conditional clause, as in the case of **אִם** Pr 9<sup>12</sup>, Jb 10<sup>15</sup>, 16<sup>6</sup>, 22<sup>28</sup>, and **כִּי** Is 43<sup>2</sup>.

**gg** 5. In Ex 33<sup>20</sup> a negative statement takes the place of a condition with a negative consequence, for a man doth not see me and live, instead of for if a man sees me, he does not live; cf. the similar passages, Dt 22<sup>4</sup> thou shalt not see... and hide thyself, instead of if thou seest... thou shalt not hide thyself.

## § 160. Concessive Clauses.

**a** Besides the use of the imperative in the sense of a concession, meant either seriously (§ 110 a) or mockingly (§ 110 f), and of concessive circumstantial clauses (§ 141 e, § 142 d, and § 156 f), concessive clauses may be introduced—

(a) By a simple **אִם** if: thus Jb 9<sup>15</sup> with perfect, if (=though) I had been in the right; Is 1<sup>18</sup> and 10<sup>22</sup> with imperfect in reference to a contingent event.

**b** (b) By **כִּי אִם** yea though, Is 1<sup>18</sup> with imperfect; for which we find simply **אִם** in Is 49<sup>18</sup> with imperfect, yea, though these may forget, yet...; on the other hand, with perfect, Jer 36<sup>26</sup>, ψ 95<sup>9</sup>, Neh 6<sup>1</sup>; finally **וְאִם** even if, though, Ec 4<sup>14</sup>.

(c) By the preposition **עַל** governing a complete noun-clause, as Jb 16<sup>17</sup> C **עַל לֹא־חַיָּס בְּכַפִּי** notwithstanding that no violence is in mine hands, or a verbal-clause, Is 53<sup>9</sup>. On **עַל** with the infinitive in a similar sense (equivalent to in addition to the fact that = notwithstanding that), cf. § 119 aa, note 2.

### § 161. Comparative Clauses.

1. A comparison between two facts is sometimes established by *a* simply uniting them with *wāw* copulative, especially in gnomic poetry, when facts of a moral nature are compared with those of the physical world, e.g. Jb 5<sup>7</sup> *man is born unto trouble, and the sons of flame fly upward*, i.e. as the sparks by nature fly upward, so man, &c.; Jb 12<sup>11</sup> (in an interrogative form; in 34<sup>3</sup> the same comparison as a statement); 14<sup>11f</sup>, Pr 17<sup>3</sup>, 25<sup>3</sup>, 26<sup>3,3,14</sup>, 27<sup>21</sup>, &c.<sup>1</sup> Even without the connecting **וְ** Jb 24<sup>19</sup> *drought and heat consume the snow waters*, **שָׁחַל הַחֶמֶד** so doth Sheol those who have sinned (cf. § 155 n); cf. Jer 17<sup>11</sup>.

2. The conjunction **כַּאֲשֶׁר** (cf. § 155 g; the simple **כִּי** occurs in the *b* same sense in Ex 10<sup>6</sup>, 14<sup>13</sup>, 34<sup>18</sup>) *as, quemadmodum*, is used as a comparative conjunction (Ob<sup>15</sup>), frequently with **כֵּן** *so*, corresponding to it in the apodosis, Is 31<sup>4</sup>, 52<sup>14f</sup>. Sometimes, however, **כֵּן** (*so also*) occurs even after independent statements, Is 55<sup>9</sup>, Jer 3<sup>20</sup>.—Exact coincidence of two facts is expressed in Ec 5<sup>15</sup> by **כְּלִי-עֵצִים** *in all points as*.

Rem. On the use of **כֵּן** *as*, with single nouns or pronouns to introduce *C* comparisons, cf. § 118 s; on the alleged use of **כֵּן** as a conjunction (equivalent to **כַּאֲשֶׁר**), cf. § 155 g.—It is to be further remarked that **כֵּן—כֵּן** when used in correspondence with one another, *as—so* (e.g. Lv 7<sup>7</sup>, Ju 8<sup>18</sup>, Is 24<sup>2</sup>, Ho 4<sup>9</sup>; also *so—as*, Gn 18<sup>25</sup>, 44<sup>18</sup>, Dt 1<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>4</sup>; in Jos 14<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 32<sup>24</sup> **כֵּן—כֵּן**; ψ 127<sup>4</sup> and often, **כֵּן—כֵּן**, cf. Jo 2<sup>4</sup>), are not to be regarded as conjunctions, but as virtual substantives with a following genitive; **כֵּן כִּי־יִהְיֶה** Nu 15<sup>15</sup> properly means *the like of you shall be the like of the stranger*, i.e. *your duty shall be (also) the stranger's duty*; cf. Lv 24<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On this *wāw* *adaequationis*, and in general on these proverbial comparisons, see Delitzsch, *Das Salomonische Spruchbuch*, p. 9 f. Moreover, instead of entire clauses, the nouns alone (without predicates) are frequently grouped together, e.g. Pr 25<sup>23</sup>, 26<sup>21</sup>, 27<sup>21</sup> (called by Delitzsch, the 'emblematic Mashal'). The expressions **עִם נֶחֱשֶׁב עִם** *prop. to be counted with some one*, ψ 88<sup>5</sup>, and **נֶחֱשֶׁל עִם** *to be likened with some one*, ψ 28<sup>1</sup>, 143<sup>7</sup>, also arise from the idea of comparison implied in grouping things together. On this use of **עִם** cf. Jb 5<sup>56</sup>, where *with* is equivalent to *like*.

<sup>2</sup> In spite of its form this particle has originally nothing to do with **כֵּן**, **כַּל**, **כָּל**. The expression is compounded of **כֵּן** and **לְעֵצָה**, like the Aramaic **כָּל־לְעֵצָה** *all*. The expression is compounded of **כֵּן** and **לְעֵצָה**, like the Aramaic **כָּל־לְעֵצָה** *all*. for **כָּל־לְעֵצָה**; cf. M. Lambert, *REJ.* xxx. 47.

§ 162. *Disjunctive Sentences.*

- a The introduction of another possible case, excluding that which preceded, is effected by **וְ** *or*, e.g. Ex 21<sup>36</sup>, equivalent to the Latin *vel*; but also equivalent to *aut* with an exclusive antithesis, 2 K 2<sup>16</sup>; so Is 27<sup>5</sup> **וְ** = *it would then happen that*, for which elsewhere **וְ** **וְ** **וְ**.
- b In the sense of *sive—sive* we find **וְ**—**וְ**, or **וְ**—**וְ**, or **וְ**—**וְ** (see the examples in the Lexicon), also **וְ**—**וְ** Lv 5<sup>3</sup>, Nu 9<sup>14</sup>, Dt 24<sup>7</sup>, Is 2<sup>13</sup>, Jer 32<sup>20</sup>, **וְ** 76<sup>7</sup>, Jb 34<sup>29</sup>, perhaps also Ex 21<sup>16</sup> (but not Pr 29<sup>9</sup>; cf. Delitzsch on the passage), and **וְ**—**וְ** (see § 143 e); cf. also **וְ**—**וְ** (in Gn 24<sup>44</sup> **וְ**—**וְ**) *both—and*; but **וְ**—**וְ** **וְ** (in Gn 21<sup>26</sup> **וְ**—**וְ** **וְ**) *neither—nor*. On disjunctive questions, see § 150 g.

§ 163. *Adversative and Exceptive Clauses.*

- a 1. After negative sentences (especially after prohibitions) the antithesis (*but*) is introduced by **וְ** **וְ**, e.g. 1 S 8<sup>19</sup> *and they said, Nay, but we will have a king over us*; **וְ** 1<sup>2</sup>, &c.; frequently also by **וְ** alone, e.g. Gn 18<sup>15</sup>, 19<sup>2</sup>, or even simply connected with **וְ**, Gn 17<sup>5</sup>, **וְ** **וְ** as perfect consecutive; 42<sup>10</sup>; cf. Ex 5<sup>18</sup>.
- b Rem. Sometimes the negation is only virtually contained in the preceding sentence, e.g. in the form of a rhetorical question (Mi 6<sup>9</sup>) or of conditions which are to be regarded as not having been fulfilled (Jb 31<sup>18</sup>); **וְ** or **וְ** **וְ** in such cases becomes equivalent to *nay, rather*.
- c 2. *Exceptive* clauses, depending on another sentence, are introduced by **וְ** **וְ** *except that*, and (again after negative sentences, see a above) **וְ** **וְ**<sup>1</sup> *unless*; especially **וְ** **וְ** with the perfect (equivalent to *unless previously*) after imperfects which contain a declaration, e.g. Gn 32<sup>27</sup> *I will not let thee go, except thou hast previously blessed me*; Lv 22<sup>6</sup>, Is 55<sup>10</sup>, 65<sup>6</sup>, Am 3<sup>7</sup>, Ru 3<sup>18</sup>. Finally, **וְ** **וְ** *unless*, Am 3<sup>4</sup> (with perfect after a rhetorical question), or simply **וְ** **וְ** Gn 43<sup>3</sup> with a noun-clause, *except your brother be with you*; Is 10<sup>4</sup> after a rhetorical question, with a verbal-clause.

<sup>1</sup> Very probably this use of **וְ** **וְ** arises from the original meaning *for if, surely if* (**וְ** in an affirmative sense); so evidently in Ex 22<sup>22</sup> as a forcible resumption of the preceding **וְ**. Thus, e.g. Ju 15<sup>7</sup> is simply *surely when I have been avenged of you, after that I will cease*, equivalent to, *I will not cease, until I have, &c.* When the exception follows, an ellipse must be assumed, e.g. Ru 3<sup>18</sup> *surely (or for) when he has finished it (then the man will rest)*. It is far less natural to assume such an ellipse with **וְ** **וְ** *but* (before entire clauses as before single nouns); see a above.

Rem. The principal statement, to which **אֲנִי** appends an exception, *d* must sometimes be supplied from the context; thus, Gn 40<sup>14</sup> (I desire nothing else) *except that thou remember me*, equivalent to *only do thou remember*, &c. (cf. § 106 n, note 2; but it is probably better to read **אֲנִי** for **אֲנִי**). Cf. Mi 6<sup>8</sup>, where **אֲנִי**, equivalent to *nothing but*, is used before an infinitive, and Jb 42<sup>8</sup>, equivalent to *only*, before a noun. Similarly when **אֲנִי** after an antecedent introduces an emphatic assurance, e.g. in 2 K 5<sup>20</sup> *as the Lord liveth* (I can do nothing else) *except I run after him*, &c.; cf. 2 S 15<sup>21</sup> *Keth.*, Jer 51<sup>14</sup>, Ru 3<sup>12</sup> *Keth.*, and even without the oath, Ju 15<sup>7</sup>; cf. the Rem. on *c*.

## § 164. Temporal Clauses.

1. The relations of time existing between two different actions or *a* events are frequently expressed without the aid of a conjunction simply by juxtaposition:—

(a) Actions or events are represented as wholly or in part *simultaneous* by connecting a noun-clause with another noun-clause or verbal-clause introduced by **וְ** (or **וְהָיָה**), e.g. Gn 7<sup>6</sup> *and Noah was six hundred years old* (prop. *a son of six hundred years*), **וְהָיָה הַמָּבּוּל** and (i.e. *when*) *the flood was*. This is especially the case when the predicate of the noun-clause (frequently introduced by **עוֹד** *still*) is expressed by an active participle, e.g. Jb 1<sup>16</sup> **וְהָיָה עוֹד** *he was yet speaking*, and *there came another*, &c.; see the numerous examples in § 111 g and § 116 u. Instead of a complete noun-clause there often occurs a simple *casus pendens* after **כִּלְ** with a participial attribute in the sense of *whenever any one* . . ., e.g. 1 S 2<sup>13</sup> **כִּלְ אִישׁ וְזָבַח** *whenever any man offered sacrifice, then came*, &c.; 2 S 2<sup>23</sup>, &c.; see the examples (in which the second member is generally introduced by *wāw apodosis*) in § 116 v.

(b) Sequence is expressed by the juxtaposition

(1) of two imperfects consecutive, e.g. Gn 24<sup>19</sup> **וְהָיָה כִּלְ הָיָה וְהָיָה** *and when she had done giving him drink, she said*, &c.; 28<sup>8</sup>, 29<sup>31</sup>, 30<sup>8</sup>, 32<sup>26</sup>, &c.; cf. § 111 d;

(2) of a noun-clause with a passive participle as predicate, and a verbal-clause attached by **וְ**, e.g. Gn 38<sup>25</sup>; cf. § 116 v; in Gn 49<sup>29</sup> an imperative follows without **וְ**;

(3) of two perfects (frequently with the secondary idea of rapid succession<sup>1</sup> of the two actions or events in past time), e.g. Gn 19<sup>23</sup> **וְהָיָה כִּלְ הָיָה** *the sun was just risen . . . and (=when) Lot came*, &c., cf. 1 S 9<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>24</sup>; Gn 44<sup>3</sup>, Ju 3<sup>24</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 20<sup>39</sup>.—In all these examples the subject follows immediately after the connective *Wāw*, and then the (simple) perfect. On the other hand,

(4) a perfect consecutive follows another perfect consecutive to express the contingent succession of future actions, e.g. Gn 44<sup>4</sup> **וְהָיָה כִּלְ הָיָה** *then Esau his brother came*; in 1 K 9<sup>24</sup> by **וְהָיָה** only; in ψ 48<sup>6</sup> by **כִּלְ** and the addition of two more perfects without **וְ**.

<sup>1</sup> This secondary idea is implied here by the mere co-ordination of two independent verbal-clauses, just as the idea of simultaneous occurrence (according to § 116 u, note 1) is implied in the co-ordination of a noun-clause with another clause. In Gn 2<sup>30</sup> the immediate succession is especially emphasized by **וְהָיָה** and the infinitive absolute, *Jacob was yet scarce gone out . . . then Esau his brother came*; in 1 K 9<sup>24</sup> by **וְהָיָה** only; in ψ 48<sup>6</sup> by **כִּלְ** and the addition of two more perfects without **וְ**.

and when thou dost overtake them (as soon as thou shalt have overtaken), thou shalt say unto them. Naturally, examples of this kind are very closely related to conditional sentences; see, therefore, the examples in § 112 *h*k and § 159 *g*. On the connexion of an imperfect consecutive or a perfect with detached expressions of time (as equivalent to complete clauses), cf. § 111 *b*; on the imperfect consecutive after וְיָהִי and a statement of time, cf. § 111 *g*; on the perfect consecutive following a detached statement of time, as in Ex 16<sup>6</sup>, cf. § 112 *oo*.—In 1 S 29<sup>10</sup> an imperative with י follows the perfect consecutive.

- C (5) The fact that one action or event has not yet taken place on the occurrence of another, is expressed by כִּי (an adverb, not a conjunction) with the imperfect (according to § 107 *c*). The apodosis, which may consist of a subject and perfect or even of a noun-clause (Gn 24<sup>15</sup>),<sup>1</sup> is then connected by וְ (or וְהָיָה) as in the examples above, under no. 3, e.g. Gn 19<sup>4</sup> (cf. Jos 2<sup>8</sup>) נָשָׁבוּ וְ . . . יָשָׁבוּ וְאֲנָשֵׁי הָעִיר כָּרָם they had not yet lain down, and (= when) the men of the city . . . compassed, &c.; Gn 24<sup>25</sup>.

d 2. Conjunctions used to introduce temporal clauses are כִּי (with perfect, e.g. Gn 6<sup>1</sup>, Ju 1<sup>28</sup>, 16<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>12</sup>; with imperfect, Gn 4<sup>12</sup>, 12<sup>12</sup>, 24<sup>41</sup>, Ex 3<sup>21</sup>, Lv 21<sup>9</sup>, Dt 31<sup>21</sup>, Is 1<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>19</sup>) and אֲשֶׁר<sup>2</sup> when (כִּי with the imperfect also = *as often as*, ψ 8<sup>4</sup>; with perfect Jb 1<sup>5</sup>); less frequently אֲזַם<sup>3</sup> (joined with a perfect), e.g. Gn 38<sup>9</sup>, Nu 21<sup>9</sup>, Ju 6<sup>3</sup>, ψ 41<sup>7</sup>, 94<sup>18</sup>, cf. also Is 24<sup>13</sup> = *quotiescunque*; also in the same sense with an imperfect, Nu 36<sup>4</sup>; with a perfect, equivalent to the *futurum exactum*, Is 4<sup>1</sup>. Other conjunctions of time are the compounds כִּמּוֹ when, Gn 19<sup>15</sup>; כַּאֲשֶׁר when, after that; עַד-כִּי until (also the simple עַד, e.g. Gn 38<sup>11</sup>, Jos 2<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>22</sup> [with the imperfect = *only when*, as in 2 S 10<sup>5</sup>]); 2<sup>5</sup>, &c.; especially in the formula עַד-בְּלֹאֵי הַשָּׂאִיר לִי until there was none left remaining to him (where indeed it would be very natural to read הַשָּׂאִיר the infin. constr., as elsewhere after בְּלֹאֵי, § 114 *s*) Nu 21<sup>25</sup>, Dt 3<sup>3</sup>, Jos 8<sup>22</sup>, 11<sup>8</sup> (but 1 S 14<sup>19</sup> while, as long as); עַד-אֲשֶׁר לא before that, Ec 12<sup>1,2,6</sup> with an imperfect, as in Pr 8<sup>26</sup> עַד with a perfect; עַד-אֲזַם until the time when; אֲתֵּר-אֲשֶׁר (for which in Ez 40<sup>1</sup> אֲתֵּר-אֲשֶׁר; Lv 25<sup>48</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>9</sup> simply אֲתֵּר; Lv 14<sup>43</sup>, Jer 41<sup>16</sup>, Jb 42<sup>7</sup> simply אֲתֵּר) after that; מֵאֵז (prop. since that time; the dependent clause is attached to it in the same way as the attributive clause to the demonstrative אֲשֶׁר § 138 *e*) since, Gn 39<sup>5</sup>; בְּרִמָּה (and simply בָּרָם § 107 *c*) before; בְּרִמָּה אֲשֶׁר (for בְּרִמָּה אֲשֶׁר) before, ψ 129<sup>6</sup>.

- C Rem. 1. With regard to the tenses used with the above conjunctions, the rules are practically the same as those given in § 158 *d* for causal clauses. The perfect indicates actions completed in the past or future (in the former case corresponding to the Latin pluperfect, § 106 *f*, and in the latter to the

<sup>1</sup> On the perfect in the protasis, which is critically doubtful, cf. § 107 *c*.

<sup>2</sup> On אֲשֶׁר as an original demonstrative, cf. § 138 *a*; hence אֲשֶׁר נָשָׁב we shall return. is properly up to that (moment)—we shall return.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the frequent use of *wenn* [prop. *if*] for *wann* [= *when*] in German.

Latin *futurum exactum*, § 106 a), the imperfect denotes actions occurring contingently in the future. On בָּרָם, בְּרָם, and עַר with the imperfect as a *tempus historicum*, cf. 107 c.

2. Clauses introduced by עַר, עַרְפִּי, or עַרְאִשֶׁר, sometimes express a limit *f* which is not absolute (terminating the preceding action), but only relative, beyond which the action or state described in the principal clause still continues; thus, עַר with the imperfect, § 110<sup>1</sup>; עַרְפִּי with the perfect, Gn 26<sup>13</sup>, with impf. 49<sup>10</sup>; עַרְאִשֶׁר with the perfect, Gn 28<sup>15</sup>; with the imperfect, § 112<sup>8</sup>.—Like the Arab. حَتَّى, עַר may even introduce a main clause; e.g. Ex 15<sup>16</sup> עַרְיַעְבֶּר prop. no doubt = thus it came to this—they passed through, i.e. so they passed through.

3. The infinitive construct governed by a preposition (§ 114 d, e) is very *g* frequently used as the equivalent of a temporal clause; the infinitive with בָּ may usually be rendered by *when, as, or whilst*; the infinitive with כִּי by *when, as soon as* (in Pr 10<sup>25</sup> followed by a noun-clause introduced by *wāw apodosis*), or, when referring to the future, by *if*; the infinitive after כִּי by *since*. According to § 111 g such statements of time are generally preceded by וַיְהִי and the apodosis follows in the imperfect consecutive; hence in 1 S 17<sup>55</sup> (cf. Driver on the passage) וַיְבַרְאוֹת with a simple perfect following, is unusual. On the continuation of these infinitival constructions by means of the perfect consecutive, cf. § 112 v, and in general, § 114 r.—With the participle, בִּי appears to be used as the equivalent of a conjunction in בִּיחִיב as he drew back, Gn 38<sup>29</sup> (unless we should read בִּיהִיב [or בָּמוֹ הִיחִיב, cf. Gn 19<sup>15</sup>]), and in בִּפְרִחַת when it budded, 40<sup>10</sup>.

### § 165. Final Clauses.<sup>1</sup>

1. Like most of the dependent clauses hitherto treated, the final *a* clause may also be joined by a simple *wāw copulative* to the main clause, unless the final clause is directly subordinated to the governing verb.

Examples of the connexion: (α) of a final imperfect (or jussive?) with a perfect by means of וַ, La 1<sup>19</sup>, see § 107 g; with an interrogative sentence, 2 S 9<sup>1,3</sup>, Jb 38<sup>24</sup>; with an optative, § 51<sup>9</sup>; with an imperative, 1 K 11<sup>21</sup>; (β) of a cohortative with an imperative by וַ, Gn 29<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>16</sup>, or a jussive, Neh 2<sup>5</sup> (§ 108 d); (γ) of a jussive with an imperative by וַ, Ex 9<sup>1</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>11</sup>, 1 K 5<sup>7,9</sup>, § 59<sup>14</sup>, 86<sup>17</sup>; with a jussive, Jb 21<sup>19</sup>, or cohortative, § 109 f, g (cf. also 2 S 24<sup>21</sup> the infinitive with לְ, Jon 1<sup>11</sup> מָה with the 1st plur. imperf., and 2 Ch 29<sup>10</sup> עִם-לִבִּי, which are equivalent to cohortatives); (δ) of an imperative with a jussive, cohortative, or interrogative sentence by וַ, § 110 i; (ε) of a perfect consecutive after another perfect consecutive, Lv 14<sup>36</sup>; after an imperfect, § 112 m and p; similarly after a jussive, § 112 q; after an imperative, § 112 r.—On negative final clauses joined by וְלֹא to the imperfect (so Ex 28<sup>43</sup>, 30<sup>20</sup>; and 2 S 13<sup>25</sup> after אֶל-בִּנְיָם with a jussive in the main clause) see the Rem. on § 109 g. In Ex 28<sup>32</sup>, 39<sup>23</sup> the negative final clause is simply connected by וְלֹא.—On the use of an historical statement after verbs of command-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. G. T. Mitchell, *Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew*, Leipzig, 1879.

ing, where we should expect a final clause (e.g. Neh 13<sup>9</sup> *then I commanded, and they cleansed*, equivalent to *that they should cleanse, and they cleansed*; in Jb 9<sup>7</sup> a negative final clause is connected in this way by וְלֹא, cf. § 120 f.

For examples of the direct subordination of the final imperfect (without וְ) see § 120 c.

b 2. Final conjunctions are לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר *to the end that*; also simply לְמַעַן Gn 12<sup>13</sup>, 27<sup>25</sup>, Ex 4<sup>5</sup>, ψ 51<sup>6</sup>, &c.; אֲשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר אֲשֶׁר *prop. for the purpose that*, Gn 27<sup>10</sup>, and simply בְּעֵבֶר Gn 27<sup>4</sup>, Ex 9<sup>14</sup>, 20<sup>20</sup>; also the simple אֲשֶׁר<sup>1</sup> Dt 4<sup>10,40</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>, 32<sup>46</sup>, Jos 3<sup>7</sup>, Neh 8<sup>14f.</sup>; negatively, לֹא אֲשֶׁר Gn 11<sup>7</sup>, 24<sup>3</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>16</sup>; or שֶׁ Ec 3<sup>14</sup>; also negatively, שֶׁלֹּא עַל־דְּבַרְתָּ שֶׁלֹּא *for the matter (purpose) that . . . not*, Ec 7<sup>14</sup>; לְבִלְתִּי with imperfect, Ex 20<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>14</sup> *that . . . not*.—Quite exceptional is the use of כִּי (if the text be right) in Dt 33<sup>11</sup> כִּי־יָקִימוּן, with the imperfect, equivalent to *that . . . not* [in prose, כִּי־יָקִימוּן].

c Rem. All the conjunctions here mentioned are naturally always used with the imperfect, see § 107 g (on the apparent exception in Jos 4<sup>24</sup>, see § 74 g).—On the negative conjunctions לֹא and כִּי *that not, lest*, see § 152 f and w. On the infinitive with לְ (also לְמַעַן Gn 18<sup>20</sup>, 37<sup>22</sup>, &c.) as the equivalent of a final clause (Gn 11<sup>5</sup>, 28<sup>4</sup>, &c.), see § 114 f, h, p. On the continuation of such infinitival constructions by means of the finite verb, see § 114 r. On the negation of the final infinitive by לְבִלְתִּי, § 114 s. On the preposition כִּי with a substantive or infinitive as the equivalent of a negative final clause (Gn 31<sup>28</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>28</sup>, &c.), see § 119 x and y.

### § 166. Consecutive Clauses.

a 1. Consecutive clauses are added by means of simple wāw copulative with the jussive,<sup>3</sup> especially after negative and interrogative sentences, e. g. Nu 23<sup>10</sup> לֹא אִישׁ אֶל יֻכַּבֵּד וְיִרְאֶה אֱלֹהִים *God is not a man, that he should lie, and (i. e. neither) the son of man, that he should repent*; Is 53<sup>2</sup> וְנִחְמְדָהוּ; Ho 14<sup>10</sup> נָבוֹן וְיָדַעַם אֱלֹהִים נָבוֹן וְיָדַעַם *who is wise, that he may understand these things? prudent, that he may know them?* Jb 5<sup>12</sup> וְלֹא = *so that . . . not*; in Pr 30<sup>3</sup> ! is separated from the predicate by the object. In Gn 16<sup>10</sup> a negative consecutive clause comes after a cohortative, and in Ex 10<sup>5</sup> after a perfect consecutive.—On the other hand, in Jb 9<sup>32,33</sup> the jussive in the sense of a consecutive clause is attached without Wāw to the preceding negative sentence (in

<sup>1</sup> In Ez 32<sup>27</sup> a final clause is introduced by אֲשֶׁר אֵת, thus at the same time taking the form of an object-clause.

<sup>2</sup> On לְ as a supposed conjunction (equivalent to the Arabic *li*) 1 K 6<sup>18</sup>, see § 66 i.

<sup>3</sup> That such examples as יֻכַּבֵּד are to be regarded as jussive is probable from the analogy of Ho 14<sup>10</sup> and Jb 9<sup>33</sup>.



verse 32 a second jussive follows, likewise without *Wāw*, for he is not a man, as I am, that I should answer him, that we should come together in judgement). On the imperfect consecutive as expressing a logical consequence, see § 111 l; on the perfect consecutive as a consecutive clause after a participle, see § 112 n.

2. Conjunctions introducing consecutive clauses are again (see b § 157 c, note 3)  $\text{וְ}$  and  $\text{וְכֵן}$  = *so that*; especially again after interrogative sentences, according to § 107 u; cf. Nu 16<sup>11</sup>,  $\text{וְ}$  with the imperfect, *that ye murmur*; but in Gn 20<sup>10</sup> with the perfect, in reference to an action already completed. On  $\text{וְכֵן}$  with the imperfect (or jussive) equivalent to *so that*, cf. further Gn 13<sup>16</sup>, 22<sup>14</sup>; with perfect and imperfect, 1 K 3<sup>12f</sup>, with the demonstrative force clearly discernible, depending on  $\text{כֵּן}$ ; on  $\text{וְכֵן}$  = *ut non*, cf. Dt 28<sup>35</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>37</sup>.

On  $\text{וְ}$  with a substantive or infinitive as the equivalent of a consecutive clause, see § 119 y.

### § 167. *Apopsiopsis, Anacoluthon, Involved Series of Sentences.*

1. *Apopsiopsis* is the concealment or suppression of entire sentences *a* or clauses, which are of themselves necessary to complete the sense,<sup>1</sup> and therefore must be supplied from the context. This is especially frequent after conditional clauses; besides the examples already given in § 159 dd, cf. also Ex 32<sup>32</sup> (the LXX and Samaritan supply  $\text{וְכֵן}$ ); Nu 5<sup>20</sup>, Ju 9<sup>16</sup> (in verse 19, after a long parenthesis, an imperative follows as the apodosiis to this conditional clause); 1 S 12<sup>14f</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>8</sup> (where indeed the text is probably very corrupt; cf. the addition in 1 Ch 11<sup>6</sup>); 2 S 23<sup>17</sup>,  $\psi$  27<sup>15</sup>, 1 Ch 4<sup>10</sup>. For other examples of various kinds, see § 117 l, and especially § 147; in Aramaic, Dn 3<sup>15</sup>.—On Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, cf. § 152 w at the end.

2. *Anacoluthon* is the change from a construction which has been b already begun to one of a different kind. It is found especially after long parentheses, because the speaker has either lost sight of the beginning of his sentence, or for the sake of clearness purposely makes a new beginning; thus Gn 20<sup>13</sup>, 31<sup>52</sup> and Ez 34<sup>10</sup> (cf. § 149 at the end); Nu 14<sup>21ff</sup>, 32<sup>20ff</sup>, Dt 17<sup>2ff</sup>, 24<sup>1ff</sup>, 29<sup>21ff</sup>, Ju 10<sup>11</sup> (where, after a series of intermediate sentences, the predicate *I saved you* is sup-

<sup>1</sup> But those cases are not to be regarded as examples of *apopsiopsis*, in which the answer, being closely connected with the question, is given simply in the infinitive with  $\text{וְ}$ ; cf. § 147 a, note 1.

pressed; but the text can hardly be correct); perhaps also Is 66<sup>18</sup> (cf., however, Delitzsch on the passage, which is certainly corrupt).<sup>1</sup> On Gn 23<sup>13</sup> (<sup>15</sup> with the imperative), see § 110 e.

- c 3. We may mention as instructive examples of *involved series* of sentences Gn 24<sup>14</sup> and <sup>12</sup>π, and Gn 28<sup>π</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, from the Semitic point of view the various kinds of compound sentences are *not* to be regarded as instances of anacoluthon, e.g. Gn 17<sup>14,17</sup>, nor even Gn 31<sup>49</sup> (cf. § 143).

## THE PARADIGMS.

In the paradigms of the verbs, those forms which are to be especially noticed by the beginner are marked throughout by an asterisk as model forms. Thus e.g. in the strong verb the 3rd *sing. fem.* קָטְלָהּ is the model for קָטְלִי, which likewise has only a vocalic affirmative, and קָטְלָהּ is the model for קָטְלִי, קָטְלִי and קָטְלִי, which in the same way have a toneless affirmative beginning with a consonant. On the other hand, the forms קָטְלָהּ and קָטְלָהּ, where the affix beginning with a consonant has the tone, stand by themselves.—In the table of the pronouns the asterisk has a different meaning; see the footnote there.—The bracketed forms (from Paradigm (+ onwards)) are merely analogous formations not occurring in the Old Testament.

The newly added paradigm (Q) consists of forms actually found, belonging to various verbs.

## A. The Personal

Nominative of the Pronoun,  
or *Pronomen separatum*.

Accusative of the Pronoun,

A.

Simple form.

*Sing. 1. comm.* אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי;   
אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי I.

אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי me.

2. { *m.* אַתָּה (אַתָּה), in pause } *thou.*  
אַתָּה  
{ *f.* אַתָּה (אַתָּה) }

אַתָּה; אַתָּה, in pause אַתָּה, } *thee.*  
אַתָּה  
אַתָּה; אַתָּה; אַתָּה, אַתָּה

3. { *m.* הוּא *he.*  
הוּא  
{ *f.* הִיא *she.*

הוּא; הוּא (הוּא), הוּא; הוּא *him.*

הִיא; הִיא; הִיא *her (eam).*

*Plur. 1. comm.* אֲנִיחֵנוּ (אֲנִיחֵנוּ), in  
pause אֲנִיחֵנוּ (אֲנִיחֵנוּ) *we.*

אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי *us.*

2. { *m.* אַתֶּם  
אַתֶּם, אַתֶּם } *you.*

אַתֶּם; אַתֶּם } *you.*  
אַתֶּם; אַתֶּם

3. { *m.* הֵם, הֵם } *they.*  
הֵם  
{ *f.* הֵנָּה } *they.*

(הֵם), הֵם; הֵם, הֵם, הֵם \*; הֵם,  
(הֵם), הֵם \* *them (eos).*

[הֵם], הֵם; הֵם, (הֵם); [הֵם] *them (eos).*

Pronoun.<sup>1</sup>

or *Suffixum Verbi*.

Genitive of the Pronoun, or *Suffixum Nominis*  
(*Pron. possessivum*).

| B.                             | A.  | B.   |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| With <i>Nûn energicum</i> .    | Attached to a sing.<br>noun.  | Attached to a noun<br>plur. or dual.         |
| אֲנִי; אַתָּה                  | אֲנִי <i>my</i> (prop. gen.<br><i>mei</i> ).  | אֲנִי <i>my</i> .                            |
| אָתָּה, (אַתָּה)<br>not found. | אָתָּה, אַתָּה, in<br>pause אָתָּה } <i>thy</i><br>(prop. <i>tui</i> ).<br>אַתָּה, אַתָּה, (אַתָּה) | אָתָּה } <i>thy</i> .<br>אַתָּה }            |
| (הֵן), הֵן; (הֵם)              | הֵן, הֵן, הֵן, הֵן (הֵן) <i>his</i><br>( <i>eius</i> and <i>suus</i> ).                             | הֵן, הֵן, (הֵן*) <i>his</i> .                |
| הֵיאָה                         | הֵיאָה; הֵיאָה; הֵיאָה <i>her</i> .   | הֵיאָה <i>her</i> .                          |
| הֵמָּה? (see § 58 k)           | הֵמָּה; הֵמָּה; (הֵמָּה) <i>our</i> .   | הֵמָּה <i>our</i> .                          |
| these forms are<br>not found.  | הֵמָּה; הֵמָּה } <i>your</i> .<br>הֵמָּה; הֵמָּה }  | הֵמָּה } <i>your</i> .<br>הֵמָּה }           |
|                                | הֵמָּה; הֵמָּה, } <i>their</i> .<br>הֵמָּה* }   | הֵמָּה, הֵמָּה* } <i>their</i> .<br>הֵמָּה } |

<sup>1</sup> Forms with an asterisk are exclusively poetic, those in parentheses ( ) are rare, those in brackets [ ] do not occur (cf. § 58 a, note).

|                      |                    | Qal.           | Niph'al.             | Pi'el.         |
|----------------------|--------------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing.</i>   | 3. m.              | קָטַל*         | קָטַל*               | קָטַל*         |
|                      | 3. f.              | קָטְלָה*       | קָטְלָה*             | קָטְלָה*       |
|                      | 2. m.              | קָטַלְתָּ*     | קָטַלְתָּ*           | קָטַלְתָּ*     |
|                      | 2. f.              | קָטַלְתְּ*     | קָטַלְתְּ*           | קָטַלְתְּ*     |
|                      | 1. c.              | קָטַלְתִּי     | קָטַלְתִּי           | קָטַלְתִּי     |
|                      | <i>Plur.</i> 3. c. | קָטְלוּ        | קָטְלוּ              | קָטְלוּ        |
|                      | 2. m.              | קָטַלְתֶּם*    | קָטַלְתֶּם*          | קָטַלְתֶּם*    |
|                      | 2. f.              | קָטַלְתֶּן     | קָטַלְתֶּן           | קָטַלְתֶּן     |
|                      | 1. c.              | קָטַלְנוּ      | קָטַלְנוּ            | קָטַלְנוּ      |
| <i>Inf.</i>          |                    | שָׁבֵב, קָטַל* | הִקָּטַל*            | קָטַל*         |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i>   |                    | קָטוּל*        | הִקָּטוּל, נִקָּטַל* | קָטַל, קָטַל*  |
| <i>Imp. Sing.</i>    | 2. m.              | קָטַל*         | קָטַל*               | קָטַל*         |
|                      | 2. f.              | קָטְלִי*       | קָטְלִי*             | קָטְלִי*       |
|                      | <i>Plur.</i> 2. m. | קָטְלוּ        | קָטְלוּ              | קָטְלוּ        |
|                      | 2. f.              | קָטְלֹנָה*     | קָטְלֹנָה*           | קָטְלֹנָה*     |
| <i>Imperf. Sing.</i> | 3. m.              | יִקָּטַל*      | יִקָּטַל*            | יִקָּטַל*      |
|                      | 3. f.              | תִּקָּטַל      | תִּקָּטַל            | תִּקָּטַל      |
|                      | 2. m.              | תִּקָּטַל      | תִּקָּטַל            | תִּקָּטַל      |
|                      | 2. f.              | תִּקָּטְלִי*   | תִּקָּטְלִי*         | תִּקָּטְלִי*   |
|                      | 1. c.              | אִקָּטַל       | אִקָּטַל             | אִקָּטַל       |
|                      | <i>Plur.</i> 3. m. | יִקָּטְלוּ     | יִקָּטְלוּ           | יִקָּטְלוּ     |
|                      | 3. f.              | תִּקָּטְלֹנָה* | תִּקָּטְלֹנָה*       | תִּקָּטְלֹנָה* |
|                      | 2. m.              | תִּקָּטְלוּ    | תִּקָּטְלוּ          | תִּקָּטְלוּ    |
|                      | 2. f.              | תִּקָּטְלֹנָה  | תִּקָּטְלֹנָה        | תִּקָּטְלֹנָה  |
|                      | 1. c.              | נִקָּטַל       | נִקָּטַל             | נִקָּטַל       |

## Shortened Imperf. (Jussive).

|                   |         |       |       |           |           |
|-------------------|---------|-------|-------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Part. act.</i> | קָטַל*  | קָטַל | קָטַל | נִקָּטַל* | מִקָּטַל* |
| <i>pass.</i>      | קָטוּל* |       |       |           |           |

Verb.

| <i>Pa'al.</i> | <i>Hiph'il.</i> | <i>Hoph'al.</i> | <i>Hithpa'el.</i> |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| קטל*          | הקטיל*          | הקטל*           | התקטיל*           |
| קטלה*         | הקטילה*         | הקטלה*          | התקטילה*          |
| קטלת*         | הקטלת*          | הקטלת*          | התקטלת*           |
| קטלת          | הקטלת           | הקטלת           | התקטלת            |
| קטלתי         | הקטלתי          | הקטלתי          | התקטלתי           |
| קטלו          | הקטילו          | הקטלו           | התקטלו            |
| קטלתם         | הקטלתם          | הקטלתם          | התקטלתם           |
| קטלתו         | הקטלתו          | הקטלתו          | התקטלתו           |
| קטלנו         | הקטלנו          | הקטלנו          | התקטלנו           |
| wanting.      | הקטיל*          | wanting.        | התקטיל*           |
| קטל*          | הקטל*           | הקטל*           | התקטל*            |
| wanting.      | הקטל*           | wanting.        | התקטל*            |
|               | הקטילי*         |                 | התקטילי*          |
|               | הקטילו          |                 | התקטילו           |
|               | הקטילנה*        |                 | התקטילנה*         |
| יִקְטֹל*      | יִקְטִיל*       | יִקְטַל*        | יִתְקַטֵּל*       |
| תִּקְטֹל      | תִּקְטִיל       | תִּקְטַל        | תִּתְקַטֵּל       |
| הִקְטֹל       | הִקְטִיל        | הִקְטַל         | הִתְקַטֵּל        |
| *תִּקְטֹלִי   | *תִּקְטִילִי    | *תִּקְטַלִי     | *תִּתְקַטֵּלִי    |
| אִקְטֹל       | אִקְטִיל        | אִקְטַל         | אִתְקַטֵּל        |
| יִקְטְלוּ     | יִקְטִילוּ      | יִקְטַלוּ       | יִתְקַטְּלוּ      |
| *תִּקְטֹלְנָה | *תִּקְטִילְנָה  | *תִּקְטַלְנָה   | *תִּתְקַטְּלְנָה  |
| תִּקְטְלוּ    | תִּקְטִילוּ     | תִּקְטַלוּ      | תִּתְקַטְּלוּ     |
| תִּקְטֹלְנָה  | תִּקְטִילְנָה   | תִּקְטַלְנָה    | תִּתְקַטְּלְנָה   |
| נִקְטֹל       | נִקְטִיל        | נִקְטַל         | נִתְקַטֵּל        |
|               | יִקְטֹל*        |                 |                   |
|               | מִקְטִיל*       |                 | מִתְקַטֵּל*       |
| מִקְטֹל*      |                 | מִקְטַל*        |                   |



## C. Strong Verb

|  |                                   | Suffixes                         | 1 Sing.                        | 2 Sing. m.                     | 2 Sing. f.                         | 3 Sing. m. |
|--|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------|
| Perf. Qal  | 3. m.                             | { קָטַלְנִי<br>שָׁחַתְנִי }      | קָטַלְךָ                       | קָטַלְהָ                       | { קָטַלְהוּ<br>קָטַלְוּ }          |            |
|  | 3. f.                             | קָטַלְתִּי                       | קָטַלְתְּ                      | קָטַלְתְּ                      | { קָטַלְתְּהוּ<br>קָטַלְתְּוּ }    |            |
|  | 2. m.                             | קָטַלְתִּי                       | —                              | —                              | { קָטַלְתְּהוּ<br>קָטַלְתְּוּ }    |            |
|  | 2. f.                             | קָטַלְתִּי                       | —                              | —                              | קָטַלְתְּהוּ                       |            |
|  | 1. c.                             | —                                | קָטַלְתִּיךָ                   | קָטַלְתִּיךָ                   | { קָטַלְתִּיךָ<br>קָטַלְתִּיךָ }   |            |
|  | Plur. 3. c.                       | קָטַלְנִי                        | { קָטַלְדְּךָ<br>אָחַבְדְּךָ } | קָטַלְדְּךָ                    | קָטַלְדְּךָ                        |            |
|  | 2. m.                             | קָטַלְתִּי                       | —                              | —                              | קָטַלְתְּהוּ                       |            |
|  | 1. c.                             | —                                | קָטַלְנִיךָ                    | קָטַלְנִיךָ                    | קָטַלְנִיךָ                        |            |
|  | Inf. Qal                          |                                  | { קָטַלְי<br>קָטַלְנִי }       | { בָּחַבְךָ<br>קָטַלְךָ }      | קָטַלְךָ                           | קָטַלְוּ   |
|  |                                   | Imp. Qal 2.                      | קָטַלְנִי                      | —                              | —                                  | קָטַלְהוּ  |
| (from an Imperf. in a יִשְׁחַתְּנִי, יִשְׁמַעְנִי) |                                   |                                  |                                |                                |                                    |            |
| Imperf. Qal  | 3. m.                             | { יִקְטַלְנִי<br>יִלְבַּשְׁנִי } | { יִקְטַלְךָ<br>יִלְבַּשְׁךָ } | { יִקְטַלְהָ<br>יִלְבַּשְׁהָ } | { יִקְטַלְהוּ<br>יִלְבַּשְׁהוּ }   |            |
|  | 3. m.<br>with <i>Nūn</i> energ. } | יִקְטַלְנִי                      | יִקְטַלְךָ                     | —                              | יִקְטַלְנִי                        |            |
|  | Plur. 3. m.                       | יִקְטַלְנִי                      | יִקְטַלְדְּךָ                  | יִקְטַלְדְּךָ                  | { יִקְטַלְדְּךָ<br>יִנְאָלְדְּךָ } |            |
|  | Perf. Pi'el                       | 3. m.                            | קָטַלְנִי                      | קָטַלְךָ                       | קָטַלְהָ                           | קָטַלְוּ   |

with Suffixes.

| 3 Sing. f.                                      | 1 Plur.                          | 2 Plur. m.                       | 2 Plur. f. | 3 Plur. m.              | 3 Plur. f. |
|---|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------|-------------------------|------------|
| קָטְלָהּ  | קָטְלָנוּ                        | wanting.                         | wanting.   | { קָטְלָם<br>לְבָשָׁם } | קָטְלוּ    |
| קָטְלָתָהּ                                      | קָטְלָתָנוּ                      | —                                | —          | קָטְלָתָם               | wanting.   |
| קָטְלָתָהּ                                      | קָטְלָתָנוּ                      | —                                | —          | קָטְלָתָם               | wanting.   |
| קָטְלָתֶיהָ                                     | קָטְלָתֵינוּ                     | —                                | —          | קָטְלָתֵים              | wanting.   |
| קָטְלָתֶיהָ                                     | —                                | קָטְלָתֵיכֶם                     | wanting.   | קָטְלָתֵים              | קָטְלָתֵין |
| קָטְלָוּהָ                                      | קָטְלָוּנוּ                      | wanting.                         | wanting.   | קָטְלָוּם               | קָטְלָוּן  |
| wanting.  | קָטְלָוּהָנוּ                    | —                                | —          | wanting.                | wanting.   |
| קָטְלָוּהָ                                      | —                                | קָטְלָוּכֶם                      | wanting.   | קָטְלָוּם               | wanting.   |
| קָטְלָהּ  | קָטְלָנוּ                        | { פָּתְּלָבְכֶם<br>קָטְלָבְכֶם } | wanting.   | קָטְלָם                 | קָטְלוּ    |
| { קָטְלָתָהּ<br>קָטְלָהּ }                      | קָטְלָנוּ                        | —                                | —          | קָטְלָם                 | —          |
| { יִקְטְלָהּ<br>יִלְבָּשֶׁתָּהּ<br>יִקְטְלָהּ } | { יִקְטְלָנוּ<br>יִלְבָּשֶׁנוּ } | יִקְטְלָבְכֶם                    | wanting.   | יִקְטְלָם               | wanting.   |
| יִקְטְלָנָהּ                                    | יִקְטְלָנוּ                      | —                                | —          | —                       | —          |
| יִקְטְלָוּהָ                                    | יִקְטְלָוּנוּ                    | יִקְטְלָבְכֶם                    | wanting.   | יִקְטְלָם               | wanting.   |
| קָטְלָהּ  | קָטְלָנוּ                        | wanting.                         | wanting.   | קָטְלָם                 | קָטְלוּ    |

## D. Verbs primae gutturalis

|                                   | <i>Qal.</i>  | <i>Niph'al.</i>   | <i>Hiph'il.</i> | <i>Hoph'al.</i> |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing. 3. m.</i>          | עָמַד        | *נִעְמַד          | *הֶעֱמִיד       | *הֶעֱמַד        |
| 3. f.                             | עָמְדָה      | *נִעְמְדָה        | הֶעֱמִידָה      | *הֶעֱמַדָה      |
| 2. m.                             | עָמַדְתָּ    | נִעְמַדְתָּ       | הֶעֱמַדְתָּ     | הֶעֱמַדְתָּ     |
| 2. f.                             | עָמַדְתְּ    | נִעְמַדְתְּ       | הֶעֱמַדְתְּ     | הֶעֱמַדְתְּ     |
| 1. c.                             | עָמַדְתִּי   | נִעְמַדְתִּי      | הֶעֱמַדְתִּי    | הֶעֱמַדְתִּי    |
| <i>Plur. 3. c.</i>                | עָמְדוּ      | נִעְמְדוּ         | הֶעֱמִידוּ      | הֶעֱמַדוּ       |
| 2. m.                             | *עָמַדְתֶּם  | נִעְמַדְתֶּם      | הֶעֱמַדְתֶּם    | הֶעֱמַדְתֶּם    |
| 2. f.                             | *עָמַדְתֶּן  | נִעְמַדְתֶּן      | הֶעֱמַדְתֶּן    | הֶעֱמַדְתֶּן    |
| 1. c.                             | עָמַדְנוּ    | נִעְמַדְנוּ       | הֶעֱמַדְנוּ     | הֶעֱמַדְנוּ     |
| <i>Inf.</i>                       | *עֹמֵד       | *הֶעֱמֵד          | *הֶעֱמִיד       |                 |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i>                | עֹמֵד        | *נֶעֱמֹד, הָאֵסֶף | *הֶעֱמַד        | *הֶעֱמַד        |
| <i>Imp. Sing. m.</i>              | עֹמֵד*       | *חֹזֵק            | *הֶעֱמֵד        | הֶעֱמִיד        |
| f.                                | עֹמְדִי      | חֹזְמִי           | הֶעֱמִידִי      |                 |
| <i>Plur. m.</i>                   | עֹמְדוּ      | חֹזְמוּ           | הֶעֱמִידוּ      | wanting.        |
| f.                                | *עֹמְדֶיךָ   | *חֹזְמֶיךָ        | הֶעֱמִידְךָ     |                 |
| <i>Impf. Sing. 3. m.</i>          | *יַעֲמֹד     | *יִחְזַק          | *יַעֲמִיד       | *יַעֲמַד        |
| 3. f.                             | תַּעֲמֹד     | תִּחְזַק          | תַּעֲמִיד       | תַּעֲמַד        |
| 2. m.                             | תַּעֲמֹד     | תִּחְזַק          | תַּעֲמִיד       | תַּעֲמַד        |
| 2. f.                             | *תַּעֲמִידִי | *תִּחְזְמִי       | תַּעֲמִידִי     | *תַּעֲמַדִי     |
| 1. c.                             | *אֶעֱמֹד     | אֶחְזַק           | אֶעֱמִיד        | אֶעֱמַד         |
| <i>Plur. 3. m.</i>                | *יַעֲמְדוּ   | *יִחְזְמוּ        | יַעֲמִידוּ      | יַעֲמַדוּ       |
| 3. f.                             | תַּעֲמִידְךָ | תִּחְזְמְךָ       | תַּעֲמִידְךָ    | תַּעֲמַדְךָ     |
| 2. m.                             | תַּעֲמִידוּ  | תִּחְזְמוּ        | תַּעֲמִידוּ     | תַּעֲמַדוּ      |
| 2. f.                             | תַּעֲמִידְךָ | תִּחְזְמְךָ       | תַּעֲמִידְךָ    | תַּעֲמַדְךָ     |
| 1. c.                             | נִעְמַד      | נִחְזַק           | נִעְמִיד        | נִעְמַד         |
| <i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i> |              |                   | יַעֲמֵד         |                 |
| <i>Part. act.</i>                 | עֹמֵד        | *נֶעֱמֵד          | *מֵעֲמִיד       |                 |
| <i>pass.</i>                      | עֹמֵד        |                   |                 | מֵעֲמַד         |

E. Verbs mediae gutturalis.

|                                      | Qal.          | Niphal.        | Pael.         | Pual.        | Hithpa'el.      |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.             | שָׁחַט        | נִשְׁחַט       | בָּרַךְ*      | בָּרַךְ*     | הִתְבָּרַךְ*    |
| 3. f.                                | שָׁחַטָה*     | נִשְׁחַטָה*    | בָּרַכָה      | [בָּרַכָה]   | הִתְבָּרַכָה    |
| 2. m.                                | שָׁחַטְתָּ    | נִשְׁחַטְתָּ   | בָּרַכְתָּ    | בָּרַכְתָּ   | הִתְבָּרַכְתָּ  |
| 2. f.                                | שָׁחַטְתָּ    | נִשְׁחַטְתָּ   | בָּרַכְתָּ    | בָּרַכְתָּ   | הִתְבָּרַכְתָּ  |
| 1. c.                                | שָׁחַטְתִּי   | נִשְׁחַטְתִּי  | בָּרַכְתִּי   | בָּרַכְתִּי  | הִתְבָּרַכְתִּי |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. c.                   | שָׁחַטוּ*     | נִשְׁחַטוּ*    | בָּרְכוּ      | בָּרְכוּ     | הִתְבָּרְכוּ    |
| 2. m.                                | שָׁחַטְתֶּם   | נִשְׁחַטְתֶּם  | בָּרַכְתֶּם   | בָּרַכְתֶּם  | הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּם |
| 2. f.                                | שָׁחַטְתֶּן   | נִשְׁחַטְתֶּן  | [בָּרַכְתֶּן] | בָּרַכְתֶּן  | הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּן |
| 1. c.                                | שָׁחַטְנוּ    | נִשְׁחַטְנוּ   | בָּרַכְנוּ    | בָּרַכְנוּ   | הִתְבָּרַכְנוּ  |
| <i>Inf.</i>                          | שָׁחֹט        | הִשְׁחֹט       | בָּרַךְ*      | wanting.     | הִתְבָּרַךְ*    |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i>                   | שָׁחֹט        | נִשְׁחֹט       | בָּרַךְ*      |              |                 |
| <i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.                 | שָׁחֹט*       | הִשְׁחֹט       | בָּרַךְ*      |              | הִתְבָּרַךְ*    |
| f.                                   | שִׁיחֹט*      | הִשְׁיִחֹט*    | בָּרַכִי*     | wanting.     | [הִתְבָּרַכִי]  |
| <i>Plur.</i> m.                      | שָׁחֹטוּ      | הִשְׁחֹטוּ     | בָּרְכוּ      |              | הִתְבָּרְכוּ    |
| f.                                   | שִׁיחֹטְנָה   | הִשְׁיִחֹטְנָה | בָּרַכְנָה*   |              | הִתְבָּרַכְנָה  |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.             | יִשְׁחַט*     | יִשְׁחַט       | יְבָרַךְ*     | יְבָרַךְ*    | יִתְבָּרַךְ*    |
| 3. f.                                | תִּשְׁחַט     | תִּשְׁחַט      | תְּבָרַךְ     | תְּבָרַךְ    | תִּתְבָּרַךְ    |
| 2. m.                                | תִּשְׁחַט     | תִּשְׁחַט      | תְּבָרַךְ     | תְּבָרַךְ    | תִּתְבָּרַךְ    |
| 2. f.                                | תִּשְׁחַטִּי* | תִּשְׁחַטִּי*  | תְּבָרַכִי    | [תְּבָרַכִי] | [תִּתְבָּרַכִי] |
| 1. c.                                | אֶשְׁחַט      | אֶשְׁחַט       | אֶבָרַךְ      | אֶבָרַךְ     | אֶתְבָּרַךְ     |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. m.                   | יִשְׁחַטוּ    | יִשְׁחַטוּ     | יְבָרְכוּ     | יְבָרְכוּ    | יִתְבָּרְכוּ    |
| 3. f.                                | תִּשְׁחַטְנָה | תִּשְׁחַטְנָה  | תְּבָרַכְנָה  | תְּבָרַכְנָה | תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה |
| 2. m.                                | תִּשְׁחַטוּ   | תִּשְׁחַטוּ    | תְּבָרְכוּ    | תְּבָרְכוּ   | תִּתְבָּרְכוּ   |
| 2. f.                                | תִּשְׁחַטְנָה | תִּשְׁחַטְנָה  | תְּבָרַכְנָה  | תְּבָרַכְנָה | תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה |
| 1. c.                                | נִשְׁחַט      | נִשְׁחַט       | נְבָרַךְ      | נְבָרַךְ     | נִתְבָּרַךְ     |
| <i>Impf. with Suff.</i> יִשְׁחַטְהוּ |               |                |               |              |                 |
| <i>Part. act.</i>                    | שֹׁחֵט        | נֹשְׁחֵט       | מְבָרַךְ*     |              | מִתְבָּרַךְ*    |
| <i>pass.</i>                         | שָׁחֻט        |                |               | מְבָרָךְ*    |                 |

|                                   | <i>Qal.</i>    | <i>Niphal.</i> | <i>Piel.</i>   |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>   | שָׁלַח         | נִשְׁלַח       | שִׁלַּח*       |
| 3. <i>f.</i>                      | שָׁלְחָה       | נִשְׁלְחָה     | שִׁלְחָה       |
| 2. <i>m.</i>                      | שָׁלַחְתָּ     | נִשְׁלַחְתָּ   | שִׁלַּחְתָּ    |
| 2. <i>f.</i>                      | שָׁלַחְתְּ*    | נִשְׁלַחְתְּ*  | שִׁלַּחְתְּ*   |
| 1. <i>c.</i>                      | שָׁלַחְתִּי    | נִשְׁלַחְתִּי  | שִׁלַּחְתִּי   |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>c.</i>         | שָׁלְחוּ       | נִשְׁלְחוּ     | שִׁלְחוּ       |
| 2. <i>m.</i>                      | שָׁלַחְתֶּם    | נִשְׁלַחְתֶּם  | שִׁלַּחְתֶּם   |
| 2. <i>f.</i>                      | שָׁלַחְתֶּן    | נִשְׁלַחְתֶּן  | שִׁלַּחְתֶּן   |
| 1. <i>c.</i>                      | שָׁלַחְנוּ     | נִשְׁלַחְנוּ   | שִׁלַּחְנוּ    |
| <i>Inf.</i>                       | שִׁלַּח*       | הִשְׁלַח*      | שִׁלַּח*       |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i>                | שִׁלַּח        | נִשְׁלַח       | שִׁלַּח        |
| <i>Imp. Sing.</i> <i>m.</i>       | שִׁלַּח*       | הִשְׁלַח*      | שִׁלַּח*       |
| <i>f.</i>                         | שִׁלְחִי       | הִשְׁלְחִי     | שִׁלְחִי*      |
| <i>Plur. m.</i>                   | שִׁלְחוּ       | הִשְׁלְחוּ     | שִׁלְחוּ       |
| <i>f.</i>                         | שִׁלְחֵנָה*    | הִשְׁלְחֵנָה   | שִׁלְחֵנָה*    |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>   | יִשְׁלַח*      | יִשְׁלַח*      | יִשְׁלַח*      |
| 3. <i>f.</i>                      | תִּשְׁלַח      | תִּשְׁלַח      | תִּשְׁלַח*     |
| 2. <i>m.</i>                      | תִּשְׁלַח      | תִּשְׁלַח      | תִּשְׁלַח      |
| 2. <i>f.</i>                      | תִּשְׁלְחִי    | תִּשְׁלְחִי    | תִּשְׁלְחִי    |
| 1. <i>c.</i>                      | אֶשְׁלַח       | אֶשְׁלַח       | אֶשְׁלַח       |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>         | יִשְׁלְחוּ     | יִשְׁלְחוּ     | יִשְׁלְחוּ     |
| 3. <i>f.</i>                      | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה* | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה* | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה* |
| 2. <i>m.</i>                      | תִּשְׁלְחוּ    | תִּשְׁלְחוּ    | תִּשְׁלְחוּ    |
| 2. <i>f.</i>                      | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה  | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה  | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה  |
| 1. <i>c.</i>                      | נִשְׁלַח       | נִשְׁלַח       | נִשְׁלַח       |
| <i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i> |                |                |                |
| <i>Impf. with Suff.</i>           | יִשְׁלַחְנִי   |                |                |
| <i>Part. act.</i>                 | שֹׁלֵחַ*       | נִשְׁלֵחַ      | מְשַׁלֵּחַ*    |
| <i>pass.</i>                      | שֹׁלְחָה*      |                |                |

tertia gutturalis.

| <i>Pu'al.</i> | <i>Hiph'il.</i> | <i>Hoph'al.</i> | <i>Hithpa'el.</i>  |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| שָׁלַח        | הִשְׁלִיחַ*     | הִשְׁלַח        | הִשְׁתַּלַּח*      |
| שִׁלְּחָה     | הִשְׁלִיחָה     | הִשְׁלַחָה      | הִשְׁתַּלַּחָה     |
| שִׁלְּחָתָּ   | הִשְׁלִיחָתָּ   | הִשְׁלַחָתָּ    | הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָּ   |
| שִׁלְּחָתָּ*  | הִשְׁלִיחָתָּ*  | הִשְׁלַחָתָּ*   | הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתָּ*  |
| שִׁלְּחָתִּי  | הִשְׁלִיחָתִּי  | הִשְׁלַחָתִּי   | הִשְׁתַּלַּחָתִּי  |
| שִׁלְּחוּ     | הִשְׁלִיחוּ     | הִשְׁלַחוּ      | הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ     |
| שִׁלְּחוּם    | הִשְׁלִיחוּם    | הִשְׁלַחוּם     | הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּם    |
| שִׁלְּחוּן    | הִשְׁלִיחוּן    | הִשְׁלַחוּן     | הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּן    |
| שִׁלְּחוּנִי  | הִשְׁלִיחוּנִי  | הִשְׁלַחוּנִי   | הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּנִי  |
|               | הִשְׁלִיחַ*     |                 | הִשְׁתַּלַּח*      |
|               | הִשְׁלַח*       | הִשְׁלַח*       |                    |
|               | הִשְׁלַח        |                 | הִשְׁתַּלַּח*      |
| wanting.      | הִשְׁלִיחַ      | wanting.        | הִשְׁתַּלַּח       |
|               | הִשְׁלִיחִי     |                 | הִשְׁתַּלַּחִי     |
|               | הִשְׁלִיחוּ     |                 | הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ     |
|               | הִשְׁלַחְנָה    |                 | הִשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה*  |
| יִשְׁלַח      | יִשְׁלִיחַ*     | יִשְׁלַח        | יִשְׁתַּלַּח       |
| תִּשְׁלַח     | תִּשְׁלִיחַ     | תִּשְׁלַח       | תִּשְׁתַּלַּח      |
| תִּשְׁלַח     | תִּשְׁלִיחַ     | תִּשְׁלַח       | תִּשְׁתַּלַּח      |
| תִּשְׁלַחִי   | תִּשְׁלִיחִי    | תִּשְׁלַחִי     | תִּשְׁתַּלַּחִי    |
| אִשְׁלַח      | אִשְׁלִיחַ      | אִשְׁלַח        | אִשְׁתַּלַּח       |
| יִשְׁלַחוּ    | יִשְׁלִיחוּ     | יִשְׁלַחוּ      | יִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ     |
| תִּשְׁלַחְנָה | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה   | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה   | תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה* |
| תִּשְׁלַחוּ   | תִּשְׁלִיחוּ    | תִּשְׁלַחוּ     | תִּשְׁתַּלַּחוּ    |
| תִּשְׁלַחְנָה | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה   | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה   | תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה  |
| נִשְׁלַח      | נִשְׁלִיחַ      | נִשְׁלַח        | נִשְׁתַּלַּח       |
|               | יִשְׁלַח        |                 |                    |
|               | מִשְׁלִיחַ*     |                 | מִשְׁתַּלַּח*      |
| מִשְׁלַח      |                 | מִשְׁלַח        |                    |

## G. Verbs mediae geminatae

|                               | Qal.                             | Niphal.             |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.      | קָבַב, תָּם*                     | נָקַב, נָמַם*       |
| 3. f.                         | קָבְכָה, תָּמְהָה                | נָקְבָה*            |
| 2. m.                         | קָבַבְתָּ*                       | נָקַבְתָּ*          |
| 2. f.                         | קָבַבְתְּ                        | נָקַבְתְּ           |
| 1. c.                         | קָבַבְתִּי                       | נָקַבְתִּי          |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. c.            | קָבְבוּ, תָּמְאוּ                | נָקְבוּ             |
| 2. m.                         | קָבַבְתֶּם                       | נָקַבְתֶּם          |
| 2. f.                         | קָבַבְתֶּן                       | נָקַבְתֶּן          |
| 1. c.                         | קָבַבְנוּ                        | נָקַבְנוּ           |
| <i>Inf.</i>                   | קַבֵּב*                          | הִקְבֵּב*           |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i>            | קָבַב                            | הִקְבֹּב, הִקְבִּיב |
| <i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.          | קַבֵּב*                          | הִקְבֵּב            |
| f.                            | קַבִּי*                          | הִקְבִּי*           |
| <i>Plur. m.</i>               | קַבְּבוּ                         | הִקְבִּיבוּ         |
| f.                            | [קַבִּינָה]                      | [הִקְבִּינָה]       |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.      | יִקְבֵּב* (יָקַב § 67 p)         | יִקְבֵּב*           |
| 3. f.                         | תִּקְבֵּב                        | תִּקְבֵּב           |
| 2. m.                         | תִּקְבֵּב                        | תִּקְבֵּב           |
| 2. f.                         | תִּקְבִּי*                       | תִּקְבִּי           |
| 1. c.                         | אִקְבֵּב                         | אִקְבֵּב            |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. m.            | יִקְבְּבוּ                       | יִקְבְּבוּ          |
| 3. f.                         | תִּקְבִּינָה*                    | [תִּקְבִּינָה]      |
| 2. m.                         | תִּקְבְּבוּ                      | תִּקְבְּבוּ         |
| 2. f.                         | [תִּקְבִּינָה]                   | [תִּקְבִּינָה]      |
| 1. c.                         | נִקְבֵּב                         | נִקְבֵּב            |
| <i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i> | וַיִּקְבֵּב* (pause וַיִּקְבֵּב) |                     |
| <i>Impf. with Suff.</i>       | יִקְבִּי*                        |                     |
| <i>Part. act.</i>             | קָבֵב                            | נָקַב               |
| <i>pass.</i>                  | קָבֵיב*                          | (fem. נָקְבָה)      |



or double v.

| <i>Hiph'il.</i>        | <i>Hoph'al.</i>  | <i>Po'el.</i>   | <i>Po'al.</i> |
|------------------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| *הִסָּב, הִסָּב        | *הוֹסָב          | *סוֹבֵב         | *סוֹבֵב       |
| *הִסָּבָה              | הוֹסָבָה         | סוֹבֵבָה        | [סוֹבֵבָה]    |
| *הִסָּבוֹת             | [הוֹסָבוֹת]      | סוֹבֵבֶת        | סוֹבֵבֶת      |
| הִסָּבוֹת              | הוֹסָבוֹת        | סוֹבֵבֶת        | סוֹבֵבֶת      |
| הִסָּבוֹתַי            | [הוֹסָבוֹתַי]    | סוֹבֵבֹתִי      | סוֹבֵבֹתִי    |
| הִסָּבוּ, הִסָּלוּ     | הוֹסָבוּ         | סוֹבְּבוּ       | קוֹבְּבוּ     |
| הִסָּבוּתָם            | [הוֹסָבוּתָם]    | סוֹבְּבָתָם     | סוֹבְּבָתָם   |
| הִסָּבוּתָן            | הוֹסָבוּתָן      | סוֹבְּבָתָן     | קוֹבְּבָתָן   |
| הִסָּבוּנוּ            | [הוֹסָבוּנוּ]    | סוֹבְּבָנוּ     | [סוֹבְּבָנוּ] |
| *הִסָּב                |                  | סוֹבֵב          |               |
| הִסָּב                 | הִשָּׁמָה        | סוֹבֵב          | [סוֹבֵב]      |
| *הִסָּב                |                  | סוֹבֵב          |               |
| הִסָּבִי               | wanting.         | [סוֹבְּבִי]     | wanting.      |
| הִסָּבוּ               |                  | סוֹבְּבוּ       |               |
| [הִסָּבְיָה]           |                  | סוֹבְּבָנָה     |               |
| *יִסָּב, יִסָּב        | *יּוֹסָב, יִסָּב | יִסוֹבֵב        | [יִסוֹבֵב]    |
| יִסָּב                 | [יּוֹסָב]        | יִסוֹבֵב        | יִסוֹבֵב      |
| יִסָּב                 | יּוֹסָב          | יִסוֹבֵב        | יִסוֹבֵב      |
| [יִסָּבִי]             | *יּוֹסָבִי       | [יִסוֹבְּבִי]   | יִסוֹבְּבִי   |
| יִסָּב                 | [יּוֹסָב]        | יִסוֹבֵב        | יִסוֹבֵב      |
| יִסָּבוּ, יִסָּבוּ     | יּוֹסָבוּ        | יִסוֹבְּבוּ     | יִסוֹבְּבוּ   |
| *יִסָּבְיָה            | *[יִסוֹבְּיָה]   | [יִסוֹבְּבָנָה] | יִסוֹבְּבָנָה |
| יִסָּבוּ               | יּוֹסָבוּ        | יִסוֹבְּבוּ     | יִסוֹבְּבוּ   |
| יִסָּבְיָה             | יּוֹסָבְיָה      | [יִסוֹבְּבָנָה] | יִסוֹבְּבָנָה |
| יִסָּב                 | [יּוֹסָב]        | יִסוֹבֵב        | [יִסוֹבֵב]    |
| יִסָּב                 |                  |                 |               |
| *יִסָּבִי (יִסָּבְכֶם) |                  | יִסוֹבְּבִי     |               |
| *יִסָּב                |                  | יִסוֹבֵב        |               |
|                        | יּוֹסָב          |                 | יִסוֹבֵב      |

## H. Verbs י"ב.

|                                   | <i>Qal.</i>    | <i>Niph'al.</i> | <i>Hiph'il.</i>  | <i>Hoph'al.</i>  |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing. 3. m.</i>          | נָפַל [נָפַט]  | נָפַט*          | הִנָּפַט*        | הִנָּפַט*        |
| 3. f.                             |                | נָפְטָה         | הִנָּפְטָה       | הִנָּפְטָה       |
| 2. m.                             |                | נָפַטָּה        | הִנָּפַטָּה      | הִנָּפַטָּה      |
| 2. f.                             |                | נָפְטָת         | הִנָּפְטָת       | הִנָּפְטָת       |
| 1. c.                             | regular.       | נָפַטְתִּי      | הִנָּפַטְתִּי    | הִנָּפַטְתִּי    |
| <i>Plur. 3. c.</i>                |                | נָפְטוּ         | הִנָּפְטוּ       | הִנָּפְטוּ       |
| 2. m.                             | *              | נָפַטְתֶּם      | הִנָּפַטְתֶּם    | הִנָּפַטְתֶּם    |
| 2. f.                             |                | נָפַטְתֶּן      | הִנָּפַטְתֶּן    | הִנָּפַטְתֶּן    |
| 1. c.                             |                | נָפַטְנוּ       | הִנָּפַטְנוּ     | הִנָּפַטְנוּ     |
| <i>Inf.</i>                       | נָפְטָת*       | נָפַל*          | הִנָּפַט         | הִנָּפַט*        |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i>                | נָפְטָה        | נָפַט           | הִנָּפַט         | הִנָּפַט*        |
| <i>Imp. Sing. m.</i>              | נָפַט*         | נָפַל*          | הִנָּפַט         | הִנָּפַט*        |
| f.                                | נָפְטִי        | נָפְלִי         | הִנָּפְטִי       | wanting.         |
| <i>Plur. m.</i>                   | נָפְטוּ        | נָפְלוּ         | הִנָּפְטוּ       | הִנָּפְטוּ       |
| f.                                | נָפְטֶנָּה     | נָפְלֶנָּה      | הִנָּפְטֶנָּה    | הִנָּפְטֶנָּה    |
| <i>Impf. Sing. 3. m.</i>          | יִנָּפַט*      | יִפֹּל*         | [יִנָּפַט]       | יִנָּפַט*        |
| 3. f.                             | תִּנָּפַט      | תִּפֹּל         | תִּנָּפַט        | תִּנָּפַט        |
| 2. m.                             | תִּנָּפַט      | תִּפֹּל         | תִּנָּפַט        | תִּנָּפַט        |
| 2. f.                             | תִּנָּפְטִי    | תִּפֹּלִי       | תִּנָּפְטִי      | תִּנָּפְטִי      |
| 1. c.                             | אִנָּפַט       | אִפֹּל          | אִנָּפַט         | אִנָּפַט         |
| <i>Plur. 3. m.</i>                | יִנָּפְטוּ     | יִפֹּלוּ        | יִנָּפְטוּ       | יִנָּפְטוּ       |
| 3. f.                             | תִּנָּפְטֶנָּה | תִּפֹּלֶנָּה    | תִּנָּפְטֶנָּה   | תִּנָּפְטֶנָּה   |
| 2. m.                             | תִּנָּפְטוּ    | תִּפֹּלוּ       | תִּנָּפְטוּ      | תִּנָּפְטוּ      |
| 2. f.                             | תִּנָּפְטֶנָּה | תִּפֹּלֶנָּה    | [תִּנָּפְטֶנָּה] | [תִּנָּפְטֶנָּה] |
| 1. c.                             | נָפַט          | נָפַל           | נָפַט            | נָפַט            |
| <i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i> |                |                 | יִנָּפַט*        |                  |
| <i>Part. act.</i>                 | נָפֵט          |                 | נָפְטָת*         | מִנָּפֵט*        |
| <i>pass.</i>                      | נָפְטָה        |                 |                  | מִנָּפְטָה       |

## I. Weak Verbs, פ"א.

|       | Qal.  | Niph'al. | Hiph'il. | Hoph'al. |
|-------|-------|----------|----------|----------|
| Perf. | אָבַל | נִאָבַל* | הִאָבַל* | הָאָבַל* |

\* Like Verbs *primae gutturalis*.

|             |               |         |          |          |
|-------------|---------------|---------|----------|----------|
| Inf.        | אָבַל, אֶבֶל* | הָאָבַל | הִאָבַל  | הָאָבַל  |
| Inf. absol. | אָבֹל         | הָאָבַל | wanting. | wanting. |

|               |              |         |         |          |
|---------------|--------------|---------|---------|----------|
| Imp. Sing. m. | אָבַל*       | הָאָבַל | הִאָבַל |          |
| f.            | אָבְלִי      | &c.     | &c.     | wanting. |
| Plur. m.      | אָבְלוּ      |         |         |          |
| f.            | [אָבְלִנָּה] |         |         |          |

|             |       |                    |           |            |          |
|-------------|-------|--------------------|-----------|------------|----------|
| Impf. Sing. | 3. m. | יֵאָבַל* (in pause | יִיאָבַל* | יִיאָבִיל* | יֵאָבַל* |
|             | 3. f. | תֵּאָבַל (יֵאָבַל) | &c.       | &c.        | &c.      |
|             | 2. m. | תֵּאָבַל           |           |            |          |
|             | 2. f. | תֵּאָבְלִי         |           |            |          |
|             | 1. c. | אָבַל*             |           |            |          |
| Plur.       | 3. m. | יֵאָבְלוּ          |           |            |          |
|             | 3. f. | תֵּאָבְלִנָּה      |           |            |          |
|             | 2. m. | תֵּאָבְלוּ         |           |            |          |
|             | 2. f. | [תֵּאָבְלִנָּה]    |           |            |          |
|             | 1. c. | נֵאָבַל            |           |            |          |

|                    |       |             |
|--------------------|-------|-------------|
| Impf. with consec. | Wāw } | וַיֵּאָבַר* |
|                    |       | וַיֵּאָבַל* |

|            |       |        |          |         |
|------------|-------|--------|----------|---------|
| Part. act. | אָבֵל | נֹאבֵל | מֵאָבִיל |         |
| pass.      | אָבֹל |        |          | מֵאָבֵל |

LIBRARY OF  
Ewing Christian College  
ALBANY, N. Y.

|                                   | Qal.                       | Niph'al.       |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.          | יָשַׁב                     | *נִישַׁב       |
| 3. f.                             |                            | *נִישְׁבָּה    |
| 2. m.                             |                            | נִישַׁבְתָּ    |
| 2. f.                             |                            | נִישַׁבְתְּ    |
| 1. c.                             | regular.                   | נִישַׁבְתִּי   |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. c.                |                            | נִישַׁבּוּ     |
| 2. m.                             |                            | נִישַׁבְתֶּם   |
| 2. f.                             |                            | נִישַׁבְתֶּן   |
| 1. c.                             |                            | נִישַׁבְנוּ    |
| <i>Inf.</i>                       | יָסַד, יָשַׁב, יָשַׁבְתָּ* | *הִישַׁב       |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i>                | יָשֹׁב                     | wanting.       |
| <i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.              | *יֵשֶׁב, דַּע              | *הִישַׁב       |
| f.                                | שָׁבִי                     | הִישְׁבִּי     |
| <i>Plur.</i> m.                   | שִׁבוּ                     | הִישְׁבוּ      |
| f.                                | שִׁבְנָה                   | [הִישְׁבְּנָה] |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.          | *יֹשֵׁב                    | *יֹשֵׁב        |
| 3. f.                             | תֵּשֵׁב                    | תֵּשֵׁב        |
| 2. m.                             | תֵּשֵׁב                    | תֵּשֵׁב        |
| 2. f.                             | תֵּשְׁבִי                  | תֵּשְׁבִי      |
| 1. c.                             | אֵשֵׁב                     | אֵשֵׁב         |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. m.                | יֹשְׁבוּ                   | יֹשְׁבוּ       |
| 3. f.                             | תֵּשְׁבְּנָה               | [תֵּשְׁבְּנָה] |
| 2. m.                             | תֵּשְׁבוּ                  | תֵּשְׁבוּ      |
| 2. f.                             | [תֵּשְׁבְּנָה]             | [תֵּשְׁבְּנָה] |
| 1. c.                             | נִשְׁבֹּ                   | נִשְׁבֹּ       |
| <i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i> |                            |                |
| <i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>     | *וַיֵּשֶׁב                 |                |
| <i>Part. act.</i>                 | יֹשֵׁב                     | *נִישַׁב       |
| <i>pass.</i>                      | יָשֹׁב                     |                |



|                               |                 | Qal.                    | Niph'al.                   | Hiph'il.                   |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing.</i>            | 3. m.           | קָם*                    | נָקָם*                     | הִקָּם*                    |
|                               | 3. f.           | קָמָה*                  | נָקָמָה*                   | הִקָּמָה*                  |
|                               | 2. m.           | קָמַת*                  | [נָקָמוֹת]                 | הִקָּמוֹת*                 |
|                               | 2. f.           | קָמַת                   | [נָקָמוֹת]                 | הִקָּמוֹת                  |
|                               | 1. c.           | קָמַתִּי                | נָקָמוֹתִי                 | הִקָּמוֹתִי                |
|                               | <i>Plur.</i>    | 3. c.                   | נָקָמוּ                    | הִקָּמוּ                   |
|                               |                 | 2. m.                   | נָקָמוּתָם                 | הִקָּמוּתָם                |
|                               |                 | 2. f.                   | [נָקָמוּתָן]               | [הִקָּמוּתָן]              |
|                               | 1. c.           | קָמָנוּ                 | נָקָמוּנוּ                 | הִקָּמוּנוּ                |
| <i>Inf.</i>                   |                 | קָם*                    | הִקָּם*                    | הִקָּם*                    |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i>            |                 | קָם*                    | הִקָּם, נָסֹג              | הִקָּם*                    |
| <i>Imp. Sing.</i>             | m.              | קָם*                    | הִקָּם*                    | הִקָּם*                    |
|                               | f.              | קָמִי*                  | [הִקָּמִי]                 | הִקָּמִי*                  |
|                               | <i>Plur. m.</i> | קָמוּ                   | הִקָּמוּ                   | הִקָּמוּ                   |
|                               | f.              | קָמְנָה*                |                            | [הִקָּמְנָה]               |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i>            | 3. m.           | יָקֹם, יָבוֹא*          | יָקֹם*                     | יָקֹם*                     |
|                               | 3. f.           | תָּקֹם                  | תָּקֹם                     | תָּקֹם                     |
|                               | 2. m.           | תָּקֹם                  | תָּקֹם                     | תָּקֹם                     |
|                               | 2. f.           | תָּקֹמִי*               | [תָּקֹמִי]                 | תָּקֹמִי*                  |
|                               | 1. c.           | אָקֹם                   | אָקֹם                      | אָקֹם                      |
|                               | <i>Plur.</i>    | 3. m.                   | יָקֹמוּ                    | יָקֹמוּ                    |
|                               |                 | 3. f.                   | תָּקֹמְנָה, תִּשְׁלַחְנָה* | תָּקֹמְנָה, תִּשְׁלַחְנָה* |
|                               |                 | 2. m.                   | תָּקֹמוּ                   | תָּקֹמוּ                   |
|                               | 2. f.           | תָּקֹמְנָה              |                            | [תָּקֹמְנָה]               |
|                               | 1. c.           | נָקֹם                   | נָקֹם                      | נָקֹם                      |
| <i>Shortened Impf.</i>        |                 | יָקֹם*                  |                            | יָקֹם*                     |
| <i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i> |                 | וַיָּקֹם (pause יָקֹם*) |                            | וַיָּקֹם*                  |
| <i>Impf. with Suff.</i>       |                 | יִשְׁלַחְנִי*           |                            | יִשְׁלַחְנִי*              |
| <i>Part. act.</i>             |                 | קָם*                    | נָקָם*                     | מִקָּם*                    |
| <i>pass.</i>                  |                 | קָם*                    |                            |                            |



|                                   |                 | <i>Qal.</i>             | <i>Niphal.</i>          | <i>Piel.</i>  |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing.</i>                | 3. m.           | מָצָא* מוֹצֵא           | נִמְצָא* נִמְצָא        | דָּבָא, מָצָא |
|                                   | 3. f.           | מָצְאָה מוֹצֵאָה        | נִמְצְאָה נִמְצְאָה     | [מָצְאָה]     |
|                                   | 2. m.           | מָצָאתָ* מוֹצֵאתָ       | נִמְצָאתָ* נִמְצָאתָ    | מָצְאתָ*      |
|                                   | 2. f.           | מָצָאת מוֹצֵאת          | נִמְצָאת נִמְצָאת       | [מָצְאת]      |
|                                   | 1. c.           | מָצָאתִי מוֹצֵאתִי      | נִמְצָאתִי נִמְצָאתִי   | מָצְאתִי      |
| <i>Plur.</i>                      | 3. c.           | מָצְאוּ מוֹצְאוּ        | נִמְצְאוּ נִמְצְאוּ     | מָצְאוּ       |
|                                   | 2. m.           | מָצְאתֶם מוֹצְאתֶם      | נִמְצְאתֶם נִמְצְאתֶם   | מָצְאתֶם      |
|                                   | 2. f.           | [מָצְאתֶן] מוֹצְאתֶן    | [נִמְצְאתֶן] נִמְצְאתֶן | [מָצְאתֶן]    |
|                                   | 1. c.           | מָצְאנוּ מוֹצְאנוּ      | [נִמְצְאנוּ] נִמְצְאנוּ | מָצְאנוּ      |
| <i>Inf.</i>                       |                 | מָצֵא                   | הִמְצֵא                 | מָצֵא         |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i>                |                 | מָצֹא                   | נִמְצֵא                 | מָצֵא         |
| <i>Imp. Sing.</i>                 | m.              | מָצֵא*                  | הִמְצֵא                 | מָצֵא         |
|                                   | f.              | מָצְאִי                 | [הִמְצְאִי]             | [מָצְאִי]     |
|                                   | <i>Plur. m.</i> | מָצְאוּ                 | הִמְצְאוּ               | מָצְאוּ       |
|                                   | f.              | מָצְאָנָה*              | [הִמְצְאָנָה]           | [מָצְאָנָה]   |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i>                | 3. m.           | יִמְצָא*                | יִמְצָא*                | יִמְצָא       |
|                                   | 3. f.           | תִּמְצָא                | תִּמְצָא                | תִּמְצָא      |
|                                   | 2. m.           | תִּמְצָא                | תִּמְצָא                | תִּמְצָא      |
|                                   | 2. f.           | תִּמְצָאִי              | תִּמְצָאִי              | [תִּמְצָאִי]  |
|                                   | 1. c.           | אִמְצָא                 | אִמְצָא                 | אִמְצָא       |
|                                   | 3. m.           | יִמְצְאוּ               | יִמְצְאוּ               | יִמְצְאוּ     |
|                                   | 3. f.           | תִּמְצְאָנָה*           | תִּמְצְאָנָה*           | תִּמְצְאָנָה* |
|                                   | 2. m.           | תִּמְצְאוּ              | תִּמְצְאוּ              | [תִּמְצְאוּ]  |
|                                   | 2. f.           | תִּמְצְאָנָה            | תִּמְצְאָנָה            | תִּמְצְאָנָה  |
|                                   | 1. c.           | נִמְצָא                 | [נִמְצָא]               | נִמְצָא       |
| <i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i> |                 |                         |                         |               |
| <i>Impf. with Suff.</i>           |                 | יִמְצָאֵךְ, יִמְצָאֵנִי |                         | יִמְצָאֵנִי   |
| <i>Part. act.</i>                 |                 | מָצֵא                   | נִמְצָא                 | מָצֵא         |
| <i>pass.</i>                      |                 | מָצֹא                   |                         |               |



Verbs, ל"א.

| <i>Pu'al.</i> | <i>Hiph'il.</i>   | <i>Hoph'al.</i> | <i>Hithpa'el.</i>  |
|---------------|---|-----------------|--|
| קרא [מִצָּא]  | הִמְצִיא  | [הִמְצָא]       | הִתְמַצָּא   |
| מִצָּאָה      | הִמְצִיָּאָה  | הִמְצָאָה       | הִתְמַצָּאָה   |
| מִצָּאת       | *הִמְצִיָּאת  | *[הִמְצָאת]     | *הִתְמַצָּאת   |
| מִצָּאת       | הִמְצִיָּאת   | הִמְצָאת        | [הִתְמַצָּאת]  |
| מִצָּאתִי     | הִמְצִיָּאתִי   | הִמְצָאתִי      | הִתְמַצָּאתִי  |
| מִצָּאוֹ      | הִמְצִיָּאוֹ  | הִמְצָאוֹ       | הִתְמַצָּאוֹ   |
| מִצָּאתָם     | הִמְצִיָּאתָם   | הִמְצָאתָם      | [הִתְמַצָּאתָם]  |
| מִצָּאתָן     | [הִמְצִיָּאתָן]   | הִמְצָאתָן      | הִתְמַצָּאתָן  |
| מִצָּאָנִי    | [הִמְצִיָּאָנִי]  | [הִמְצָאָנִי]   | [הִתְמַצָּאָנִי]   |
| wanting.      | הִמְצִיא<br>הִמְצָא   | wanting.        | הִתְמַצָּא<br>wanting.   |
| wanting.      | הִמְצָא<br>הִמְצִיָּאִי<br>הִמְצִיָּאוֹ<br>[הִמְצִיָּאָנָה] | wanting.        | [הִתְמַצָּא]<br>הִתְמַצָּאִי<br>הִתְמַצָּאוֹ<br>[הִתְמַצָּאָנָה] |
| יִמְצָא       | יִמְצִיא  | [יִמְצָא]       | יִתְמַצָּא   |
| [תִּמְצָא]    | תִּמְצִיא   | תִּמְצָא        | תִּתְמַצָּא  |
| תִּמְצָא      | תִּמְצִיא   | תִּמְצָא        | תִּתְמַצָּא  |
| תִּמְצָאִי    | תִּמְצִיָּאִי   | תִּמְצָאִי      | [תִּתְמַצָּאִי]  |
| אִמְצָא       | אִמְצִיא  | אִמְצָא         | [אִתְמַצָּא]   |
| יִמְצָאוּ     | יִמְצִיָּאוּ  | יִמְצָאוּ       | יִתְמַצָּאוּ   |
| *תִּמְצָאָנָה | *תִּמְצִיָּאָנָה  | *תִּמְצָאָנָה   | [תִּתְמַצָּאָנָה]  |
| תִּמְצָאוּ    | תִּמְצִיָּאוּ   | תִּמְצָאוּ      | תִּתְמַצָּאוּ  |
| תִּמְצָאָנָה  | תִּמְצִיָּאָנָה   | תִּמְצָאָנָה    | [תִּתְמַצָּאָנָה]  |
| [נִמְצָא]     | נִמְצִיא  | נִמְצָא         | [נִתְמַצָּא]   |
|               | יִמְצָא   |                 |  |
|               | יִמְצִיָּאִי  |                 |  |
|               | מִמְצִיא  |                 | מִתְמַצָּא   |
| מִמְצָא       |   | מִמְצָא         |  |

|                                 | <i>Qal.</i>       | <i>Niphal.</i>   | <i>Pre.</i>          |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i> | גָּלָה*           | נִגְלָה*         | גָּלָה*              |
| 3. <i>f.</i>                    | גָּלְתָה*         | נִגְלְתָה*       | גָּלְתָה*            |
| 2. <i>m.</i>                    | גָּלִיתָ*         | נִגְלִיתָ, יָת   | גָּלִיתָ*            |
| 2. <i>f.</i>                    | גָּלִית           | נִגְלִית         | גָּלִית              |
| 1. <i>c.</i>                    | גָּלִיתִי         | נִגְלִיתִי       | גָּלִיתִי, גָּלִיתִי |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>c.</i>       | גָּלוּ*           | נִגְלוּ          | גָּלוּ               |
| 2. <i>m.</i>                    | גָּלִיתֶם         | [נִגְלִיתֶם]     | גָּלִיתֶם            |
| 2. <i>f.</i>                    | גָּלִיתֶן         | [נִגְלִיתֶן]     | [גָּלִיתֶן]          |
| 1. <i>c.</i>                    | גָּלִינוּ         | נִגְלִינוּ       | גָּלִינוּ            |
| <i>Inf.</i>                     | גָּלוֹת*          | הִגְלוֹת*        | גָּלוֹת*             |
| <i>Inf. absol.</i>              | גָּלָה            | נִגְלָה, הִגְסָה | גָּלָה, גָּלָה       |
| <i>Imp. Sing.</i> <i>m.</i>     | גָּלֵה*           | הִגְלֵה*         | גָּלֵה, גָּל         |
| <i>f.</i>                       | גָּלִי*           | הִגְלִי*         | גָּלִי*              |
| <i>Plur. m.</i>                 | גָּלוּ            | הִגְלוּ          | גָּלוּ               |
| <i>f.</i>                       | גָּלִינָה*        | [הִגְלִינָה]     | [גָּלִינָה]          |
| <i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i> | יִגְלֶה*          | יִגְלֶה*         | יִגְלֶה*             |
| 3. <i>f.</i>                    | תִּגְלֶה          | תִּגְלֶה         | תִּגְלֶה             |
| 2. <i>m.</i>                    | תִּגְלֶה          | תִּגְלֶה         | תִּגְלֶה             |
| 2. <i>f.</i>                    | תִּגְלִי*         | [תִּגְלִי]       | תִּגְלִי*            |
| 1. <i>c.</i>                    | אִגְלֶה           | אִגְלֶה, אִגַּף  | אִגְלֶה              |
| <i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>       | יִגְלוּ           | יִגְלוּ          | יִגְלוּ              |
| 3. <i>f.</i>                    | תִּגְלִינָה*      | תִּגְלִינָה*     | תִּגְלִינָה*         |
| 2. <i>m.</i>                    | תִּגְלוּ          | תִּגְלוּ         | תִּגְלוּ             |
| 2. <i>f.</i>                    | תִּגְלִינָה       | תִּגְלִינָה      | תִּגְלִינָה          |
| 1. <i>c.</i>                    | נִגְלָה           | [נִגְלָה]        | נִגְלָה              |
| <i>Shortened Impf.</i>          | יִגֵּל*           | יִגֵּל*          | יִגֵּל*              |
| <i>Impf. with Suff.</i>         | יִגְלֶה, יִגְלִי* |                  | יִגְלֶה, יִגְלִי*    |
| <i>Part. act.</i>               | גָּלֶה*           | נִגְלֶה*         | מִגְלָה*             |
| <i>pass.</i>                    | גָּלוּ            |                  |                      |



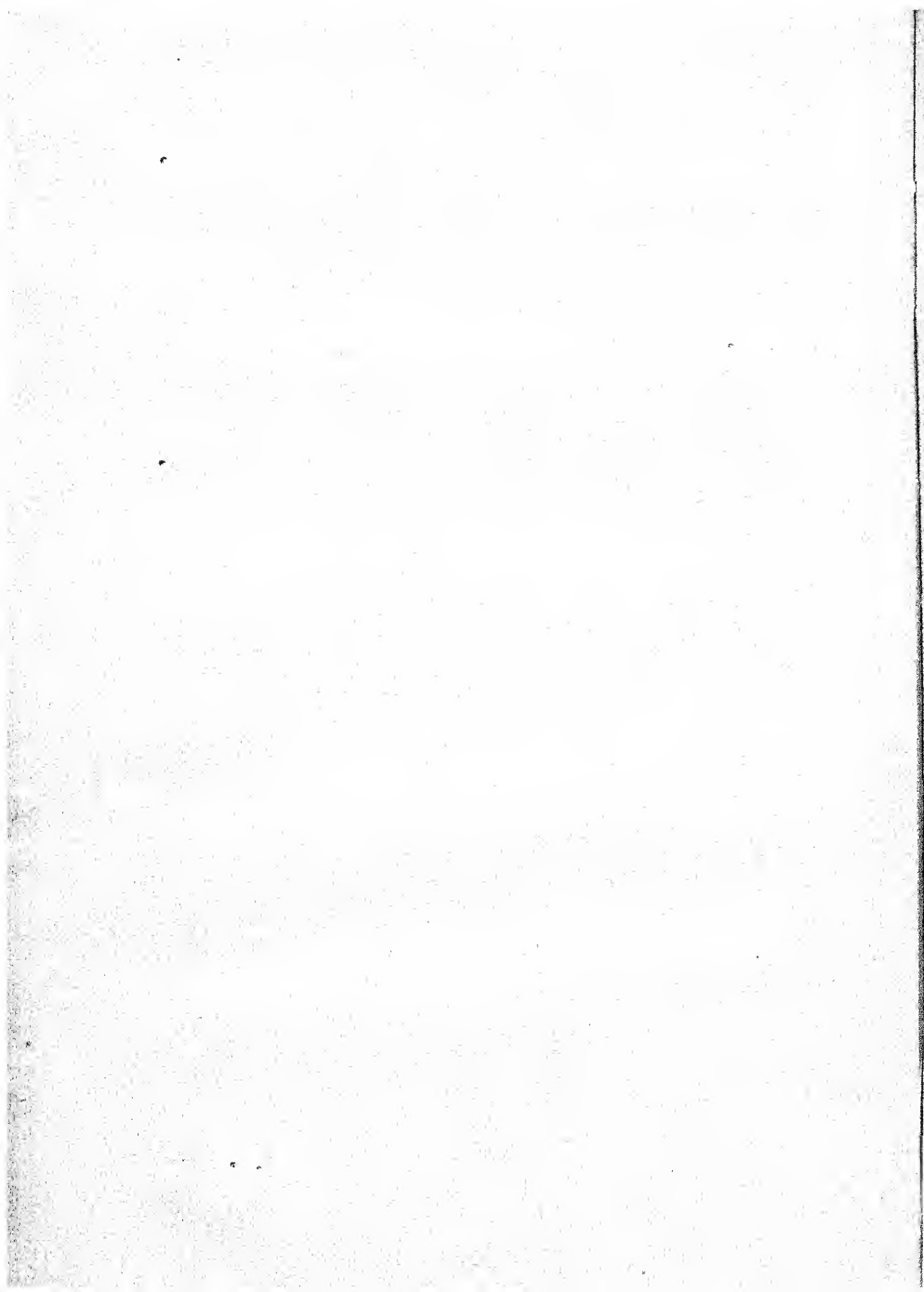
|                         | 1. Sing.            | 2. Sing. m.         | 2. Sing. f.          |
|-------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Perf. Qal. 3. m.</i> | נָחֵנִי             | רָאָה, עָשָׂה       |                      |
|                         | <i>P.</i> עָשִׂיוּ  | <i>P.</i> עָנֶה     |                      |
| 3. f.                   | עָשִׂתִּי           |                     |                      |
| 2. m.                   | רָאִיתִי            |                     |                      |
|                         | <i>P.</i> עָנִיתִי  |                     |                      |
| 2. f.                   | <i>Pi.</i> רָפִיתִי |                     |                      |
| 1. c.                   |                     | רָאִיתִיךְ          | עָנִיתִיךְ           |
| <i>Plur. 3. c.</i>      | עָשִׂוּ             | רָאוּךְ             | <i>Pi.</i> כָּפִוּךְ |
| 1. c.                   |                     | <i>Pi.</i> קִוִּיךְ |                      |

|                     |                         |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Imper. 2. m.</i> | נָחֵנִי }<br>עָנֵנִי }  |
| 2. f.               | <i>Hiph.</i> הָרָאִינִי |
| <i>Plur. 2. m.</i>  | <i>Pi.</i> כָּפִוּי     |

|                    |            |                            |
|--------------------|------------|----------------------------|
| <i>Impf. 3. m.</i> | יִרְאֵנִי  | יִפְדֶּךְ }<br>יִחַתֶּךְ } |
| 3. f.              |            | תִּשָּׁכֶךְ                |
| 2. m.              | תִּרְאֵנִי |                            |
| 2. f.              |            |                            |
| 1. c.              |            | אֶרְאֶךְ                   |
|                    |            | אֶעֱנֶךְ                   |
| <i>Plur. 3. m.</i> | יַעֲשִׂוּ  | <i>Pi.</i> יִפְתֹּךְ       |
| 2. m.              | תַּעֲצֵנִי |                            |
| 1. c.              |            |                            |

with Suffixes.

| 3. Sing. m.                 | 3. Sing. f.              | 1. Plur.                  | 3. Plur. m.              |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| עָשָׂהוּ                    | רָאָהּ                   | עָשִׂנוּ                  | עָשׂוּם                  |
| <i>Pi.</i> בָּלָהוּ         | <i>Pi.</i> צָלְתָהּ      |                           | <i>Hiph.</i> הֶעֱלָתָם   |
| <i>Pi.</i> בָּסִיתוּ        | עָשִׂיתָהּ               | <i>Pi.</i> דָּבִיתָנוּ    | עָנִיתָם                 |
| עָשִׂיתָהּ }<br>רָאִיתָיו } | רָאִיתָהּ                |                           | רָעִיתָם                 |
| עָשָׂהוּ                    | רָאָהּ                   |                           | שָׁבוּם                  |
| <i>Pi.</i> קִיָּיְרָהוּ     |                          |                           |                          |
|                             |                          | <i>Hiph.</i> הִרְאֵנוּ    | רָעָם                    |
| תָּלַדְהוּ                  |                          |                           | <i>Hiph.</i> הִכְסִים    |
| יִרְאָהוּ }<br>יִלְוָהּ }   | יִרְאָהּ }<br>יִרְאָהּ } | <i>Pi.</i> יִצְנֵנוּ      | יִחַצָם }<br>יַעֲשִׂם }  |
| <i>Hiph.</i> תִּשְׁלָהוּ    | תַּעֲשֶׂהּ               | <i>Hiph.</i> תַּתְעֲנֵנוּ | תִּזְרָם                 |
| תַּעֲשֶׂהוּ                 |                          |                           | <i>Pi.</i> תִּכְבִּסִּים |
| אָרְאָהּ                    | אֲעִשְׂתָּהּ             |                           | אָפְדָם                  |
| אֲעִלָּהּ                   |                          |                           |                          |
| <i>Pi.</i> יִפְתָּרְהוּ     | יַעֲשֶׂהּ                | <i>Pi.</i> יַעֲבֹדְנוּ    |                          |
| נִשְׁכָּנְהוּ               | נַעֲשֶׂהּ                |                           | תִּצְדָם                 |



## I

## INDEX OF SUBJECTS

The numbers refer to the sections, except where otherwise indicated.  
N. = note.

- A-sounds, 8 *a*, 9 *a* ff.  
Abbreviations, 5 *m*.  
Absolute cases, 143 *c* N.  
Abstract, for concrete, 83 *c*: abstr. ideas expressed by the feminine, 122 *g*, *r*: by fem. in *מִן*-, 86 *k*: by the plural, 124 *a*, *d-f*: with the article, 126 *n*.  
Accents, 3 *b*: names and laws of, 15: of the poetical books, 15 *h*, *i*.  
Accentuation, 3 *b*: double accentuation in certain passages, 15 *p*.  
Accusative expressed by *מִן*-, 117: as direct object of verb, 117: syntax of pronominal object and second accus., 117 *e*: introduced by *בְּ* (esp. late), 117 *n*: cognate accus., 117 *p-r*: pronominal suffix with dative force, 117 *x*: with verbs of putting on and off, 117 *y*, being filled, 117 *z*, dwelling (rare) 117 *bb*: double accus. (to clothe, present, support, meet, &c. *with*), 117 *cc-gg*: accus. of material (to make *of*), 117 *hh*: of product (make *into*), 117 *ii*: of the part affected, 117 *ll*: of place, 118 *d-g*: of nearer definition, 118 *h*: of time, 118 *i-k*: of cause, 118 *l*: defining the manner of an action, 118 *m-r*, 120 *b*: construed with passive verb, 121 *a*, *b*.  
Accusative and infinitive construction, 157 *b* N.  
Acrophony, 5 *e*.  
Acrostic poems, 5 *h*.  
Adjectival idea expressed by a substantive in the genitive, 128 *o*, *p*, 135 *n*; by a substantive as predicate, 141 *c*, *d*: adjective used as a substantive in the genitive, 128 *w*, 133 *h*, cf. with ordinal numerals, 134 *p*, end: used poetically for a substantive, 132 *a* N<sup>2</sup>: rarely stands before the subst., 132 *b*. See also Attributive ideas.  
Adjectives, construction of, with substantives, 132: with the article, 126 *u*, *v*: with art. when subst. is without it, 126 *w*, *x* and *N*: without the article when subst. definite, 126 *z*: syntax of, as predicate in a noun-clause, 145 *r*.  
Adverbs, 100: with suffixes, 100 *o*, *p*: adverbial ideas expressed by the infin. abs., 113 *h-k*: by infin. constr., 114 *n* and *x*: by finite verb, 120 *d-h*.  
Adversative clauses, 163.  
Affirmatives of the perfect, 40 *c*, 44: of the imperfect, 40 *e*, 47: of the noun, 85 *s-v*, 86 *h-l*.  
Agreement of members of a sentence in gender and number, 145.  
Aleph four times with *מִן*, 14 *d*: affixed to 3rd plur. perf. (rare), 23 *i*, 44 *l*: verbs *מִן* *ב*, 68.  
Aleph prostheticum, 19 *m* and *n*.  
Alphabet, old Hebrew, 5 *a*: origin of, 5 *g*.  
Alphabetic poems, 5 *h*.  
Amarna letters, 2 *b* N<sup>2</sup>, 2 *f* and N<sup>4</sup>.  
Anacoluthon, 167 *b*.  
Answers, affirmative, 150 *n*: negative, 150 *n*.  
Any one, 139 *d*.  
Aphaeresis, 19 *h*, *i*, 66 *a-c*, 69 *b*, *c*, *f-h*.  
Apocope, 19 *l*: in verbs *מִן* *ב*, 75 *k*.  
Aposiopesis, 117 *l*, 167 *a*.  
Appellatives, 125 *c-g*.  
Apposition, 127 *h*, 130 *e*: in the wider sense, 131: to express attribute, material, contents, measure, &c., 131 *c-e*.  
Arabic language and Arabisms, 1 *b*, *m*, 22 *s*, 24 *g* N, 35 *l* and N<sup>2</sup>, 44 *a*, 47 *a* N, 48 *b*, 58 *l*.  
Aramaic language and Aramaisms,

*l* c, *m*, 2 *g*, *t*, 24 *e*, 44 *c*, 47 *a* *n*, *c* *n* :  
 Pi'el, 52 *a* : Nûn epentheticum,  
 53 *i-l* : Aram. forms of verbs, *y'y*,  
 67 *g* : of verbs *y'y*, 72 *ee* : of verbs  
 77, 75 *hh* : Aram. termination of  
 the feminine, 80 *h* : of the plural,  
 87 *e*.  
 Araq al-Emir, inscription of, 5 *a*.  
 Archaisms, 2 *k* : supposed, in the  
 Pentateuch, 2 *n*.  
 Article, 35 : syntax of, 126 : with  
 demonstrative force, 126 *a*, *b* :  
 before names of classes, 126 *l-n* :  
 in comparisons, 126 *o*, cf. *p* : with  
 the attributive, 126 *u-x* : used as a  
 relative, 138 *i, k* : punctuation of,  
 35, *a-k*, *o* : rarely retained after pre-  
 positions, 35 *n* : original form of,  
 35 *l* : *N* elided after it, 35 *d* : omitted  
 with הַ, הָאֵל, הַנֶּחֱמָה after a subst.  
 with pronom. suff., 126 *y* : found  
 anomalously with a noun in constr.  
 st., 127 *f-l*.  
 Ashdod, language of, 2 *w*.  
 Asher, ben, 7 *h* *n*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Aspirates, 6 *n*.  
 Asserations, 149.  
 Assimilation, 19 *b-f*, 54 *e*, *d*, 66 *d-g* : of  
 י and י' : 71 : 'backward-assimila-  
 tion,' 19 *f* *n*.  
 Assuan papyri, 1 *m*.  
 Assyrian language, 1 *d*.  
 Asyndeton, cases of, 120 *g*, *h*, 154 *a*  
*n* (*a*).  
 Athê merahîq, 20 *f*, *g*.  
 Athnah, chief divider of verse in  
 prose, 15 *f* : secondary divider in  
 poetry, 15 *h*.  
 Attraction, cases of, 145 *u* *n*<sup>3</sup>, 146 *a*.  
 Attribute, *see* Adjective.  
 Attributive ideas expressed by שֵׁנָה,  
 בָּרָא, followed by a genitive,  
 128 *s-v* : by the genitive, 128 *o*, *p*,  
 135 *m* : by a substantive in appo-  
 sition, 131 *c-e* : by a subst. as pre-  
 dicate, 141 *c*, *d* : negative expressed  
 by a noun-clause, 152 *u*, *n*. *See also*  
 Adjectival idea.

Babylonian language, 1 *a*, *d*, *e*, *i*.  
 Babylonian punctuation, 42 *n*<sup>3</sup>.  
 B'gadk'phath letters, 3 *d*, 6 *n*, 12 *a*,  
 13 *c* : aspiration of, 21.  
 Ben Asher's recension of the text,  
 7 *h* *n*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ben Naphthali's recension of the  
 text, 7 *h* *n*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Beth essentiae, 119 *i* : pretii, 119 *p*.  
 Bodily and mental defects denoted

by adjectives of the form קָפֵל,  
84<sup>b</sup> d.  
Boustrophedon, 1 k N<sup>2</sup>, 5 d N<sup>3</sup>.

Canaanite branch of the Semitic languages, 1 *b* (ii).  
Canaanite glosses in the cuneiform tablets of Tell el-Amarna, 2 *f* N<sup>1</sup>.  
Cardinal numbers, 97.  
Case-endings, remains of early, 90 :  
     $\overline{\text{N}}$  as locative, 90 *c* *e*, of time, 90 *h*, in place-names and as a poetical form without meaning, 90 *f*, *g* with *N* : punctuation and tone, 90 *i* :  $\overline{\text{N}}$ , 90 *k-m*, *o* :  $\overline{\text{N}}$  and  $\overline{\text{N}}$ , 90 *k*, *n*, *o*.  
Cases, absolute, 143 *c* *N* : instrumental, 144 *m* *N*.  
Casus pendens, various uses of, 111 *h*, 112 *n*, *t*, *mm*, *on*, 116 *u*, 143, 159 *i*.  
Causal clauses, 106 *f*, 112 *nn* : syntax of, 158.  
Chaldee, incorrect use of the term, 1 *c* *N*.  
Changes of consonants, 19.  
Chiasmus in the arrangement of words in parallel members of a verse, 114 *r* *N*, 142 *f* *N*.  
Circumstantial clauses, 156 : expressing negative qualities, 156 *n* : noun-clauses, 156 *c* : verbal, 152 *d*.  
Citation, formulae of, 150 *e*.  
Cognate accusative, 117 *p-r*.  
Cohortative, 48 *b* : form of, 48 *c*, *d* : meaning, 48 *e* : syntax of, 108 : very rare in verbs  $\overline{\text{N}}$ , 75 *l*.  
Coins, Hebrew, 2 *d* (4).  
Collective nouns, 123 *a*, *b* : in fem. sing., 122 *s* : names of classes used collectively, 126 *l-p* : with the plural of the adj. or ptep., 132 *g* : with the predicate in the plur. masc., 145 *b-e*, in 3rd pl. fem., 145 *c* ( $\overline{\text{N}}$ ), in masc. sing., 145 *f*, in sing. followed by plur., 145 *g*, in fem. sing., 145 *k* (cf. 135 *p*).  
Common gender, 122 *b*, *d*.  
Comparatio decurtata, 118 *r* *N*, 133 *c* *N*.  
Comparative, expression of, 133 *a-f*.  
Comparative clauses, 161.  
Comparison, use of article in, 126 *o*, *p*.  
Compensatory lengthening, 25 *a*, 27 *c*, *e-h*.  
Composition of words, 30 *p*, (*b*), *r*, 81 *d*, 152 *a* *N* : of particles, 99 *e*.  
Compound ideas, how thrown into the plural, 124 *p-r* : with the article, 127 *e* : with suffixes, 135 *n*.  
Compounds formed by  $\overline{\text{N}}$  with a substantive or adjective, 152 *a* *N*.



- Concessive clauses, 160.  
 Concord of subject and object in gender and number, 145 *a-l*: cases of false concord, 145 *u*.  
 Conditional sentences, perfect in, 106 *p*: imperf. in, 107 *x*: cohortative in, 108 *e, f*: jussive in, 109 *h*: imperat. in, 110 *f*: ptep. in, 159 *v*: ptep. without *DN*, 116 *w*, 159 *i*: perf. consec. in apodosis, 112 *ß-mm*: different types of, 159: without conditional particle, 112 *kk, ll*, 159 *b-k*.  
 Conjugations, or verba derivata, 38 *b*, 39 *c, d*: number and arrangement of, 39 *e-f*: Niph'al, 51: Pi'el and Pu'al, 52: Hiph'il and Hoph'al, 53: Hithpa'el, 54: the less common conjugations, 39 *g*, 55: conjugation of aim or attack (Po'el), 55 *c*.  
 Conjunctions, 104.  
 Conjunctive accents, 15 *g, i*.  
 Consecutio temporum, perf. and imperf. with wāw consec., 49: perf. with wāw consec., 112.  
 Consecutive clauses, 107 *u*: syntax of, 166.  
 Consonants, 5: changes of, 19: pronunciation and division of, 6: transcription of their names, 5 *fN*: weak consonants, 7 *a-g*: softening of, 19 *o*.  
 Constructio ad sensum, 132 *g*, 145 *a-l*: asyndetos, 120 *g, h*, 154 *a N (a)*: praegnans, 119 *x, y, ß, gg*.  
 Continuous action expressed by infin. abs., 113 *s-u*.  
 Continuous progress expressed by duplication of a word, 133 *h*.  
 Contraction of vowels, 7 *a*.  
 Co-ordination of verbal ideas instead of subordination, 120.  
 Copula, *see* Wāw copulativum: verbal, how expressed, 141 *f-h*.  
 Cuneiform inscriptions, 1 *d, m N*<sup>1</sup>, 5 *g (b), 6 b*.  
 Dageš forte, 12: in place of a letter assimilated, 19 *b-f*: orthophonicum, 20 *g*, 13 *c*: necessarium, compensativum, caracteristicum, 20 *a*: euphonicum, 20 *c*: conjunctivum, 20 *c-f*: dirimens, 20 *h*: affectuosum, 20 *i*: firmativum, 20 *k*: implicitum, 20 *m*, 22 *c*: omission of, 20 *l, m*: in gutturals, 22 *b, s*: occasionally in *l*, 22 *g (a)*, *s*: four times in *N* (acc. to others Mappiq), 14 *d*: omitted sometimes in 2nd radical of verbs *ŷŷ*, 67 *g, dd*. *See also* Strengthening.  
 Dageš lene, 13, 21: after יהוה (i. e. יהי), 21 *c*: omitted anomalously after consonantal י and י, 21 *c*: exceptional cases of (יב, יב, יב, יב), 21 *d*.  
 Dative, 119 *s*.  
 Dativus ethicus, 119 *s*, 135 *i*: dative expressed by a suffix, 117 *x*.  
 Decalogue, double accentuation of, 15 *p*.  
 Dehiq, 20 *c*.  
 Denominative nouns, *see* Nouns: verbs, *see* Verb.  
 Desiderative sentences, 151.  
 Determination of nouns, 125: omission of it, 117 *g*, 126 *p*: determination of proper names, 125 *c-f*: determination by the article, 126: by a following determinate genitive, 127: determination of numerals, 134 *k*.  
 Diacritical points, *see* Puncta extraordinaria.  
 Dialects in the O. T., 2 *w*.  
 Diminutives, 86 *g* and *n*.  
 Diphthongs, 7 *a*, 8 *m*, 24 *f*.  
 Disjunctive accents, 15 *f, h*.  
 Disjunctive questions, 150 *f-l*.  
 Dissimilation of vowels, 27 *x*.  
 Distributive numerals, 134 *g*.  
 Doubling of consonants, *see* Strengthening.  
 Dual, 88: with the plural of the adjective, 132 *f*: with predicate in the plur., 145 *n*: in numerals, 97 *g, h*, 134 *r*: place-names doubtfully so explained, 88 *c*.  
 E-sounds, 7 *a, b, e, 8 b, 9 i-m*.  
 Each, every, how expressed, 139 *b, c*.  
 East Semitic, 1 *d*.  
 Elatives, 85 *b*, 133 *a N*.  
 Elegy, rhythm of, in Hebrew, 2 *r*.  
 Elision, *see* Syncope and elision.  
 Ellipse of the pronominal object, 117 *f*: other cases of ellipse (real or apparent), 116 *s*, 118 *s N* (in comparisons), 134 *n* (of names of measures, weights, &c.), 144 *o* (due to corruption).  
 'Emblematic Mashal,' 161 *a N*.  
 Emphasis expressed by infin. abs., 114 *l-r, v-x*: by cognate accus., 113 *w* (end): by cognate accus. with defining adjective, 117 *q*: by duplication of a word, 123 *e*, 133 *k, l*: by combination of different derivatives from the same root, 133 *l*: by

- the article or a genitive (the superlative degree), 133 *g-i*: by a personal pronoun added to the subject, 135 *a, c*: by the pronoun annexed in the nominative to the suffix or to a noun, 135 *d-h*: by *PN* with the suffix, 135 *k*: by position, 142 *f, g*, 152 *e* (after *N*), 152 *w* (after *D*).
- Emphasis on indeterminate nouns, 117 *g*, 125 *c*.
- Enallage of gender, 135 *o*, 144 *a*.
- Epiceic nouns, 122 *b, e-g*.
- Epithets, poetical, used as substantives, 132 *a n*.
- Era, Jewish, 5 *z*.
- Ethical dative, 119 *s*, 135 *i*.
- Ethiopic, 1 *b* (i), 30 *p n*.
- Exceptive clauses, 163 *c*.
- Exclamations, 146 *b* (קִלְ = *hark*): with קִלְ, 147 *b*: without קִלְ, 147 *c*: with other interjections, 147 *d*: expressing a wish, 148 *a-d*: in form of a question expressing irony or indignation, 148 *a, b*: expressed by יֵי, 148 *d*, 151.
- Extension of influence of a preposition over a parallel clause, 119 *h k*: of a negative, 152 *s*: of an interrogative, 150 *m*: of a conjunction, 150 *m n*.
- Extension, plurals of, 124 *a-g*.
- Feminine, forms of, 80, 94: ending in *PN*, 80 *f*, *PN*, 80 *g*, *PN*, 80 *l*: in the constr. state, 89 *e*: in the plural, 87 *i-l*: paradigms, 95: of a land or people, 122 *h, i*: of abstract ideas, 122 *g*: of holders of offices<sup>1</sup>, 122 *r*: of collectives, 122 *s*: in verb or pronoun to express *it*, 135 *p*: in impersonal verbs (*it rains*), 144 *b, c*: in the predicate of collective plurals, 145 *k* (cf. fem. of pronoun referring to collectives, 135 *p*): dislike of the fem. form, 132 *d*, 145 *p, t*: fem. forms of the infinitive, 45 *d*, 66 *b, g, h*, 69 *b* (C), *c*: fem. nouns with plur. in *PN*, 87 *g*: fem. denoting artificial (as opposed to natural) objects, 122 *u*, in plur. (as opp. to dual), 87 *c*.
- Feminine pronoun = English *it*, 135 *p*, 144 *b, c*.
- Figura etymologica, see Schema etymologicum.
- Final clauses, 107 *q* (imperf.), 109 *f, g* (jussive): syntax of, 165.
- Final letters, 5 *c*.
- Formae mixtae, 78 *d*.
- Formative letters, or serviles, 30 *c*: in formation of nouns, 81 *b*, 85.
- Frequentative force of imperf., 107 *b-g*: of perf. with *waw* consec., 112 *e-o*, cf. *h k, u*.
- Fulcrum, 8 *h n*.
- Future tense, 47 *a n*: futurum exactum, 106 *o*, 107 *l*: futurum intrans., 116 *p*.
- Ga'ya, 16 *c, g, h*.
- Ge'ez, 1 *b* (i).
- Gemara, 1 *c*, 3 *a*.
- Gender of nouns, 122: in the construction of subject and predicate, 145: irregularities in use of, 110 *k*, 135 *o*, 144 *a*, 145 *p, t, u*.
- Genitive, expression of, 89, 127 *a*, 128: epexegetical or explicative, 128 *k-g, x, y*: subjective, 128 *g*, 135 *m*: objective, 128 *h*, 135 *m*: partitive, 128 *i, r*: expressing the genus, *l*, the species, *m*: expressed periphrastically by יֵי, 129 *a-f*: by יֵי, 129 *a, h*.
- Gentile names, in *PN*, 86 *h*: determination of, 125 *e*: of compounds (as יֵי יֵי), 127 *d*.
- Geographical names with a following genitive, 125 *h*: with the article (appellatives), 125 *e*.
- Germanic languages, 1 *e*.
- Gerund, 45 *f, g*.
- Grammarians, early, p. 20 *n*<sup>1</sup>.
- Gutturals, pronunciation of, 6 *c-f, o, r*: peculiarities of, 22: in verbal stems, 62-65.
- Hadad inscription, 1 *m*.
- Hateph-Pathah, 10 *f, g*: shorter than Hateph-Seghol, 27 *r*, 63 *f*.
- Hateph-Qames, 10 *f, h*.
- Hateph-Seghol, 10 *f*.
- He interrogative, pointing of, 100 *k-n*.
- He locale, 90 *c-i*.
- Hebrew language, 1 *a, b* (ii): history of, 2: remains of the literature, 2 *d, l, o*: dialects of, 2 *w*: grammatical treatment of, 3: system of writing, 2 *i, 5*.
- Hebrews, 2 *b*.
- Helping vowels, 9 *h, m*, 28 *e* (to keep a syllable open), 84<sup>a</sup> *a*, 93 *c* (in segholates).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Driver, *Introd.*<sup>s</sup>, p. 466: Segal, *Mishn. Hebr.*, p. 63.

Himyaritic, 1 *b* (i): writing, 1 *k n*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Hiph'il, 53: 'internal,' 53 *d*: infinitive-pointed -*ן*, 53 *l*: the *ן* in infin. elided after preposition, 53 *g*: imperf. with *—* for *—* (as *יִרְכֹּב*), 53 *n*: with *ן* retained in imperf. after preformatives, 53 *g*: denominatives in Hiph., 53 *g*.  
 Hireq, different kinds of, 8 *b*, 9 *g*, *h*: compaginis, 90 *k-n*.  
 Hithpa'el, 54: sometimes construed with an accusative, 54 *f*, 117 *w*.  
 Hithpa'el, 55 *d*, 72 *m*, 75 *kk*.  
 Hithpalpel, 55 *g*, 67 *l*.  
 Hithpo'el, 55 *b*, 67 *l*.  
 Holem, 8 *c-g*: written defectively, 8 *i-l*: its origin, 9 *p-s*: changed to games in pause, 29 *w*.  
 Homogeneous consonants, 6 *q*: vowels, 24 *b, f*.  
 Homorganic consonants, 6 *q*.  
 Hoph'al, 53 *b, h, s, t*: *ן* retained once in ptep., 53 *s*.  
 Hothpa'al, 54 *b, h, l*.  
 Hypothetical sentences, *see* Conditional sentences.

I-sounds, 8 *b*, 9 *g, h*: from *a* 27 *s, t*: in impf., 47 *b*: in Niph., 51 *a*: in Pi., 52 *a*: in Hiph., 53 *a*: in nouns with preformative *ב*, 85 *f*: lengthened to *א*, 93 *c*.  
 Imperative, forms in Qal, 46: shortened and lengthened forms of, 48 *i-l*, 75 *k*: with suffixes, 61 *f-h*: syntax of, 110: infinitive absolute used with force of imperative, 113 *bb*.  
 Imperfect, the name, 47 *a n*: formation and inflexion of, 47: unusual forms of, 47 *k*: form *תִּקְטַלְנָה* as 3rd fem. sing. or 2nd masc. sing., 47 *k*: 3rd pl. masc. in *ן*, 47 *m*: jussive and cohortative forms of, 48: with *wāw* consecutive, 49 *c-g*, 111: with suffixes, 60: its syntax (alone), 107: expressing custom or habit, 107 *e, g*: with *wāw* consec., 111: subordinated to another verb, 120 *c*.  
 Imperfect Hiph'il with *—* for *—* (as *יִרְכֹּב*), 53 *n*: with *ן* retained after preformatives, 53 *g*.  
 Impersonal construction of *יִיחַד*, &c., 144 *b*: impersonal passive, 121 *a*.  
 Imprecation, formulae of, 149 *d*.  
 Incomplete retrocession of the tone, 29 *f*.  
 Indefinite subject of verb, expressed

by 3rd masc. sing., 144 *d, e*, by 3rd plur., 144 *f, g*, by 2nd sing. masc. (rare), 144 *h*, by ptep. plur., 144 *i*, by passive, *k*.  
 Indeterminateness expressing amplification, 125 *c*.  
 Indogermanic languages compared, 1 *e, g, h, i* (loan-words in), 10 *e n*, 20 *l n*, 22 *c n*, 27 *t n*, 31 *a*, 33 *a*, 51 *c-e*, 52 *f n*, 53 *g n*, 55 *f n*, 99 *b* and *n*, 132 *a n*, 133 *b n*<sup>1</sup>, 135 *i n*, *q n*, 145 *k n*<sup>1</sup>, 155 *b n*.  
 Infinitive, 45: with suffixes, 61 *a-e*: use of the infinitive absolute, 113: as a casus adverbialis, 113 *k-k*: to strengthen the idea of the verb, 113 *l-r*: in place of the finite verb, 113 *y-gg*: infinitive construct, unusual forms in Qal, 45 *c-e*, in Pi'el, 52 *p* (cf. 84<sup>b</sup> *e*), in Hiph'il, 53 *l*, 86 *k*, in Hithpa'el, 54 *k*: of *יִיחַד*, 66 *i*: in verbs *ו'ע*, 67 *o*: in *ו'ע*, 69 *m* with *n*: in *ו'ע* (Hiph.), 72 *e*, cf. 85 *c*: *נ'ל* 74 *h*, 75 *gg*: *נ'ל*, 75 *n* (cf. 69 *m n*), *f, kk*: syntax of the infin. constr., 114: with *ל* to express a future, 114 *k-k*, obligation, 114 *l*, as object of another verb, 114 *m*, gerundial, 114 *o*: after *ו*, 114 *p*: infinitive construct continued by a finite verb, 114 *r*: how negated, 114 *s*: construction with subject and object, 115: infinitive Hiph'il pointed -*ן*, 53 *l*, with *ן* elided after preposition, 53 *g*: Niph'al with *ן* elided, 51 *l*.  
 Instrument, introduced by *ב*, 119 *o*: accusative as a supposed casus instrumentalis, 114 *m n*.  
 Interjections, 30 *s*, 105: syntax of, 148.  
 Interpunctuation, the accents as marks of, 15 *d, m-a*.  
 Interrogative sentences, 107 *t*, 150: disjunctive, 150 *c, g*: indirect, 150 *i*: expressing a wish, 151 *a, b*: expressed without an interrog. particle, 150 *a, b*.  
 Interrogative words and particles, 150 *c, d*.  
 Involved series of sentences, 167 *c*.

Jews, Jewish, 2 *a*.  
 Jussive, forms of, 48 *a-c, f-h*: syntax of, 109: used absolutely, 109 *b, c*: depending on another verb, 109 *f, g, i*: in conditional sentences, 109 *h*, 159 *d*: jussive forms in poetry without jussive force, 109 *k*.

Kaph veritatis, 118 *x*.  
K'thibh, 17 *a-c*.

Lamed anctoris, 129 *c*.  
Lamentation metre, 2 *r*.  
Letters, forms and names of, 5 *a, b*,  
  *e, f*: final, 5 *c*: order of, 5 *h, i*:  
  numerical value, 5 *k*.  
Litterae dilatabiles, 5 *d*: maiusculae,  
  minusculae, suspensae, 5 *n*: spi-  
  rantes, 6 *n*: quiescibiles, 8 *h n*, 23:  
  incompatibiles, 30 *m n*: serviles,  
  30 *g*, 81 *b*: compaginis, 90 *k-a*.  
Loan-words in Hebrew and Greek, 1 *i*.  
Locative, 90 *a, c-i*.

Mandaeans, 1 *c*.  
Mappiq, 8 *m n*<sup>1</sup>, 14 *a-d*: omitted in  
  3rd fem. sing. suffix of verb, 58 *g*:  
  of noun, 91 *e*: in מִן, 103 *g* (end):  
  found four times in *n*, 14 *d*.  
Maqqēph, 9 *c, d*, 16 *a, b*.  
Masculine as prior gender, 122 *g*,  
  146 *d*: masc. nouns with plur.  
  in מִן-, 87 *m-p*.  
Masora and Masoretic text, 3 *b, c*:  
  masora marginalis (magna and  
  parva) and finalis, 17 *d, e*.  
Masoretic terms explained, 17 *e*.  
Material expressed by the genitive,  
  128 *c*, 135 *n*.  
Matres lectionis, 8 *h n*.  
Mesa' inscription, 1 *b* (ii), 2, 2 *d*, final  
  vowels in, 7 *b-d n*<sup>1</sup>: מִן = מִן,  
  *p*. 105 *n*: מִן = מִן, 32 *k n*: wāw  
  consecutive, 49 *a n*: the forms  
  חֲלָתָם, &c., 54 *l*: לִסְפֹּת, 69 *h n*:  
  לִנְנָן, 75 *b n*: fem. sing. abs. in מִן-,  
  80 *f n*: plur. masc. in מִן-, 87 *e n*:  
  suffixes, 91 *k n*: the imperfect,  
  107 *b n*<sup>1</sup>: impf. consec. 111 *k n*:  
  article omitted with מִן though  
  the noun has it, 126 *y*: use of the  
  separate pronoun, 135 *a n*: casus  
  pendens, 143 *b n*.  
Metathesis, *see* Transposition.  
Metheg, distinguishing ā from ē, 9 *u*,  
  *v*: marks secondary tone, 15 *c*, 29 *b*,  
  20 *f*: various kinds of, 16 *c-i*: with  
  short vowel in open syllable, 26 *i-i*  
  (but cf. *o n*): with gere in closed  
  ultima, 29 *f*: in perf. consec. 49 *i*.  
Metre in Hebrew, 2 *r*.  
Mil'el and Milra', 15 *c*, 20 *f*.  
Mishna, 3 *a*.  
Mixed forms, 78 *d*.  
Moods, expression of, 40 *a*, 106 *p*,  
  107 *m-x*: modus rei repetitae (im-  
  perf. as frequentative), 107 *e*.

Multiplicatives (once, twice, &c.), how  
  expressed, 134 *r*.

Nabataean inscriptions, 1 *c*.  
Naphthali, ben, 7 *h n*.  
Names of countries, peoples, and  
  towns, fem., 122 *i*: of places and  
  peoples with the article, 125 *d n*, *e*:  
  with a following genitive, 125 *h*.  
Nasog ahor, 20 *e*.  
Negative sentences, 152.  
Negatives, 152: two negatives in-  
  tensify negation, 152 *y*: influence  
  extending over a following clause,  
  152 *z*.  
Neuter, wanting in Hebrew, 80 *a*:  
  expressed by feminine, 122 *g* with *n*,  
  135 *p*: by plur. of adjectives, 122 *g*:  
  by suffix of 3rd plur., 135 *p*: in  
  pronoun, 136 *b*, in verb, 144 *b, c*.  
Niph'al, 51: tolerativum, 51 *c*: re-  
  flexive and reciprocal senses of,  
  51 *c-e*: infin. with מִן elided after  
  a preposition, 51 *l*.  
Nithqattel, 55 *k* (9).  
Nomen regens and rectum, 89 *a*.  
Nomen unitatis, 122 *t*.  
Nominativus pendens resumed by  
  a pronoun, 143.  
North Semitic, 1 *c*.  
Nota accusativ, 57: when used,  
  117 *a-e*.  
Nothing, no one, how expressed, 139 *d*.  
Noun-clauses, ptep. in, 116 *m-r*: de-  
  fined, 140 *a*: syntax of, 141: short-  
  ened unusually (rare), 147 *e*: nega-  
  tived by מִן and מִן, 152 *a, d, i-m*:  
  relative, 155 *e*.  
Noun-forms with verbal force (no-  
  mina verbi), 45 *e* (with prefixed-  
  ד), 115 *d*.  
Nouns, derivation and various kinds  
  of, 81: primitive, 30 *f*, 79 *a*, 82:  
  on nouns in general, 83: forms de-  
  rived from the simple stem, 84<sup>a</sup>,  
  from intensive stems, 84<sup>b</sup>: nouns  
  formed with preformatives (N, מ,  
  ד, &c.), 85 *b-r*, with affirmatives,  
  85 *s-v*: quadriliterals and quinque-  
  literals, 85 *w*: denominatives, 86:  
  with pronominal suffixes, 91: para-  
  digms of, 93: forms with peculiar  
  flexion (מִן, מִן, &c.), 96: distinc-  
  tions of gender in, 122: collectives,  
  123 *a, b*: with the article, 126: ap-  
  pellatives, 125 *e-g*: nomina unitatis,  
  122 *s, t*, 123 *b*: abstracts, *see* Ab-  
  stract. *See also* Names.  
Number in the construction of subject  
  and predicate, 145.

Number of words in the O. T., 3 *w n*.  
 Numeral adverbs, 124 *r*.  
 Numerals, 97 : syntax of, 134 : order of compound numerals in different books, 134 *c n, h, i*.  
 Numeration, ascending (rhetorical figure), cases of, 134 *s*.  
 Numerical signs, 5 *k*.  
 Nûn paragogicum, in imperf., 47 *m* : in perf. (?), 44 *l* : assimilation of Nûn, 19 *b, c*, 66 *d* : Nûn energicum (demonstrativum, epentheticum), 58 *i-l* : inversum, 5 *n*.

O-sounds, 8 *c, d*, 9 *p-s*.

Oaths, formulae of, 149.

Object, in the accusative, 117 : introduced by  $\text{ל}$ , 143 *e* : introduced by  $\text{ב}$  instrumenti, 119 *g* : absolute or internal (cognate accusative), 117 *p, q* : dative expressed by accus. suffixes, 117 *x*.

Object of verb anticipated by pronom. suffix, as in Aram., 131 *m, o*.

Object-clauses, 157.

Occupations denoted by nouns of the form  $\text{מְעַלְּלִים}$ , 84<sup>b</sup> *b*.

Old Hebrew, 1 *k, 2 a*.

Old w'yôredh, principal divider of verse in poetry, 15 *b*.

One, indefinite, how expressed, 144 *d-k*.

Onomatopoeica, 1 *k*, 30 *k*.

Optative, 109 *b, c*.

Oratio obliqua, how expressed, 157.

Order of the alphabet, 5 *h, i*.

Order of words, 114 *r n* (chiasmus) : in noun-clauses, 141 *l-n* : varieties of, in verbal clauses, 142 *a, f, g* : with the infinitive constr., 115 *e-k*.

Ordinal numbers, 98, 134 *o, p*.

Oriental and Occidental texts, 7 *k n*.

Orthography of Hebrew in the masoretic text and previously, 7.

Pa'lel, 55 *d* : in three  $\text{מִן}$  verbs, 75 *kk*.

Panammu inscription, 1 *m*.

Papyri of Assuan, 1 *m*.

Parallel texts, 3 *g*.

Parallelism of members, 2 *g*, 150 *h*.

Participle, forms of, in Qal, 50 : Niph'al, 51 *a* : Pi'el and Pu'al, 52 *a-c* : with aphaeresis of  $\text{ו}$ , 52 *s* : Hiph'il and Hoph'al, 53 *a, b* : anomalous forms in Hiph., 53 *o* : with suffix, 61 *h* : fem. in  $\text{מְעַלְּלִים}$  84<sup>a</sup> *s*, 94 *d* : plur. in  $\text{מְעַלְּלִים}$  93 *qq* : force of, 107 *d* : syntax of, 116 : construed as verb or noun, 116 *f-i* : passive ptep. construed with accus.

or genitive, 116 *k, l* : of imminent future, 116 *p* : subject with  $\text{מִן}$  (of continuous action), 116 *r* : subject omitted, 116 *s, i* : participle absolute, 116 *w* : continued by finite verb, 116 *x*.

Particles, 99.

Partitive sense of  $\text{ב}$ , 119 *m* : of  $\text{ל}$ , 119 *w n*.

Paseq, p. 59 *n*<sup>2</sup>.

Passive, 39 *a*, 51 *f* (Niph'al) : probable passives of Qal, 52 *e*, 53 *w* : construction of passives, 121 : expressed by the 3rd plur. active, 144 *f, g*, by the active participle, 144 *i* : impersonal passive, 121 *a* : passive verbs construed with  $\text{מִן}$ , 121 *a, b* : agent after passive expressed by  $\text{ל}$ ,  $\text{ב}$ , and (rarely)  $\text{בְּ}$ , 121 *f*.

Pathah, 8 *a*, 9 *e* : preferred with gutturals, 22 *d* : furtive, 8 *f*, 22 *f, g*, 65 *a-e* : as a helping vowel, 27 *r*, 28 *c, e n*<sup>2</sup>, 65 *g*, 84<sup>a</sup> *a* : in the imperfect of verbs  $\text{מִן}$ , 75 *bb* : in pause for Sere, 29 *g*, 51 *m* : before a guttural (esp.  $\text{פ}$ ) with Qames changed to S'ghöl, 27 *g*, 29 *v* : in perf. Pi'el for Sere, 52 *a, l*.

Patronymics, 86 *h*.

Pause, 29 *i-v* : pausal forms with lesser distinctive accents, 29 *i*.

Pe'al'al, 55 *e*.

Pentateuch, linguistic character of, 2 *m, n*.

Perfect, 40 : flexion of, 44 : 3rd fem. sing. in  $\text{מִן}$ , 44 *f*, 72 *o* : 2nd fem. sing. in  $\text{מִן}$ , 44 *h* : 1st sing. in  $\text{מִן}$ , 44 *i* : 3rd plur. in  $\text{מִן}$  (?), 44 *l* : did Hebrew possess a 3rd pl. fem. in  $\text{מִן}$  ? 44 *m* : contraction of last radical with affirmative of perfect, 44 *o* : meaning of, 47 *a n* : with suffixes, 59 : syntax of, 106 : not precative, 106 *n n*<sup>2</sup> : perfectum confidentiae, 106 *n* : propheticum, 106 *n* : with  $\text{ל}$  consec., 49 *a*, change of tone, *h-l*, syntax, 112 : with  $\text{ל}$  consec. as a frequentative, 112 *e-o*, *dd*, *ee* : carrying on the protasis, 112 *p*, introducing the apodosis, 112 *f-i* : with simple  $\text{ל}$  of a single act, in narrative, 112 *pp-iu*.

Periphrastic expression of qualities

by means of  $\text{אִשִּׁי, בֶּן, בַּעַל}$ , 128 *s-v*.

Periphrastic future, 114 *p n*.

Permutation, 131 *k*.

Permutative, 131 *k-o*.  
 Person, abrupt changes of, in poetry, 144 *p*.  
 Personification of countries or peoples, 122 *i*.  
 Phoenician and Punic language, 1 *a*, *b* (ii), 2 *f*, 10 *e n*<sup>1</sup>, *p*. 106 *n*, § 36 *n*, 49 *a n*, 80 *f*, 87 *d*: writing, 1 *l*, 7 *d n*.  
 Phonetic system of Hebrew, 6 *o*, *p*.  
 Phonetics, 6 *a*, *b*.  
 Pi'el, 52: privativum, 52 *h*: intensive sense of, 52 *f*, *k*: rare in verbs י"ע, 72 *m*.  
 Pi'lél, 55 *d*: in verbs י"ע, 72 *m*.  
 Pilpél, 55 *f*: in verbs י"ע, 67 *i*: in verbs י"ע, 72 *m*.  
 Pleonastic use of the pronoun, 135 *û*, *b*: of the negative, 152 *y*.  
 Pluperfect, 106 *f*, 111 *g*: pluperf. subjunctive, 106 *p*.  
 Plural, terminations of, 87: in י"ן, 87 *e*: י"ן, י"ן, י"ן not plural endings, 87 *f-h*: double plural ending in constr. st. of certain words, 87 *s*: double plur. of subst. and following genitive, 124 *g*: uses and senses of, 124: unusual constructions of, 145 *h-m*: plur. forms of prepositions, 103 *n*, *o*: plur. suffix referring to collective singular, 135 *p*: plur. predicate of a collective singular, 145 *b-g*.  
 Pluralia tantum, 124 *f n*.  
 Pluralis excellentiae or majestatis, 124 *g-i* and *n*: its construction, 132 *h*: pl. of extension, 124 *a-c*: intensive pl., 124 *a*, *d*, *e*: of the result or product, 124 *m*: amplifying plur., 124 *b*, *d-f*: expressing abstract ideas, 124 *d, f*: pl. of pronoun to denote a group of actions (=it), 135 *p*.  
 Plurals of compound ideas, 124 *p-r*: of names of animals or things construed with a fem. sing., 145 *k*.  
 Pô'el, 55 *b*, *c*: in verbs י"ע, 67 *l*.  
 Poetic style, 2 *g-s*.  
 Point used to divide words, 3 *g n*.  
 Polpal, 55 *f*.  
 Polysyndeton, 154 *a n*.  
 Potential sense of the imperfect, 107 *r-w*.  
 Precative, 109 *b*, *c*.  
 Predicate, without the article, 126 *i, k*: agreeing (or not) with the subject, 145: with compound subj., 146: attracted to the principal idea of a compound subject, 146 *a*: subst.

as predicate where we should use an adjective, 141 *c, d*.  
 Prefixes, *see* Prepositions.  
 Preformatives of the imperfect, 47: of the noun, 85.  
 Pregnant construction with prepositions, 119 *ee*: with מן, 119 *x, y, ð*: with אֶתְּרִי, אֶל, לְקִרְאָת, בְּ, לְ, 119 *gg*.  
 Prepositions, 101: prefixed, 102: with suffixes, 103: under the government of the verb, 119: compound prepositions, 119 *b-e*: chief meanings of, אֶל, בְּ, לְ, מִן, עַל, 119 *g-dd*: pregnant uses of, 119 *ee-gg*: force of, extending over parallel clause, 119 *h-h*: with adverbs (rare), 119 *ii*: prep. (esp. בְּ) not used after בְּ, 118 *s-w*, found exceptionally, 118 *s n*.  
 Present expressed by the Perfect, 106 *g, h*.  
 Preterite, *see* Perfect.  
 Pretonic vowels, 26 *e*: with בְּ, בְּ, לְ, 102 *f-k*: with עַל before suffix, 103 *c*: with י, 104 *g*.  
 Printed texts, earliest Hebrew, 3 *e n*.  
 Prohibitions, expressed by אַל or לֹא with jussive or imperfect, 107 *o*, 109 *c, d*, 152 *f*.  
 Pronominal ideas expressed by substantives, 139.  
 Pronominal suffix anticipating noun, attached to verb, 131 *m, o*; to subst. or prep., 131 *n*.  
 Pronouns, 32: syntax of, 135-8: personal, 32, 135: oblique cases of, 135 *i-k*: suffixes, 33, with the verb, 58, with the noun, 91, with adverbs, 100 *o, p*, with prepositions, 103: suffix of 3rd fem. sing. referring to entire sentences, 135 *p*: demonstrative, 34, 136, used relatively, 138 *g, h*: relative, 36, 138: indefinite, 37 *g*, 137 *c*: interrogative, 37 *a-f*, 137 *a-c*: suffix reflexive, 135 *i, k*: suffix possessive, 33, 135 *m-o*: suffix as genitive, subjective or objective, 135 *m*: separate pronoun in nominative emphasizing a suffix, 135 *d-h*: reciprocal, 139 *c* with *n, e*.  
 Pronunciation of Hebrew, 6 *a, b*, 48 *f*.  
 Prosthetic Aleph, 19 *m*.  
 Pu'al, 52 *b-d, h* (end), *g-s*: as passive of Qal, 52 *e*.  
 Pu'al, 55 *d*.  
 Puncta extraordinaria, 6 *n*.

Punctuation, Babylonian, 8 *g n*.  
Punic, *see* Phoenician.

Qal, form and meaning of, 43 : probable passives of, 52 *e*, 53 *u*.  
Qames, 8 *a*, 9 *a-d* : its pronunciation, 8 *d* : Qames impurum, 25 *c*.  
Qames-hatûph, 8 *c*, 9 *s* : how distinguished from Qames, 9 *u*, *v*.  
Qere, 17 *a*, *b* : perpetuum, 17 *c*.  
Qibbus, 8 *c*, 9 *n*, *o*.  
Qina-metre, 2 *r*.  
Quadriliterals, 30 *p*, *q* : nouns, 85 *w* : verbs, 56.  
Quantity of vowels, p. 40 (Preliminary remark).  
Questions indicated by tone, 150 *a*, *b* : disjunctive, 150 *g* : double, 150 *h* : indirect, 150 *i* : expressing rhetorically a denial, 148 *c*, 150 *d*, 151 *a*, *b*.  
Quiescent letters, *see* Letters.  
Quinqueliterals, 30 *p*, *r*, 85 *w*.

Radical letters, 30 *c-e*.  
Raphé, 6 *n*, 14 *e*.  
Reciprocity expressed by . . . אִשׁוּ (רַעְיוֹן) by Niph'al, 51 *d* : by Hithpa'el, 54 *f*.  
Reduplication of letters, in verbs, 55 *d-g*, in nouns, 84 *b k-p*.  
Reflexive use of לְ (ethical dative), 119 *s* : of Niph'al, 51 *c* : of Hithp., 54 *e* : of pronouns, 57 *n*, 135 *i*, *k*.  
Relative sentences, 138 *a-f*, 155 : expressed without אֲשֶׁר, 155 *f-m*, 156 *b* : in genitive after constr. st., 130 *c*, without אֲשֶׁר, 130 *d*, 152 *a n* (end), *u* (2nd part), *v*, 155 *e* : expressed by הַ, הָ, הִי, 138 *g* : by article (in late Hebrew), 138 *i* (cases due to false vocalization or accentuation, 138 *k*) : independent rel. clause as subject or object of verb, or genitive of a noun, or governed by a preposition, 155 *n*.  
Relative pronoun, 36, 138.  
Repetition of words, without וְ, to express distribution (= 'every'), 123 *c*, *d* : emphasis, 123 *e* : the superlative, 133 *l* : with וְ, to express summation, 123 *c*, to express difference (וְאֵלֶּיךָ), 123 *f*.  
Resh occasionally with Dageš, 22 *s*.  
Rhythm of Hebrew poetry, 2 *q*, *r*.  
Roots, 30 *c*, *d*.

Sabaeen, 1 *b* (*i*), *k n*.  
Samaritan, 1 *c*.  
Saph'el, 55 *i*, cf. 30 *p*.

Schema etymologicum, 117 *p-r*.  
Scriptio continua, 3 *g n*.  
Scriptio plena and defectiva, 8 *i-l*, 25 *b*.  
Seal-stones, engraved, 2 *d*.  
S'ghol, 8 *b*, 9 *m*, 27 *p-r* : as a helping vowel, 27 *r*, 28 *e*, 84<sup>a</sup> *a* : rarely after gutturals, 22 *h* : before gutturals (esp. פ) with Qames, for Pathah, 27 *q*, 29 *v* : in pause for Sere in Pi'el, 52 *n*.  
'Segholate' nouns, forms of, 84<sup>a</sup> *a-d* : in constr. st. and with suffixes (paradigms), § 93 *c-e*, *g-r*, feminine forms, 95 *d-f* : of the form פִּלְעֵל in constr. st., 93 *h* : of the form פִּלְעֵלִי (dageš in 3rd radical) in constr. st. plur., 93 *m* : explanation of forms from verbs הִלַּל (as פִּלְעֵל), 84<sup>a</sup> *e* (*e*), 93 *x-z*, 95 *d-f* : constr. st. of nouns of the form פִּלְעֵל sometimes segholate in form, 93 *h h*.  
Self, idea of, how expressed, 135 *a*, *i*, *k*, 139 *f*, with *n*, cf. *g*.  
Semitic languages, 1 : their grammatical structure, 1 *f* : their relation to one another, 1 *e*, *m*, *n* : and to other languages, 1 *g-i* : their age, 1 *m*, *n* : writing, 1 *k*, *l*.  
Sentences, 140 : compound, 140 *d*, 143 : incomplete, 147 : restrictive and intensive, 153 : connected by וְ, 154 : divided by Paseq, 15 *f n*.  
Separating vowels, 67 *d n*, 72 *i*.  
Septuagint, 3 *a*, 6 *b*, p. 35 *n*.  
Sere, 8 *b*, 9 *i-l* : in pause for S'ghol in verbs הִלַּל, 75 *h h n* : changed to pathah in pause, 29 *q* : in Hithpa'el changed to qames in pause, 29 *s*, 55 *k*.  
Serviles, *see* Formative letters.  
Š'wā, simple and compound, 10, 21 *e, f*, 22 *l-p*, 24 *b-d*, 63 *f* : mobile, 10 *b*, *c*, *l*, 20 *m*, 21 *e, f*, 22 *l*, 27 *e*, *i-m* : simple, under gutturals, 22 *m*, *n*, 63 *a*, *c*, 65 *g* : quiescent (silent, syllable divider), 10 *i*, 22 *m*, 24 *b*.  
Sibilants, 6 *h-l* : transposition of, 19 *n*, 54 *b*.  
Silluq with Sôph pasûq, 15 *f*.  
Siloam inscription, 2 *d n* : orthography of, 7 *f*.  
Simultaneity of actions expressed by noun-clauses, 141 *e*, 164 *q*.  
Singular with distributive force, 145 *l, m*.  
Softening of consonants (rare), 19 *o*.  
Some, how expressed, 139 *h* with *n*.  
Sonants, 6 *a, p*.

South Semitic, 1 *b* (i).

Spirants, 6 *n*, 13, 21.

Square character, 5 *a*.

Status absolutus of the noun, 89 *a*.

Status constructus, its form, 89: vowel-changes marking it in many nouns, 91-6: its use, 128: before an adjective treated as a subst., 128 *w*, 133 *h* (end), 134 *p* (end): wider use of it, 130: before prepositions, 130 *a*: before relative clauses, 130 *c*, *d*: in apposition with another constr. st., 130 *e*, *f*: before numerals, 134 *o*, *p*: anomalously with the article, 127 *f-i*: before ׀, used as a relative, 138 *g* (*a*).

Stem-consonants, or radicals, 30 *c*.

Stems, distinguished from roots, 30 *a*, *d*, *g-h*.

Strengthening (doubling or sharpening) of consonants, 12, 20: in gutturals, 22 *b*: virtual, 22 *c*: to intensify the idea of the stem, 52 *a*, *d*: of 3rd radical in fem. and plur. of nouns of the forms בִּנְיָן, בִּנְיָן, 84<sup>a</sup> *h*, 93 *s*, *ce*, *kk*, 94 *c*, 95 *g*, cf. 93 *pp*: virtual sharpening of נ, 64<sup>s</sup>: sharpening sometimes omitted in 2nd radical of verbs פִּי־ע, 67 *g*, *dd*.

Subject, omitted in participial clauses, 116 *s*, *t*: impersonal, 144 *b*, *c*: indefinite, 144 *d-h*: two subjects in a verbal clause, 144 *l*, *m*: construction of compound subjects, 146.

Substantive, its construction with the adjective, 132: as predicate of a noun-clause, 141 *b*: used as predicate where we should use an adjective, 141 *c-d*.

Suffixes, (pronominal) attached to verbs, 58: rare, irregular, or poetic, with verb, 58 *g*, *i*, *h* (cf. 59 *a-h*, 60 *a-h*, 61 *b-e*, *g*, *h*): with noun in sing., 91 *e*, *f*: in plur. 91 *l*: the sing. form after ׀-, 91 *n*: with prepositions, 103: 3rd sing. masc. in ׀-, 7 *c*, 58 *g*, 91 *e*: 3rd sing. fem. without Mappiq, 58 *g*, 91 *e*, 103 *g*: omission of ׀- in fem. nouns before suffix, 91 *e* (end): 3rd plur. in ׀, 58 *g*, 91 *f*, *l*, 103 *f* נִסִּים: omission of ׀ in plur. nouns before suffix, 91 *k*: original ׀ of sing. nouns from ׀ stems retained before suffix, 93 *ss*: denoting the remoter object, 117 *x*: use of 3rd fem. sing. and 3rd plur. to express 'it', 135 *p*: anticipating the object (as in Aram.), 131 *m*, *o*: apparent verbal

forms attached to nouns used as adverbs, 100 *o*, *p*: anticipating the genitive, 131 *n*: syntax of, 135 *m-r*: heavy (or grave) and light, 59 *e*, 91 *o*, 93 *b*: masculine suffixes referring to feminines, 135 *o*: fem. suff. with collective force, 135 *p*: suffixes which have lost their meaning (׀, ׀), 135 *g*, *r*: omitted sometimes with infinitive, 115 *e* *n*.

Superlative, expression of, 132 *c*, 133 *g-l*.

Šureq, 8 *c*, 9 *n*.

'Surface'-plurals, 124 *b*, *c*.

Suspended genitive, 130 *e*, *f*.

Syllables, theory of, 26.

Syncope and elision, 19 *k*, 35 *d*: of the article, 35 *n*: of ׀ in Hiph'il and Hoph'al, 53 *a*, *b*, in infin. Niph., 51 *l*, in infin. Hiph., 53 *g*, in infin. Hoph., 67 *y* (end).

Syriac language, 1 *c*.

Syriasms in pronunciation, 24 *e*: cf. Aramaisms.

Talmud, 3 *a*.

'Tam'-character, 5 *a* (end).

Targums, 1 *c*, 3 *a*.

Tell-el-Amarna tablets, 2 *f*.

Temporal clauses, 106 *f*, 111 *d*, 112 *oo*, 164: expressed by infin. constr. with a preposition, 164 *g*.

Tenses, 40: their use, 106-9, 111, 112: tempus historicum, 106 *d*.

Text of the O. T. probably derived from a single archetype, 3 *c*.

Textual criticism, 3 *g*: intentional and unintentional changes in the text, 3 *g*.

Tiph'el, 55 *h*.

Titles indicated by the feminine form, 122 *r*.

Tone of Hebrew words, 29: marks of, 15 *b*, *c*, *k*, *l*: thrown forward, 29 *e*: retrocession of, 29 *d-g*: incomplete retrocession, 29 *f*: tone in pause, 29 *i-r*: concurrence of two tonesyllables avoided, 29 *e*, *f*, *h*. Tone in perfect thrown forward after wāw consec., 49 *h-l*: in imperf. often thrown back in jussive and after wāw consec., 48 *f*, 49 *d*, 67 *x*, 68 *d*, *e*, 69 *p*, 71, 72 *t*, *aa*, 73 *e*.

Transitions in poetry from one person to another, 144 *p*, cf. 135 *r*.

Translations of the O. T., 3 *a*.

Transposition (metathesis) of consonants, 19 *n*, 54 *b*.

U-sounds, 8 *c*, 9 *n*, *o*.



Verb, 38: its syntax, 106-116: its government, 117-121: weak verbs, 41, 66-76, relation to one another, 77: verbs middle *e* and *o*, 43: derivative, *see* Conjugations: denominative, 38 *c*, *d*, 43 *c* (in *Qal*), 51 *g* (*Niph.*), 52 *h* (*Pi.*), 53 *g* (*Hiph.*), 54 *i* (*Hithp.*): transitive and intransitive, 43, 117 *u*, *v*: with suffixes, 57-61: doubly weak, 76:  $\text{N}^{\text{h}}$  and  $\text{N}^{\text{v}}$  confused, 75 *nn-rr*: defective, 78: verba induendi et exuendi, 117 *y*: copiae et inopiae, 117 *z*, *aa*: with prepositions, 119: primitive  $\text{v}$  retained exceptionally in verbs  $\text{N}^{\text{h}}$ , 75 *u*, *v*, *x*, *dd*, *gg* (end), cf. 29 *t*: verbs  $\text{N}^{\text{h}}$ , 65 *x*, 75 *b* (end): verbs  $\text{N}^{\text{v}}$ , 75 *b*, *v*, *kk*, nouns derived from, 84<sup>a</sup> *c* (*e*), *f* (end), *g* (end), 93 *z*.  
 Verbal clauses, 140 *b*, *c*, 142: relative, 155 *f-n*.  
 Verbal ideas subordinated to a verb, 120 *a-c*: co-ordinated with a verb, 120 *d-h*.  
 Verbal suffixes with prepositions (rare), 103 *d*.  
 Verse arrangement of poetic passages, 27 (end).  
 Vocalization of the text, 7 *h*, *i*: Babylonian, 8 *g* *x*, 103 *m* *x*.  
 Vocative with and without the article, 126 *f*.  
 Vowel-letters, 7 *b-g*, 8 *h-m*.  
 Vowel-signs or points, 7 *h*, *i*, 8-10.  
 Vowels, 7: influenced by the nature

of the syllable, 26: firm or unchangeable, 25: changes in them as regards quantity, 27: impure, 25 *c* *n*: pretonic, p. 86 *n*<sup>1</sup>, § 102 *f-i*, 103 *c*.

Wāw consecutive, § 49 *a*, *b*, before *N* in 1st pers. impf. *Pi.* with anomalous pathah, 49 *c*, with the perfect, 49 *h-l*, with the imperfect, 49 *c-g*: copulative, punctuation of, 104 *d-g*: wāw apodosis introducing the predicate, 143 *d*: explicative, 154 *a* *N* (*b*): concomitantiae, 154 *a* *N* (*b*): adaequationis, 161 *a* *x*. *See also under* Perfect and Imperfect.

Weak consonants, 6 *s*: *N* and  $\text{N}$ , 23:  $\text{v}$  and  $\text{v}$ , 24.

Weak verbs, 41, 66-76: their relation to one another, 77: relation between  $\text{N}^{\text{h}}$  and  $\text{N}^{\text{v}}$ , 75 *nn-rr*.

Weakening (or softening) of consonants, 19 *a*.

Wish, expressed by simple impf., 107 *n*: by cohortative, 108 (with  $\text{N}^{\text{h}}$ , 108 *c*): by jussive, 109 (with  $\text{N}^{\text{h}}$ , 109 *b*), by imperative, 110 *a*: by perf. consec., 112 *aa*: by a noun-clause, 116 *r* *N*, 141 *g*: by  $\text{N}^{\text{h}}$ , 151 *a*: by  $\text{N}^{\text{v}}$ , 151 *b-d*: by  $\text{N}^{\text{h}}$ , 151 *e*.

Writing, Semitic, 1 *h*, *i*: old Hebrew, 2 *d*, *i*, 5 *a*: its origin, 5 *g*.

Zenjirli, inscriptions, 1 *m*, 32 *k* *x*.

## II

# INDEX OF HEBREW WORDS AND FORMS

The numbers refer to the sections: the 'superior' figures after the letters refer to the notes. Doubtful forms are marked ? Corrupt forms with †.

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| <p> <b>א</b> as consonant<br/>                     and guttural 6 c, 22; qui-<br/>                     escent 23 a-i; prosthetic<br/>                     19 m                 </p> <p> <b>אב</b> 96<br/> <b>אבד</b> 68 b<br/> <b>אבר</b> 50 e, 93 qg<br/> <b>אברה</b> 85 v<br/> <b>אבת</b> 68 b, 76 d<br/> <b>אבוא</b> ? 23 i<br/> <b>אבותיהם</b> 91 n<br/> <b>אבחר</b> 10 g<sup>3</sup><br/> <b>אבי</b> 74 k, 76 h<br/> <b>אבי</b> for <b>לי</b> 159 cc<br/> <b>אבידה</b> 68 i<br/> <b>אביר</b> 84<sup>b</sup> f<br/> <b>אכל</b> 93 hh<br/> <b>אנאליתי</b> ? 53 p<br/> <b>אפרות</b> 95 q<br/> <b>אפרה</b> 55 g<br/> <b>אדוש</b> ? 113 w<sup>3</sup><br/> <b>אדם</b> without arti-<br/>                     cle, 125 f, 126 e<sup>1</sup><br/> <b>אדני</b> 87 g, as Qerê<br/>                     for יהוה 102 m, force of<br/>                     suffix lost 135 g and note<sup>2</sup><br/> <b>אדניכם</b> 21 c<br/> <b>אדנים</b> 124 i, 145 h<br/> <b>אדער</b> 69 b<sup>1</sup> </p> | <p> <b>אדרש</b> ? 51 k<br/> <b>אתב</b> 68 e<br/> <b>אתבו</b> 64 a<br/> <b>אתבו תבו</b> 55 e<br/> <b>אתה</b> 105 a<br/> <b>אתיה</b> 75 hh<br/> <b>אתל</b> 22 h<br/> <b>אתלה</b> 91 e<br/> <b>אתלים</b> 23 h, 93 r<br/> <b>אתמיה</b> 75 l<br/> <b>אתנה</b> 63 f<br/> <b>א</b> 104 c, in dis-<br/>                     junctive questions 150 g,<br/>                     in indirect questions 150 i,<br/>                     in conditional sentences<br/>                     159 cc, in disjunctive sen-<br/>                     tences 162<br/> <b>אביל</b> 50 e<br/> <b>אוי</b> 105 a<br/> <b>אוייה</b> 105 a<br/> <b>אוייל</b> 84<sup>a</sup> o<br/> <b>אביל</b> 68 i<br/> <b>אילם</b> 92 g<br/> <b>אגלח</b> 84<sup>b</sup> c<br/> <b>אגליח</b> 93 r<br/> <b>אופן</b> 84<sup>a</sup> r<br/> <b>אור</b> 72 c<sup>2</sup>, n<br/> <b>אות</b> 95 n<br/> <b>אותם</b> 103 b                 </p> | <p> <b>אותה</b> 103 b<br/> <b>אותכם</b> 103 b<br/> <b>אז</b> 100 i, with<br/>                     perf. and imperf. 107 e,<br/>                     108 g<sup>1</sup><br/> <b>אזור</b> 23 h<br/> <b>אזון</b> 68 i<br/> <b>אזכרה</b> 85 b<br/> <b>אזלת</b> 44 f<br/> <b>אזרה</b> 75 hh<br/> <b>אזרע</b> 84<sup>a</sup> n<br/> <b>אח</b> 96, 105 a<br/> <b>אחד</b> 96<br/> <b>אחד</b> not in constr.<br/>                     st. 130 g<br/> <b>אחלה</b> 63 f<br/> <b>אחה</b> 1 i<br/> <b>אחוד</b> 75 bb<br/> <b>אחוימי</b> 90 k<br/> <b>אחות</b> p. 283<br/> <b>אחיו</b> 64 c<br/> <b>אחיו</b> 64 c<br/> <b>אחשה</b> 23 f, 75 oo<br/> <b>אחיותה</b> 91 n<br/> <b>אחל</b> 67 y<br/> <b>אחלי, אחלי</b> in wishes 151<br/> <b>אחרי, אחרי</b> 103 o<br/> <b>אחר</b> 64 d<br/> <b>אחר</b> 64 h                 </p> |
|---|---|---|

אֶחָד 29 *g*  
 אֶחָדִית 85 *u*  
 אִי island 93 *y*  
 אִי woe! 105 *a*  
 אִי not 152 *q*  
 אִיף 148  
 אִיכָה 100 *i*, 148  
 אִיכָה 100 *i*  
 אִילִל 70 *d*  
 אִימָה 84<sup>3</sup> *g*  
 אִין, אִין connecting  
 subj. and predicate 141 *k*,  
 152 *i-q*  
 אִין? 150 *c*<sup>3</sup>  
 אִיסִירם 24 *f*<sup>2</sup>, 70 *b*  
 אִישׁ 96 (and אִשָּׁה)  
 used distributively 139 *b, c*  
 אִישׁוֹן 86 *g*  
 אִישׁי 47 *b*<sup>1</sup>  
 אִישׁר 70 *b*  
 אִיתם? 67 *p*  
 אִיתוֹ 85 *b*, 133 *a*<sup>1</sup>  
 אִתְּךָ 100 *i*, uses of  
 153  
 אִכּוֹב 85 *b*, 133 *a*<sup>1</sup>  
 אִכָּל 68 *b*  
 אִכָּל- 22 *o*  
 אִכָּל (ptep.) 52 *s*  
 אִכָּלָה 91 *e*  
 אִכָּלְךָ for אִכָּלְךָ 27 *q*,  
 68 *f*, 75 *bb*  
 אִכָּלְךָ 61 *d*  
 אִכָּלְכֶם 61 *d*  
 אִכּוֹ 100 *i*  
 (for אִלָּה) אִל 34 *b*  
 אִל- with jussive  
 109 *c*, 152 *f*, forming a  
 negative compound 152 *g*,  
 not standing immediately  
 before a verb 152 *h*

אִלִּי, אִלִּי 103 *o*, 119 *g*  
 אִלְגִּישׁ 35 *m*  
 אִלָּה 9 *q*, 87 *t*  
 אִלָּה 20 *k*  
 אִלָּהִים pluralis maje-  
 statis 124 *g* and note<sup>2</sup>,  
 without article 125 *f*, with  
 article 126 *e*<sup>1</sup>, with the  
 singular 145 *h*; with a  
 plural 132 *h*<sup>2</sup>, 145 *i*  
 אִלָּות (inf. abs.) 75 *n*  
 אִלִּיכֶם 22 *o*  
 אִלִּיל 84<sup>a</sup> *o*  
 אִלִּימוֹ 103 *p*<sup>2</sup>  
 אִלְמָנִים 35 *m*  
 אִלְמוֹדֵד 35 *m*  
 אִלְקִים? 35 *m*  
 אִלְקָטָה 64 *i*  
 אִל-תַּחַת 119 *e*<sup>1</sup>  
 אִלְתִּי 95 *n*  
 אִם (אִם-לֹא) in  
 wishes 151 *e*, in condi-  
 tional sentences 159 *l-v*,  
*dd*, in double questions  
 150 *c-i*, in oaths 149, con-  
 cessive 160 *a*  
 אִם μητρόπολις  
 122 *h*<sup>5</sup>  
 אִמָּה 96  
 אִמָּה 1 *h*  
 אִמּוֹן 63 *p*  
 אִמְלִים? 60 *d*  
 אִמְנִינוֹ 86 *g*<sup>1</sup>  
 אִמֵּן for אִמְנֵת 122 *f*<sup>1</sup>  
 אִמֵּר 68 *b*  
 אִמֵּר 23 *f*, 68 *c*  
 אִמְרָת 44 *f*  
 אִמְשֶׁךָ 67 *r*, *dd*  
 אִן for אִין or אִין 7 *f*

אִמָּה, אִמָּה 16 *f*<sup>1</sup>, 105 *a*,  
 and Additions  
 אִנָּה 80 *i*<sup>•</sup>  
 אִנִּי (Jer 42<sup>6</sup>) 32 *d*  
 אִנְחִמָּד (Is 51<sup>19</sup>) 47 *b*<sup>1</sup>  
 אִנִּי, אִנִּי use of, in dif-  
 ferent books p. 105 note  
 אִנִּי 32 *c*  
 אִנֹב (Moab.) 7 *d*<sup>1</sup>  
 אִנֹשׁ 96  
 אִסְפִּים 72 *aa*, 113 *w*<sup>3</sup>  
 אִסְרִי 84<sup>b</sup> *f*  
 אִסְלֹחַ 65 *b*<sup>1</sup>  
 אִסְפָּה 72 *aa*, 113 *w*<sup>2</sup>  
 אִסְפָּה 69 *h*<sup>1</sup>  
 אִסְפָּה 48 *i*  
 אִסְפָּה 48 *i*  
 אִסְפָּה? 68 *h*  
 אִסְפִּי 19 *f*, 66 *e*  
 אִסְרָה 91 *k*  
 אִסְרִים 71  
 אִעֲנֶה 63 *f*  
 אִעֲנֶה 63 *h*<sup>1</sup>  
 אִעֲנוּ (Moab.) 75 *b*<sup>1</sup>  
 אִעֲשֶׂה 63 *m*  
 אִף 104 *c*, inten-  
 sive 153, אִף...אִף 154 *a*<sup>1</sup> (*c*)  
 אִפְּאִיחֶם 58 *a*<sup>1</sup>, 75 *mm*  
 אִפָּה 68 *b*, 76 *d*  
 אִפְּהֶם 91 *c*<sup>1</sup>, 93 *ss*  
 אִפּוֹ 63 *i*, 76 *d*  
 אִפּוֹא 23 *i*  
 אִרְבִּי 154 *a*<sup>1</sup> (*c*)  
 אִרְפְּנוֹ 93 *r*  
 אִרְפִּים 152 *s*, אִרְפִּים  
 163 *c*  
 אִרְפָּךָ 47 *b*<sup>1</sup>  
 אִרְפִּים 88 *c*  
 אִרְשָׁעָה 65 *b*  
 אִרְשִׁיתָהּ 71

אֶצֶק 71  
 אֶקְטַל 47 *b*  
 אֶקְדָּא 10 *g*<sup>s</sup>  
 אֶרְהִי לִי 9 *v*, 67 *o*  
 אֶרְחָם 52 *n*  
 אֶרְהִי 93 *r*  
 אֶרִי 93 *x*  
 אֶרִיב 72 *gg*, 75 *dd*  
 אֶרְפָּה 75 *pp*  
 אֶרֶץ 67 *p*  
 אֶרְצָה 90 *f*  
 אֶשׁ = יֵשׁ 47 *b*<sup>1</sup>, 114 *l*<sup>c</sup>  
 אֶשָּׁה 96  
 אֶשְׁכֵּם 53 *k*  
 אֶשְׁכֶּם 93 *bb*  
 אֶשְׁעָה 75 *l*  
 אֶשְׁקָה 20 *m*  
 אֶשְׁקָה 10 *h*, 48 *c*  
 אֶשֶׁר as relative  
 pron. 36, its syntax 138,  
 in relative clauses 155,  
 introducing obj.-clause  
 157 *c*, after יַעַן, עַל, &c.  
 158 *a*, hypothetical (rare)  
 159 *cc*, introd. temporal  
 clauses 164 *d*, final 165 *b*.  
 consecutive 166 *b*, with  
 prepositions forming con-  
 junctions 104 *b*; לְ אֶשֶׁר for  
 the genitive 129 *k*  
 אֶשֶׁר 84 *b* *g*  
 אֶשְׁרִיךְ 93 *l*  
 אֶת, אֶתְּ 103 *b*, syntax  
 of 117 *a-m*; before an un-  
 determined noun 177 *d*; not  
 denoting accus. 117 *i-m*  
 אֶת 20 *l*, 32 *h*; as  
 masc. 32 *g*  
 אֶת = אֶתְּ 32 *g*  
 אֶתְּ 75 *rr*

אֶתְּ 76 *d*  
 אֶתְּהֵם 103 *b*  
 אֶתְּהֵן 103 *b*  
 אֶתְּחַבֵּר 54 *a*<sup>2</sup>  
 אֶתִּי, אֶתִּי 32 *h*  
 אֶתִּי 29 *t*, cf. 75 *u*  
 אֶתִּי מִבְּחִיק 20 *f*  
 אֶתֶן 32 *i*  
 אֶתְּנֶנּוּ 75 *rr*

אֶ preposition  
 102; punctuation of 102  
*d, k, m*; with suffixes  
 103 *g*; senses of 119 *h-q*;  
 אֶ essential 119 *i*; אֶ par-  
 titive 119 *m*; אֶ pretii,  
 119 *p*; אֶ instrumenti with  
 the object 119 *q*  
 אֶבֶן? 72 *o*, 76 *g*,  
 152 *x*

אֶבְרָם 20 *g*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 9 *v*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 61 *b*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 93 *k*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 44 *g*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 74 *i*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 84 *a* *o*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 67 *p*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 22 *h*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 93 *r*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 51 *l*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 67 *y*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 75 *kk*  
 אֶבֶן 76 *g*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 23 *c*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 75 *qq*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 72 *p*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 61 *e*  
 אֶבֶן 72 *dd*  
 אֶבֶן לֶךְ 72 *l*

אֶבְרָחָם 20 *g*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 27 *n*  
 אֶבֶן 64 *d*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 67 *r*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 9 *v*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 95 *r*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 107 *c*  
 אֶבֶן for אֶבֶן? 19 *k*<sup>2</sup>,  
 as interjection 105 *b*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 102 *m*  
 אֶבֶן 73 *a*  
 אֶבֶן 103 *o*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 103 *p*<sup>1</sup>  
 אֶבְרָחָם 103 *o*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 103 *o*  
 אֶבֶן אֶבְרָחָם 73 *d*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 73 *a*  
 אֶבֶן 96  
 אֶבְרָחָם 103 *g*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 91 *e*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 127 *c*<sup>2</sup>  
 אֶבְרָחָם 51 *l*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 93 *hh*  
 אֶבֶן 152 *t*  
 אֶבֶן 19 *k*<sup>2</sup>  
 אֶבְרָחָם 93 *x*  
 אֶבֶן 8 *k*  
 אֶבֶן 152 *t*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 81 *d*  
 אֶבְרָחָם 99 *e*  
 אֶבְרָחָם with infin.  
 constr. 114 *s*, with an ad-  
 jective 152 *t*; אֶבְרָחָם that  
 . . . not, with infin. 114 *s*,  
 with impf. 152 *x*; (אֶבְרָחָם)  
 except, 163 *c*  
 אֶבֶן 23 *k*  
 אֶבֶן 103 *k*

בְּמִצְרַיִם 61 *d*, 74 *h*,  
93 *q*  
בְּמִתִּי 87 *s*, 95 *o*  
בֵּן 96  
בְּנוֹ 72 *o*, 76 *g*  
בְּנוֹ 90 *o*  
בְּנֵיהֶם 23 *k*  
בְּנֵיהֶם 60 *h*  
בְּנֵיהֶם (Moab.) for  
בְּנֵיהֶם 7 *d*<sup>1</sup>  
בְּנֵיהֶם 73 *a*  
בְּעֶרְבִי 103 *d*  
בְּעֶמֶק 51 *l*  
בְּעֵי 29 *t*, 75 *u*  
בְּעִיר (ψ 73<sup>20</sup>) 53 *q*  
בְּעִלְיָהּ 93 *m*  
בְּעֵלִים 145 *h*  
בְּעֵרָה 80 *k*  
בְּעֵשָׂר 53 *k*  
בְּעֵשֶׂק 35 *g*  
בְּעֵת מוֹלֶכֶת ? 116 *g*<sup>1</sup>  
בְּעֵצִים ? 93 *y*  
בְּעֵצִים 61 *g*  
בְּקֶרֶב 10 *g*<sup>3</sup>  
בְּקֶרֶב 123 *a*<sup>1</sup>  
בְּרָא (בְּרָה) 75 *rr*  
בְּרֹל 85 *s*  
בְּרִיָּהּ 93 *n*  
בְּרִיָּה 95 *g*  
בְּרִיָּה 80 *f*  
בְּשׁ 72 *c*<sup>2</sup>, *n*, 78 *b*  
בְּשָׂם 67 *p*  
בְּשִׁיבִי ? 91 *e*  
בַּת 96; to per-  
sonify a people 122 *i*  
בַּת for בֵּית 7 *f*  
בְּתוּלָה 90 *k*  
בְּתוּכָם 10 *g*, 91 *d*  
בְּתִים 9 *u*; p. 285  
s. v. בֵּית

בְּתוּכָם 72 *cc*  
בָּחַ 84<sup>b</sup> *c*  
בָּחַ 44 *f*  
בָּחַ 124 *h*  
בָּחַ 86 *i*, 87 *g*  
בָּחַ 85 *s*  
בָּחַ 93 *x*  
בָּחַ 95 *o*  
בָּחַ 23 *f*  
בָּחַ 84<sup>a</sup> *r*  
בָּחַ 8 *k*  
בָּחַ 8 *k*  
בָּחַ 67 *n*  
בָּחַ 65 *a*  
בָּחַ 93 *g*, *v*  
בָּחַ 85 *v*  
בָּחַ 95 *r*  
בָּחַ ? 91 *e*  
בָּחַ 80 *f*, *g*  
בָּחַ 44 *f*  
בָּחַ intensive 153,  
154 *a*<sup>1</sup> (*c*); בָּחַ (וּ) ... בָּחַ *ibid.*;  
(בֵּי) concessive 160 *b*  
בָּחַ 84<sup>b</sup> *b*  
בָּחַ 91 *n*  
בָּחַ 90 *i*  
בָּחַ 66 *c*  
בָּחַ 66 *c*  
בָּחַ 66 *c*  
בָּחַ 90 *k*  
בָּחַ 85 *u*  
בָּחַ 9 *b*  
בָּחַ 44 *c*  
בָּחַ 52 *o*  
בָּחַ 93 *x*  
בָּחַ 67 *n*  
בָּחַ 100 *g*<sup>2</sup>  
בָּחַ 84<sup>a</sup> *r*

בָּחַ 72 *q*  
בָּחַ 64 *d*  
בָּחַ 20 *c*  
בָּחַ 91 *d*  
בָּחַ 84<sup>b</sup> *b*  
בָּחַ 93 *x*, 95 *f*  
בָּחַ 67 *dd*, 75 *u*, *bb*  
בָּחַ 93 *z*  
בָּחַ 84<sup>a</sup> *g*  
בָּחַ 67 *cc*  
בָּחַ 95 *f*  
בָּחַ 93 *n*  
בָּחַ 93 *mm*  
בָּחַ 124 *n*  
בָּחַ 58 *i*, 59 *f*  
בָּחַ 69 *m*  
בָּחַ 69 *c*, *m*<sup>2</sup>  
בָּחַ 48 *l*  
בָּחַ 67 *bb*  
בָּחַ 85 *u*  
בָּחַ 93 *n*  
בָּחַ ? 91 *k*  
בָּחַ 80 *h*  
בָּחַ 22 *e*  
בָּחַ with Mappiq  
14, as a weak consonant  
23 *k*, *l*, in verbs לָּחַ 75, as  
a mere vowel-letter 6 *d*,  
7 *b*, *c*, 24 *g*  
בָּחַ locale, origin  
90 *b*, use 90 *c* - *i*, with  
constr. st. before a geni-  
tive 90 *c*, sometimes oti-  
ose 90 *e*, mere poetic  
ornament 90 *f*, *g*, in place-  
names. 90 *g*<sup>1</sup>, added in se-  
gholate nouns to the de-  
veloped form 90 *i*, 93 *i*  
בָּחַ (Article) punc-

tuation 35, syntax 126:  
*see* Article in Index I  
 ה interrog. 100,  
 origin and pointing 100  
 ה-*n*, uses of 150; ה(?!)...ה  
 150 *h*  
 ה (with the tone),  
 ending of fem. nouns 80 *c*  
 ה (toneless), end-  
 ing of the Cohortative and  
 Imperative 48 *c, d*; an old  
 case-ending 90 *a-i*  
 ה 3rd masc. sing.  
 pronominal suffix 91 *e*  
 ה (without Map-  
 piq) anomalous 3rd fem.  
 sing. pronom. suff. 91 *e*  
 ה 105 *b*  
 הַאֲנָה (Mi 6<sup>11</sup>) 47 *b*<sup>1</sup>  
 הַאֲנִיָּה 53 *g*  
 הַאֲנָה 35 *d*  
 הַאֲחָ 105 *a*  
 הַאִישׁ one, 144 *d*<sup>1</sup>  
 הַאֵל בֵּית־אֵל 127 *f*<sup>1</sup>  
 הַאֲנָה 65 *e*  
 הַאֲרֹן 35 *o*  
 הַבָּאָה 74 *g*  
 הַבָּאָה 74 *d*  
 הַבָּאָה 72 *w*  
 הַבָּה 105 *b*  
 הַבִּיא 72 *y*, 74 *l*  
 הַבִּישׁוֹתָה 78 *b*  
 הַבִּישׁ 72 *x*, 78 *b*  
 הַבְּמֹת וְאֵת (Moab.) 80 *f*<sup>1</sup>  
 הַבְּרִי 67 *t*  
 הַבְּרִכָּה 10 *g* (end)  
 הַבְּרִכָּה 16 *g*  
 הַבְּרִיָּה *Qerê* for הַבְּרִי  
 118 *e*<sup>2</sup>  
 הַבְּרִי 69 *w*

הוּ 75 *n, aa*  
 הַנְּרִיָּה 93 *r*  
 הַדֹּשׁ 72 *v*  
 הַדֹּשׁ תְּחִלָּה 127 *f*<sup>1</sup>  
 הַדֹּשָׁה 54 *h*  
 הַהִמְיָרָה ? 72 *e*  
 הַהִלְכָּה 90 *n*  
 הַהִלְכָּה 52 *s*  
 הַהִיא, הַהִיא with  
*Qerê* הַהִיא 17 *c*, הַהִיא as fem.,  
 not an archaism 32 *l*  
 הַהִיא (הַהִיא) =  
*ipse* or *idem* 135 *a*<sup>1</sup>, demon-  
 strative 136, for the copula  
 141 *h*, resuming the sub-  
 ject 145 *w*<sup>3</sup>, in questions  
 136 *e* (end), 150 *l*  
 הַהִיא 75 *hh*  
 הַחִבִּישׁ 72 *x*  
 הַחֹרֶץ 69 *w*  
 הַחִי 105 *a*  
 הַחֹכֶם 65 *f*  
 הַחֹלֶת 71  
 הַחֹלֶלֹת 86 *l*  
 הַחֹלֶם פֶּעַם 29 *f*  
 הַחֹנֶה ? 72 *ee*<sup>1</sup>  
 הַחֹפֶץ 69 *v*  
 הַחֹצִיא 74 *l*  
 הַחֹרֶתָנוּ 59 *h*  
 הַחֹשֶׁעַ 65 *f*  
 הַחֹרֶה ? 80 *i*  
 הַחֹלֶתָה 67 *y*, 72 *ee*  
 הַחֹבֶה 54 *d*  
 הַחֹרֶכֶם 53 *l*  
 הַחֹבֶתָה 75 *oo*  
 הַחֹבֶה 75 *pp*  
 הַחֹדֶלֹתִי 63 *k*  
 הַחֹדֶלֹתִי 35 *f*, 27 *g*  
 הַחֹלֶל 67 *t*  
 הַחֹלֶלֹתִי 74 *k*, 75 *ii*

הַחֹמֶה 35 *f*  
 הַחֹרֶיִים 35 *f*  
 הַחֹרֶסָה 90 *f*  
 הַחֹתָה 67 *w*  
 הַחֹרֶרֹתִי 27 *q*  
 הַחִיא 32 *k*  
 הַחִיא 16 *f*, 63 *q*, 75 *s*,  
 with participle 116 *r*, with  
 ל before infin. 114 *h-k*, as  
 copula 141 *g-i*. Cf. הַחִיא.  
 הַחִיא 75 *n*  
 הַחִיא = one day  
 126 *s*  
 הַחִיא שְׁלֹשָׁה 134 *o*<sup>1</sup>  
 הַחִיב 113 *k*  
 הַחִבֵּל 9 *i*, 85 *c*  
 הַחִיֵּלִי 69 *x*, 78 *b*  
 הַחִיָּה ? 90 *f*  
 הַחִיא 69 *v*  
 הַחִיָּין 70 *e*  
 הַחִישׁ 24 *f*<sup>2</sup>, 70 *b*  
 הַחִית 75 *m*<sup>1</sup>  
 הַחִיָּה (inf. abs.) 75 *ff*  
 הַחִי 150 *d, e*  
 הַחִין 72 *z*  
 הַחִיָּי 75 *mm*  
 הַחִלְמָנִי 53 *p*  
 הַחִנֵּה 72 *w*  
 הַחִלָּה expressing  
 assurance 150 *e*  
 הַחִלָּה 69 *w*, 71  
 הַחִלָּה 34 *f*  
 הַחִלָּה 34 *f*  
 הַחִלָּה 34 *f*  
 הַחִלָּה inflexion of  
 69 *x*, use of, to express con-  
 tinuance 113 *u*  
 הַחִלָּה 69 *m*<sup>2</sup>  
 הַחִלָּה ? 23 *i*

הִלָּכְתִּי 44 *h*  
הִלָּל 10 *g*  
הִלֵּם 50 *e*  
הִתְהַמֵּם (Moab.) 54 *l*  
הִמָּה, הִם 32 *m*, for the  
feminine, 32 *n*  
הִמָּוִיֹּת 97 *g*  
הִמָּה its Dageš 20 *k*  
הִמוֹנָה 91 *e*  
הִמּוֹשֵׁב in close con-  
nexion 72 *bb*, 93 *pp*, cf.  
65 *d*  
הִמְיֹשֵׁנִי 67 *v*  
הִפְכּוֹ 67 *y*  
הִפּוּלְמִי 29 *o*<sup>2</sup>  
הִמְיֹשָׁה 125 *d*<sup>1</sup>  
הִמָּם 67 *t*  
הִמְסִיו 75 *ii*  
הִמְסֹלַת (Moab.) 80 *f*<sup>1</sup>  
הִמְעָדָה 64 *h*  
הִמְעִיט 133 *c*<sup>3</sup>  
הִמְצָרִיעִים 10 *g*  
הִמְרוֹת 75 *ff*  
הִמְשִׁחִית 126 *m*<sup>1</sup>  
הִמְתָּה 72 *w*  
הִמְתָּם 72 *w*  
הֵן with suffixes  
100 *o*, 147 *b*, origin 105 *b*,  
= *if* 159 *w*  
הֵגֵד 76 *a*  
הֵינָה with suffixes  
100 *o*, 147 *b*, origin 105 *b*,  
with ptp. of present time  
116 *n*; more often of future  
time 116 *p*  
הֵנָּה 20 *k*  
הֵנֻקָּה 85 *c* (A dit.)  
הֵנַח 72 *ee*  
הֵנַחַת 64 *h*  
הֵנִיחַ, הֵנִיחַ 72 *ee*

|              |                    |
|--------------|--------------------|
| הַיָּחִיד    | 72 ee              |
| הַכֶּנֶז     | 10 g               |
| הַכֶּנֶז     | 58 k               |
| הַכֶּנֶז     | 10 g               |
| הַנֶּפֶת     | 72 k               |
| הַנֶּפֶת     | 66 f               |
| הַס          | 105 a              |
| הַסָּג       | 72 ee              |
| הַסִּירִים   | 35 d               |
| הַסִּינ      | 72 ee              |
| הַסִּית      | 72 ee              |
| הַסִּתָּה    | 72 w               |
| הַעֲבָרָה    | 63 p               |
| הַעֲוִירִים  | 35 g               |
| הַעֲוִירִים  | 35 g               |
| הַעֲוִירָה   | 35 g               |
| הַעֲוָה      | 67 dd              |
| הַעֲלָה      | 63 p               |
| הַעֲלָה      | 63 p               |
| הַעֲרָב      | 113 k              |
| הַעֲרָכִים   | 35 g               |
| הַעֲשֹׂה     | 116 g <sup>1</sup> |
| הַעֲשׂוּיִם  | 75 v               |
| הַעֲתִיר     | 63 o               |
| הַפִּיר      | 67 v               |
| הַפִּי       | 61 a               |
| הַפִּלָּא    | 75 oo              |
| הַפִּצָּר    | 29 q, 53 l         |
| הַפִּר       | 29 q, 67 v         |
| הַצָּנ       | 113 d <sup>2</sup> |
| הַצִּמִּיד   | 72 m               |
| הַקֶּלֶתִּי  | 67 w               |
| הַקֶּסֶם עַל | 29 g               |
| הַקֶּמֶתוֹ   | 72 w               |
| הַקֶּשֶׁבָּה | 10 g               |
| הַקֶּשֶׁבָּה | 22 s               |
| הַקֶּרָה     | 113 k              |
| הַקֶּרָה     | 75 ff              |
| הַקֶּרָה     | 75 ff              |

תְּחִיבִית 75 ff  
 תְּחִיבִית 20 h<sup>1</sup>, 22 s  
 תְּחִיבִית 27 q, 93 aa  
 תְּחִיבִית 75 n, aa  
 תְּחִיבִית 29 q, 64 h  
 תְּחִיבִית 64 h  
 תְּחִיבִית 84 g  
 תְּחִיבִית 72 ee  
 תְּחִיבִית 67 t, 72 dd  
 תְּחִיבִית 35 d  
 תְּחִיבִית 67 cc  
 תְּחִיבִית 67 v  
 תְּחִיבִית 22 \*  
 תְּחִיבִית 90 n  
 תְּחִיבִית 93 aa  
 תְּחִיבִית 93 aa  
 תְּחִיבִית 93 aa  
 תְּחִיבִית 93 aa  
 תְּחִיבִית 93 aa  
 תְּחִיבִית 73 a  
 תְּחִיבִית 66 e  
 תְּחִיבִית 67 v  
 תְּחִיבִית 90 i  
 תְּחִיבִית 64 f  
 תְּחִיבִית 29 q, 72 y  
 תְּחִיבִית 65 e  
 תְּחִיבִית (fem.) 59 h  
 תְּחִיבִית 1 x 3 k  
 תְּחִיבִית 67 y  
 תְּחִיבִית 67 cc  
 תְּחִיבִית 75 gg  
 תְּחִיבִית 7 f  
 תְּחִיבִית 35 d  
 תְּחִיבִית 75 kk  
 תְּחִיבִית 29 q, 67 v,  
 72 dd  
 תְּחִיבִית 54 k  
 תְּחִיבִית 68 i  
 תְּחִיבִית 64 i  
 תְּחִיבִית 67 dd

הַתְּמַחֲמָהוּ ? 55 *g*  
 הַתְּמַחֲמָהוּ 67 *v*  
 הַתְּמַחֲמָהוּ 75 *gg*  
 הַתְּמַחֲמָהוּ 75 *gg*  
 הַתְּמַחֲמָהוּ 54 *l*  
 הַתְּמַחֲמָהוּ 54 *l*  
 הַתְּמַחֲמָהוּ פָּנִים 156 *c*<sup>1</sup>  
 הַתְּמַחֲמָהוּ 64 *d*

! as a vowel-letter 5 *b*<sup>1</sup>, 7 *b-g*, 8 *h-m*, 9 *n-s*, its changes 24, initial 26 *a*; a firm consonant in verbs ע"י 72 *gg*, in verbs orig. ל"י 75 *a, b, k, k*, cf. in nouns 93 *x*

! pointing of 104 *d-g*, connecting sentences 154, = *and that*, or *and especially* 114 *p*, 154 *a*<sup>1</sup> (*b*), introducing predicate 143 *d*; ! introducing predicate 111 *h*, or apodosis (rare) 111 *g*, 159 *o* (*e*), *s* (*f*), 143 *d*; ! with perf. introducing predicate or apodosis 112 *ff--oo*, 143 *d*, 159 *o, s*. See also Wāw in Index I.

וְאֶבְרָךְ 23 *d*, 68 *k*  
 וְאֶבְרָכֶם; 60 *d*  
 וְאֶנְרֹשׁ 49 *e*  
 וְאֶדְנִי 23 *d*, 26 *g*, 102 *m*, 104 *d*  
 וְאֶזְרָה 53 *n, g*, 68 *i*  
 וְאֶחָד 68 *e*  
 וְאֶחָלָק 111 *w*<sup>1</sup>  
 וְאֶחָר 64 *k*, 68 *e*  
 וְאֶחָרִי שָׁתָה 113 *e*<sup>3</sup>  
 וְאֶחָשְׁבָה 49 *e*  
 וְאֶחָלָה ? 49 *e*

וְאֶכֶל 68 *e*  
 וְאֶכְלָה 49 *e*  
 וְאֶכְסֹף 49 *c*  
 וְאֶל- = *rather than* 133 *b*<sup>2</sup>  
 וְאֶלָּךְ 69 *p*  
 וְאֶלֹהִים 102 *d*, 104 *d*  
 וְאֶסְכְּבָה (Moab.) 7 *c*  
 וְאֶעֱרֶה ? 49 *e*  
 וְאֶקִּים 49 *e*, 72 *t*  
 וְאֶקְרָא ? 48 *d*  
 וְאֶרֶב 75 *gg*  
 וְאֶרֶץ 29 *i*<sup>1</sup>  
 וְבָטָן 104 *g*  
 וְדִינָם 73 *b*  
 וְדִהֲאֻנִּיחָה 53 *g*  
 וְדִבְיָאִתִּי 76 *h*  
 וְהִנֵּלָה 75 *ee*  
 וְהוֹשִׁיבוּהֶם ? 72 *x*  
 וְהִחַתְתִּי 67 *del*  
 וְהִסְלַחְתִּי 72 *k, w*  
 וְהִי in prophetic style 112 *y, z*  
 וְהִי 28 *b*  
 וְהִי 28 *b*  
 וְהִיטְבֵּיתִי 70 *e*  
 וְהִיטְבֵּיתִים 63 *g*, 104 *f*  
 וְהִמְטֵרְתִּי (Am 4<sup>7</sup>) 112 *h*<sup>3</sup>  
 וְהִמְטֵרְתִּי 72 *w*  
 וְהִמְטֵרְתִּי 72 *w*  
 וְהִמְטֵרְתִּי 72 *w*  
 וְהִמְטֵרְתִּי ? 72 *ee*  
 וְהִנֵּפְתָּ 72 *w*  
 וְהִנֵּפְתָּ 71  
 וְהִנֵּפְתָּ 67 *ee*  
 וְהִנֵּפְתָּ 76 *h*  
 וְהִנֵּפְתָּ 29 *l*  
 וְהִנֵּפְתָּ 72 *i*  
 וְהִנֵּפְתָּ 53 *p*, 75 *ee*

וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 72 *i*<sup>2</sup>  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 54 *b*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 16 *e*, 104 *e*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 104 *g*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם (Ex 5<sup>16</sup>) 74 *g*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם ? 76 *i*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם ? 76 *i*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 72 *m*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 67 *k*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם with *ě* for *i* 28 *b*, 63 *g*, 104 *f*, in pause sometimes 75 *n*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 67 *ee*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 76 *d*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם (in Jb) 68 *e*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 68 *h*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 23 *b*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 23 *d*, 68 *e*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 23 *d*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 74 *l*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 75 *g*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 64 *g*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 69 *u*, 70 *e*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 69 *u*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 67 *p*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 7 *c*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 53 *n*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 69 *u*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 53 *n*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 102 *m*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 104 *f*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 16 *g*; as a narrative formula 111 *f-h*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 29 *g*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 67 *y*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם ? 68 *i*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 64 *b*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 74 *l*  
 וְהִשְׁבִּיתֵם 75 *r*



וַיֵּן 75 r, 76 b  
 וַיִּזְכֹּר 65 e  
 וַיִּחַן בּוֹ 29 g  
 וַיִּחַטֵּא 74 l  
 וַיִּחַי 16 g  
 וַיִּחַלֵּא 75 rr  
 וַיִּחַלֵּו (Ho 8<sup>10</sup>)? III w<sup>1</sup>  
 וַיִּחַלֵּו 24 e  
 וַיִּחַלֵּה (Moab.) 7 c  
 וַיִּחַלְקֵם 63 n  
 וַיִּחַמּוּ 69 f  
 וַיִּחַמְנָה 69 f  
 וַיִּחַן 75 r  
 וַיִּחַר 75 r  
 וַיִּט 75 r  
 וַיִּטְמְנוּ 47 i  
 וַיִּחַל 69 t  
 וַיִּיף 76 f  
 וַיִּיצֹר 71  
 וַיִּישָׁם 53 u, 73 f  
 וַיִּיבּוּ 60 d  
 וַיִּכְסֵּם 58 g  
 וַיִּכְנְנוּ 72 cc  
 וַיִּכְתּוּ 67 g, y  
 וַיִּלְכְּדוּ 80 d, 94 f  
 וַיִּלְלֵת 24 e  
 וַיִּלֵּל 72 ee  
 וַיִּמְלְאוּם 60 h  
 וַיִּנָּח 72 ee  
 וַיִּסְבּ 67 y  
 וַיִּסְבּוּ 67 g  
 וַיִּסְדּוּ 67 p, 73 f  
 וַיִּסְרְנִי 59 h  
 וַיַּעַם 72 ff  
 וַיַּעֲנוּ (Moab.) 75 b<sup>2</sup>  
 וַיַּעַף 72 t  
 וַיַּעֲקֹבֵנִי 63 m  
 וַיַּעֲקֹשְׁנִי 53 n

וַיַּעֲרֹ 75 cc  
 וַיַּפֵּר 67 w  
 וַיַּפֵּחַ 75 q  
 וַיַּצֵּחַ 65 f  
 וַיַּצֵּק 71  
 וַיַּצֵּק 71  
 וַיַּקְדּוּ 67 g  
 וַיַּקְדּוּ 67 g  
 וַיַּחֲזֹק 71  
 וַיַּרְא 75 q  
 וַיַּרְאוּ הַמּוֹרִאִים 75 rr  
 וַיַּרְבּ 68 i  
 וַיַּרְדּוּ 75 q  
 וַיַּרְיִבּוּן 49 d<sup>1</sup>  
 וַיַּרְם 27 o, 67 o;  
 with accus. 121 d<sup>2</sup>  
 וַיַּרְפוּ 75 qq  
 וַיַּרְפוּ 23 f, 75 qq  
 וַיַּרְשִׁדּוּ 69 s  
 וַיַּרְשִׁדָּה 69 s  
 וַיַּרְשִׁתָּה 44 d  
 וַיַּרְשִׁתָּם 44 d  
 וַיַּרְשִׁבּ 26 p<sup>2</sup>, 75 q  
 וַיַּרְשִׁבָּם 69 k  
 וַיַּרְשִׁבוּ 60 d, 75 bb,  
 131 m<sup>3</sup>  
 וַיַּרְשִׁעֵם 65 f  
 וַיַּרְשִׁם 69 u  
 וַיַּרְשִׁנָּה 71  
 וַיַּרְשִׁתָּ 75 q  
 וַיַּרְשִׁתָּהוּ 75 kk  
 וַיַּרְחֵא 68 h  
 וַיַּרְחִי 75 bb  
 וַיַּרְחִיקָהּ 55 g  
 וַיַּרְחִימוּ 67 g  
 וַיַּרְחֵשׁ בּוֹ 29 g  
 וַיַּלֵּא 104 g  
 וַיַּלְהֵ 73 d

וַיַּלְהֵ 73 d  
 וַיַּלְהֵ in perfect  
 (rare) 44 l; in imperfect  
 47 m, n; less frequent with  
 wāw consec. 49 d<sup>1</sup>. Cf.  
 וַיַּלְהֵ  
 וַיַּנְאֵשָׁאֵר 64 i  
 וַיַּנְרֵם 69 r, 76 f  
 וַיַּנְעֵל 112 u<sup>1</sup>  
 וַיַּנְעֵמִיד 49 e<sup>2</sup>  
 וַיַּנְעֵשָׁה 75 hh  
 וַיַּנְעֵשׁ 49 e<sup>2</sup>  
 וַיַּנְעִשִׁים 67 y  
 וַיַּנְשַׁפְּחֵת 44 f  
 וַיַּנְשָׁקָה 19 k<sup>2</sup>  
 וַיַּנְשַׁתָּעָה 75 l  
 וַיַּנְעֵר 28 b, 104 d  
 וַיַּנְחֵר 104 g  
 וַיַּנְשָׁקָם 44 d  
 וַיַּנְחִיתָ 75 qq  
 וַיַּנְחִימָה 104 g  
 וַיַּנְחִי 8 k  
 וַיַּנְחִיתָה 67 ee  
 וַיַּנְחִינָה 75 n  
 וַיַּנְחִינָה 75 rr  
 וַיַּנְחִי 44 f, 72 o  
 וַיַּנְחִי (ψ 23<sup>6</sup>)? 69 m<sup>1</sup>  
 וַיַּנְחִי nouns ending  
 in 86 k, 95 t, plur. of 95 u  
 וַיַּנְחִינָה 72 k  
 וַיַּנְחִיבָתָ 76 k  
 וַיַּנְחִיבָתִי 48 d  
 וַיַּנְחִיבָיִה 47 l  
 וַיַּנְחִיבָם 72 k  
 וַיַּנְחִיבֵל 69 r  
 וַיַּנְחִיבֵם 75 ii  
 וַיַּנְחִיבֵם for וַיַּנְחִיבֵם 23 f,  
 68 k  
 וַיַּנְחִיבָה 74 l  
 וַיַּנְחִיבֵהוּ 23 f

|                            |                                 |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| וַתִּחַלֶּקֶם              | 63 <i>m</i>                     |
| וַתִּחַשׁ                  | 72 <i>ff</i>                    |
| וַתִּיפִי                  | 76 <i>f</i>                     |
| וַתִּלְוֶשׁ                | 72 <i>t</i>                     |
| וַתִּמְוֶנֶנּוּ            | 72 <i>cc</i>                    |
| וַתִּנְקֶהוּ               | 70 <i>e</i>                     |
| וַתַּעֲבֹב                 | 63 <i>m</i>                     |
| וַתַּעֲטֵ                  | 72 <i>ff</i>                    |
| וַתַּעֲצֹר                 | 65 <i>e</i>                     |
| וַתַּחֲצֹפֶנּוּ            | 60 <i>d</i>                     |
| וַתַּחֲקִרְבּוּ            | 60 <i>a</i> <sup>1</sup>        |
| וַתִּרְאֵ                  | 75 <i>p</i>                     |
| וַתִּרְבֵּץ                | 27 <i>o</i> , 67 <i>p</i>       |
| וַתִּשְׁמֹנוּ              | 58 <i>g</i>                     |
| וַתִּתְעַב                 | 71                              |
| וְ (Moab.) for וְהִ        | 7 <i>d</i> <sup>1</sup>         |
| וְהִ                       | 34, use of 136                  |
| וְהִ                       | 34, use of 136;                 |
| enclitic                   | 136 <i>c, d</i> ; = <i>here</i> |
| or <i>now</i>              | 136 <i>d</i> ; as a rela-       |
| tive                       | 138 <i>g</i>                    |
| וְהִבּ                     | 82                              |
| וְהִ, וְהִ                 | 34 <i>b</i>                     |
| וְהִ demonstr. pron.       |                                 |
| 34 <i>d</i> ; relat. pron. | 138 <i>g</i>                    |
| וְהִרָה                    | 73 <i>d</i>                     |
| וְהִקֹּת                   | 20 <i>n</i>                     |
| וְהִכּוּ                   | 67 <i>ee</i>                    |
| וְהִמְתִּי                 | 67 <i>aa</i>                    |
| וְהִמְרָה                  | 52 <i>p</i>                     |
| וְהִמְרָה                  | 80 <i>g</i>                     |
| וְהִבֹּת                   | 93 <i>ee</i>                    |
| וְהִצִּיר                  | 86 <i>g</i> <sup>1</sup>        |
| וְהִמָּה                   | 63 <i>p</i> , 64 <i>c</i>       |
| וְהִתּ                     | 95 <i>e</i>                     |
| וְהִרָה                    | 67 <i>m</i>                     |
| וְהִמָּה                   | 55 <i>b</i>                     |

|                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| ח with dageš f.                     |   |
| implicitum                          | 22 <i>c</i>   |
| חֲבִי                               | 75 <i>qq</i>  |
| חֲבִלָּהוּ                          | 63 <i>l</i>   |
| חֲבִלָּתָךְ                         | 59 <i>g</i> <sup>1</sup>  |
| חֲבִרְתּוֹ                          | 84 <i>b</i> <i>g</i>  |
| חֲנָא                               | 95 <i>d</i>   |
| חֲנִי                               | 93 <i>x</i>   |
| חֲנִי                               | 67 <i>ff</i>  |
| חֲדָ (אֲחָד)                        | 96  |
| חֲדָלָהּ                            | 20 <i>i</i>   |
| חֲתָתִים                            | 93 <i>sh</i>  |
| חֲטָא                               | 75 <i>oo</i>  |
| חֲלָ חֲלִיל                         | 73 <i>d</i>   |
| חֲמוּתִים                           | 95 <i>o</i>   |
| חֲנִי                               | 27 <i>n</i>   |
| חֲנִי                               | 86 <i>i</i> , 87 <i>g</i>   |
| חֲוָה                               | 84 <i>a</i> <i>r</i>  |
| חֲוָל                               | 23 <i>k</i> <sup>1</sup>  |
| חֲוָה (2S24 <sup>11</sup> )?        | 93 <i>rr</i>  |
| חֲוִיר                              | 84 <i>a</i> <i>o</i>  |
| חֲוִיר                              | 84 <i>a</i> <i>o</i>  |
| חֲוָה                               | 45 <i>d</i>   |
| חֲוָה                               | 93 <i>ee</i>  |
| חֲטָאִים                            | 23 <i>c</i> , 74 <i>i</i> ,<br>75 <i>oo</i>                         |
| חֲמוּ                               | 75 <i>qq</i>  |
| חֲיָ יְהוָה, חֲיָ נִפְשֶׁךְ         | 93 <i>aa</i> <sup>1</sup> ,<br>149 <i>a</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>c</i> |
| חֲיָ                                | 32 <i>c</i>   |
| חֲיָ what forms                     |   |
| take Metheg                         | 16 <i>f</i> , pointing  |
| of 63 <i>g</i> , shortened forms of |   |
| in imperfect                        | 75 <i>s</i> , perfect   |
| forms as if from חֲיָ               | 76 <i>i</i>   |
| חֲצֹן                               | 27 <i>sh</i>  |
| חֲתָ                                | 80 <i>f</i>   |
| חֲתָ                                | 90 <i>o</i>   |
| חֲבִי                               | 23 <i>l</i> , 75 <i>aa</i> , <i>hh</i>                              |
| חֲבִמֹת                             | 86 <i>l</i>   |

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| חֲלָב            | 93 <i>dd</i>                                |
| חֲחֹנִי          | 87 <i>g</i>                                 |
| חֲחֹתִי הִיא     | 67 <i>r</i>                                 |
| חֲחִלָּה         | 105 <i>b</i>                                |
| חֲחִל            | 67 <i>cc</i>                                |
| חֲחִלָּאִים      | 93 <i>g</i>                                 |
| חֲחִ             | 96  |
| חֲחָה            | 23 <i>f</i>                                 |
| חֲחֹטֵל          | 90 <i>k</i>                                 |
| חֲחֹתִי          | 67 <i>ee</i>                                |
| חֲחֹלָה, חֲחֹלָה | 45 <i>b</i>                                 |
| חֲחֹשִׁי         | 98 <i>a</i>                                 |
| חֲחֹשֶׁת         | 94 <i>f</i>                                 |
| חֲחֹשֶׁת עֶשֶׂר  | 97 <i>e</i>                                 |
| חֲחֹשֶׁתִי       | 91 <i>l</i>                                 |
| חֲחֹת            | 67 <i>r</i>                                 |
| חֲחָה            | 91 <i>e</i>                                 |
| חֲחָם            | 118 <i>q</i>                                |
| חֲחָנִי          | 67 <i>a</i>                                 |
| חֲחָנִי          | 20 <i>b</i> , 63 <i>l</i> ,<br>67 <i>cc</i> |
| חֲחָרִי          | 93 <i>m</i>                                 |
| חֲחָרָה          | 82  |
| חֲחָו            | 91 <i>k</i>                                 |
| חֲחָצִיר         | 55 <i>e</i>                                 |
| חֲחָצִירָה       | 55 <i>e</i> , 84 <i>b</i> <i>n</i>          |
| חֲחָצִיר         | 93 <i>bb</i>                                |
| חֲחָקָה          | 93 <i>bb</i>                                |
| חֲחָקָם          | 93 <i>bb</i>                                |
| חֲחָמִי          | 10 <i>g</i> , 93 <i>bb</i>                  |
| חֲחָרְבּוּ       | 46 <i>d</i>                                 |
| חֲחָרְבִי        | 63 <i>l</i>                                 |
| חֲחָרְדָה        | 95 <i>g</i>                                 |
| חֲחָרָה          | 67 <i>ee</i>                                |
| חֲחָרָשׁ         | 84 <i>b</i> <i>b</i>                        |
| חֲחָשׁוּפִי      | 87 <i>g</i>                                 |
| חֲחָשָׁפִי       | 46 <i>d</i> , 63 <i>l</i>                   |
| חֲחָשִׁים        | 72 <i>p</i>                                 |
| חֲחָשֶׁל         | 85 <i>s</i>                                 |

מאמא 55 *f*  
 מבח 65 *b*  
 מבח 84<sup>b</sup> *b*  
 מוב 72 *c*, *n*, 78 *b*  
 מומפות 19 *o*, 84<sup>b</sup> *o*  
 מנא 22 *e*  
 מרם with impf., of  
 past time 107 *c*, of present  
 time 152 *r*

•  
 ' as a vowel-  
 letter 5 *b*<sup>1</sup>, 7 *b-g*, 8 *h-m*,  
 9 *g-m*, its changes 24, as  
 initial vowel 47 *b*<sup>1</sup>; orig. '  
 reappearing in poet. forms  
 of verbs ל"ה 75 *u, v*, *dd, gg*.

יֶאֱכֹר 53 *n*  
 יֶאֱזֹר 72 *h*  
 יֶאֱחֹז 68 *b*  
 יֶאֱחֹז 68 *b*  
 יֶאֱחֹזֶה 64 *a*  
 יֶאֱמֹם 63 *m*  
 יֶאֱכֹלֶן 68 *c*  
 יֶאֱמֹר 68 *c*  
 יֶאֱסֹף 68 *b, h*  
 יֶאֱסֹר 26 *i*, 63 *e*  
 יֶאֱר 1 *i*  
 יֶאֱש 64 *e*  
 יֶאֱשֹמו 67 *p*<sup>2</sup>  
 יֶאֱתו 72 *h*  
 יֶבֹא 72 *h*  
 יֶבוֹש 72 *h*  
 יֶבֶרֶר 53 *n*  
 יֶבֶשֶׁת 69 *n*, 70 *a n*  
 יֶבִיר 53 *n*  
 יֶנְפֹא 75 *oo*  
 יֶנֶן 67 *p*  
 יֶנֶר impf. of 78 *b*  
 יֶנֶר 67 *g* (Addit.)  
 יֶר 93 *mm*

יֶדֶר 76 *a*  
 יֶדֶר 76 *a*  
 יֶדֶה 76 *f*  
 יֶדו 69 *u*  
 יֶדוֹר 67 *cc*, 76 *a*  
 יֶדוֹן 72 *r*  
 יֶדִי 87 *f*  
 יֶדְכֶם 91 *k*  
 יֶדֶל 67 *g* (Addit.)  
 יֶדְמו 67 *g*  
 יֶדְמו 67 *g*  
 יֶדְעֶן 44 *l*  
 יֶדְעֶן מִנֶּגֶן 120 *b*<sup>1</sup>  
 יֶדְעֶת 44 *i*  
 יֶדְשֶׁה 48 *d*  
 יֶהֱב 69 *o*  
 יֶהֱפֹה 63 *m*  
 יֶהֱרֹף 63 *e*  
 יֶהֱוֹא 27 *w*  
 יֶהֱוֹא 23 *i*, 75 *s*  
 יֶהֱוֹה 53 *q*  
 יֶהֱוֹה 17 *e*, its pro-  
 nunciation with prefixes  
 102 *m*; יֶצְבֹּאוֹת 125 *h*  
 יֶהֱוֹכֵל 53 *q*  
 יֶהֱוֹשִׁיעַ 53 *q*  
 יֶהֱי 75 *s*  
 יֶהֱי 9 *f*, 75 *s*  
 יֶהֱל 67 *p*  
 יֶהֱל 68 *k*  
 יֶהֱצֹה 90 *f*  
 יֶהֱאֹר 53 *u*  
 יֶהֱעִי 55 *b*  
 יֶהֱדֹש 53 *u*  
 יֶהֱחֵל 53 *u*  
 יֶהֱכֹח 65 *f*  
 יֶהֱכֵל 53 *u*, 69 *r*  
 יֶהֱלֹד (ptep.) 52 *s*  
 יֶהֱם 96  
 יֶהֱם 100 *g*<sup>1</sup>

יֶהֱנֹקֶת 95 *q*  
 יֶהֱסֹף 50 *e*  
 יֶהֱזֶה 74 *z*  
 יֶהֱשִׁים (ptep.) 52 *s*  
 יֶהֱרֹא 69 *w*  
 יֶהֱרֹה 69 *r*  
 יֶהֱשִׁבִי 90 *n*  
 יֶהֱשֹד 53 *u*  
 יֶהֱשֹר 53 *u*, 73 *a*  
 יֶהֱשֶׁת 53 *u*, 73 *a*  
 יֶהֱפֹח 65 *e*  
 יֶהֱמו 67 *dd*  
 יֶהֱפֹלו 63 *g*  
 יֶהֱכֹרֶה 60 *b*, 63 *m*  
 יֶהֱכֹש 63 *d*  
 יֶהֱכֹש 63 *d*  
 יֶהֱדֹ 28 *e*<sup>2</sup>, 75 *r*  
 יֶהֱדֹ 91 *k*, 93 *l*  
 יֶהֱדֹ 135 *r*  
 יֶהֱוֹן 47 *m*  
 יֶהֱוֹמֵל 27 *q*  
 יֶהֱוֹקִי 63 *g*  
 יֶהֱי 75 *s*  
 יֶהֱי 75 *s*  
 יֶהֱיִתָּה 20 *n*, 60 *d*,  
 67 *v*  
 יֶהֱלו 20 *i*  
 יֶהֱם 67 *g*  
 יֶהֱסִתָּה 64 *h*  
 יֶהֱם 53 *u*  
 יֶהֱנֹד 60 *b*, 67 *n*  
 יֶהֱנֹן 67 *cc*  
 יֶהֱם 72 *r*  
 יֶהֱפִין 29 *u*  
 יֶהֱצִבֹן 51 *m*  
 יֶהֱקִי 53 *u*, 67 *y*  
 יֶהֱת 66 *f*  
 יֶהֱתָה 63 *m*  
 יֶהֱתו 20 *i*  
 יֶהֱפֹא 19 *d*

|  |   |                                     |
|--|---|-------------------------------------|
| יָדַע 69 <i>b</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>p</i>  | יָנַח 66 <i>e</i>   | יָקָדַעַם 21 <i>e</i> <sup>1</sup>  |
| יָיִטִּיב 70 <i>d</i>  | יָנִי 74 <i>h</i> , 76 <i>h</i>                           | יָקוּם 72 <i>r</i>                  |
| יָיִטִּיב 70 <i>e</i>  | יָנִיחַ 72 <i>ee</i>                                      | יָקוּם 72 <i>t</i>                  |
| יָיִלִל 70 <i>d</i>  | יָנַחַד 66 <i>f</i>                                       | יָקוּם 72 <i>h</i>                  |
| יָיִסָּף ? 73 <i>f</i>   | יָנַחַה 75 <i>hh</i>                                      | יָקוּחַ 53 <i>u</i>                 |
| יָיִסָּר 69 <i>b</i> <sup>1</sup>  | יָנִשׁוּא ? 23 <i>i</i> , 47 <i>n</i> , 75 <i>oo</i>      | יָקוּחַ 20 <i>m</i>                 |
| יָיִשָּׁרוּ 70 <i>b</i>  | יָסַב (Addit.) 67 <i>g</i>                                | יָקֻלָּהָ 47 <i>k</i>               |
| יָיִלָּה 75 <i>qq</i>  | יָסַג 72 <i>dd</i>  | יָסַם-סָוָן 29 <i>g</i>             |
| יָיִלָּחִיו 44 <i>e</i>  | יָסִיג 72 <i>ee</i>                                       | יָסַם (juss.) 72 <i>t</i>           |
| יָיִסְיָמוּ 75 <i>mm</i>   | יָסִית 72 <i>ee</i>                                       | יָסַם 53 <i>u</i>                   |
| יָיִסְיָמוּ 75 <i>dd</i>   | יָסִיחַו 67 <i>o</i>                                      | יָסַם forms of 78 <i>b</i>          |
| יָיִת 53 <i>u</i> , 67 <i>g</i> , <i>y</i>   | יָסַף 69 <i>h</i> <sup>1</sup> , 78 <i>e</i>              | יָסַר 93 <i>ww</i>                  |
| יָיִכָּב 67 <i>cc</i>  | יָסַף 68 <i>b</i>   | יָסַר 84 <i>a</i> <i>n</i>          |
| יָיִלָּחִיךְ 27 <i>s</i> , 44 <i>d</i>   | יָסַרָה 52 <i>p</i>                                       | יָסַרָה 75 <i>rr</i>                |
| יָיִלָּד 27 <i>w</i> , 84 <i>b</i> <i>e</i>  | יָסַרְךָ 61 <i>d</i>                                      | יָסַרָהוּ 60 <i>c</i>               |
| יָיִלָּנוּ 72 <i>ee</i>  | יָסַרְנִי 59 <i>f</i>                                     | יָסַרָהוּ 60 <i>c</i> , 74 <i>e</i> |
| יָיִלָּנוּ 72 <i>ee</i>  | יָעִבְרוּ 53 <i>n</i>                                     | יָסַרָה 75 <i>rr</i>                |
| יָיִלָּנוּ 72 <i>ee</i>  | יָעִרְנוּ 72 <i>cc</i>                                    | יָסַשׁוּן 72 <i>r</i>               |
| יָיִלָּן 72 <i>ee</i>  | יָעִלְעוּ 55 <i>f</i>                                     | יָקֻתָּאֵל 21 <i>e</i> <sup>1</sup> |
| יָיִלָּן 72 <i>ee</i>  | יָעַן, יָעַן אֲשֶׁר 107 <i>q</i> <sup>1</sup>             | יָרָא 76 <i>e</i>                   |
| יָיִלָּנוּ 72 <i>ee</i>  | יָעַן וּבִיעַן 158 <i>b</i>                               | יָרָא 75 <i>hh</i>                  |
| יָיִלָּה 69 <i>p</i>   | יָעִלְרוּ 72 <i>cc</i>                                    | יָרָא 75 <i>p</i> , <i>q</i>        |
| יָיִלָּדְנוּ ? 60 <i>e</i>   | יָעֻלָּב (verb) 63 <i>c</i>                               | יָרָא 75 <i>oo</i>                  |
| יָיִלָּטָנוּ 27 <i>l</i>   | יָעַרַם 63 <i>m</i>                                       | יָרָאִי 93 <i>ii</i>                |
| יָיִם (Siloam inscr.) 7 <i>f</i>   | יָעֻשָּׂה 75 <i>hh</i>                                    | יָרָאִתָּם 74 <i>g</i>              |
| יָיִמָּה (Moab.) 7 <i>c</i>  | יָפֻגְשֶׁךְ 10 <i>g</i> , 60 <i>b</i>                     | יָרָד 69 <i>g</i> , 75 <i>bb</i>    |
| יָיִסַח 75 <i>y</i>  | יָפָה forms of 76 <i>f</i>                                | יָרָדָה ? 63 <i>n</i>               |
| יָיִמִים 132 <i>h</i> <sup>2</sup>   | יָפָה־יָה 23 <i>k</i> <sup>1</sup> , 84 <i>b</i> <i>n</i> | יָרָדָה 60 <i>d</i>                 |
| יָיִסָּף 67 <i>g</i>   | יָפַח 72 <i>dd</i>  | יָרָדָה 10 <i>h</i>                 |
| יָיִסָּל 67 <i>g</i>   | יָיִפְּרִית 55 <i>e</i>                                   | יָרָה forms of 76 <i>f</i>          |
| יָיִסָּלָה 23 <i>e</i> , 75 <i>pp</i>  | יָיִפַּח 65 <i>e</i>                                      | יָרָמוּ 72 <i>dd</i>                |
| יָיִסָּצָה 75 <i>hh</i>  | יָיִפְרִיחַ 75 <i>rr</i>                                  | יָרָו 67 <i>p</i>                   |
| יָיִסָּר 72 <i>dd</i>  | יָיִצָא 76 <i>e</i>                                       | יָרָע 67 <i>t</i>                   |
| יָיִסָּרָה 68 <i>h</i>   | יָיִצָא 75 <i>qq</i>                                      | יָרָע 67 <i>p</i>                   |
| יָיִסָּרָה in 2nd sing. fem. imperf. 47 <i>o</i> ; Aram. plur. for יָיִם 87 <i>e</i> . | יָיִצָא (אל-) 9 <i>l</i> , 69 <i>p</i>                    | יָרָעִים 88 <i>c</i>                |
| יָיִסָּרָה 73 <i>g</i>   | יָיִצָב 71  | יָרָעָה 52 <i>n</i>                 |
| יָיִסָּרָה 64 <i>d</i>   | יָיִצָחַק 64 <i>h</i>                                     | יָרָעָה 95 <i>i</i>                 |
|  | יָיִצָר 71  | יָרָעָה 23 <i>k</i>                 |
|  | יָיִצָתִי 23 <i>f</i>                                     | יָרָע 67 <i>n</i>                   |
|  | יָיִצָה 93 <i>k</i>                                       | יָרָע 67 <i>n</i>                   |

יָרַע 67 *dd*  
 יִשְׂאָה 75 *rr*  
 יִשְׂאָה 75 *q*  
 יִשְׂק 66 *e*  
 יִשְׂשֹׁם 47 *n*  
 יִשְׂשֹׁר 47 *b*<sup>1</sup>  
 יִשְׂ meaning 152 *i*;  
 with suffixes 100 *o*, *p*;  
 in hypothetical sentences  
 116 *q* (with ptep.), וִישׁ  
 hypoth. 159 *dd*; in ques-  
 tions 141 *k* (with ptep.)  
 יִשָּׁא 74 *l*  
 יִשְׁבַּח בְּשִׁבְחָה 47 *b*<sup>1</sup>  
 יִשְׁרָם 20 *b*, 67 *ce*  
 יִשְׁר 67 *p*  
 יִשְׁוִי 47 *b*<sup>1</sup>  
 יִשְׁוֶע 27 *x*  
 יִשְׁי 67 *y*  
 יִשְׁף 67 *g*  
 יִשְׁלֵם 53 *n*  
 יִשְׁם 67 *g* (Addit.)  
 יִשְׁמַעֵאל 23 *c*  
 יִשְׁנֵא 75 *rr*  
 יִשְׁנֵא 75 *rr*  
 יִשְׁנֹו its suffix 67 *o*<sup>1</sup>;  
 a doubtful form 100 *o*<sup>2</sup>  
 יִשְׁפּוּטוּ הֵם 47 *g*  
 יִשְׁרֹן 86 *g*  
 יִשְׁרֹתִינָה 60 *e*  
 יִת — nouns ending  
 in 86 *l*, 94 *f*, 95 *t*  
 יִתְּאוּ 75 *bb*  
 יִתְּאָרְהוּ 64 *i*  
 יִתֵּם 67 *g*  
 יִתֵּם 67 *g*  
 יִתְּמוּ 67 *g*  
 יִתְּן 53 *u*, 66 *k*  
 יִתְּנָהם 27 *q*, 29 *v*  
 יִתְּמַד 54 *l*

יִתְּן 53 *u*  
 יִתְּרָה 80 *g*  
 כ for כִּי (Moab.)  
 7 *d*<sup>1</sup>  
 כִּי its meaning  
 102 *c*; with suff. 103 *h*;  
 construction of 118 *s-a*,  
 prepositions often omitted  
 after 118 *s-w*; exception-  
 ally with prep. 118 *s*<sup>2</sup>; כ  
 veritatis 118 *x*; omitted in  
 comparisons 141 *d*; not  
 = בְּאִשֶּׁר 155 *g*  
 יִתְּבֹאֵר 19 *k*<sup>2</sup>  
 יִתְּבֹאֵר 161 *b*, *c*  
 יִתְּבַחֲצִי 118 *s*<sup>2</sup>  
 יִתְּבֵם 52 *l*  
 יִתְּבֹרֵאשָׁה 118 *s*<sup>2</sup>  
 יִתְּבַחֲלָה 118 *s*<sup>2</sup>  
 יִתְּבַדֵּר 21 *d*  
 יִתְּבִיִּם 35 *u*  
 יִתְּבַחֲדָה? 51 *k*, 66 *f*  
 יִתְּבַב 19 *o*, 84<sup>b</sup> *o*  
 יִתְּבִי for כִּי 24 *b*,  
 cf. 93 *y*  
 יִתְּבִי omitted in  
 obj.-clause 157 *a*, intro-  
 ducing obj.-clause 157 *b*,  
 introducing direct narra-  
 tion 157 *b*, causal 158 *b*,  
 in conditional clauses  
 159 *aa*, *bb*, asseverative  
 159 *ee*, adversative and  
 exceptive 163, temporal  
 164 *d*, consecutive 107 *u*,  
 166 *b*  
 יִתְּבִי אִם 163 *a-d*  
 יִתְּבִי 86 *i*  
 יִתְּבַחֲלֵבֶן 158 *b*<sup>1</sup>  
 יִתְּבִי 35 *b*

יִתְּבֹרֵן 24 *e*  
 יִתְּבֹה 100 *i*  
 יִתְּבֹרִים 88 *b*, 131 *d*<sup>2</sup>  
 יִתְּבֹ (verb 'ע') 73 *b*  
 יִתְּבֹ used abso-  
 lutely 117 *c*, with a fol-  
 lowing genitive 117 *c*,  
 127 *b*, *c*; construction of  
 its predicate, 146 *c*; with  
 a participle absol. 116 *w*;  
 with a negative 152 *b*  
 יִתְּבֹאֵתִי 75 *oo*  
 יִתְּבֹה מִלְּלוֹנִי 61 *h*  
 יִתְּבֹ (= יִתְּבֹאֵתִי) 75 *qq*  
 יִתְּבִי 96  
 יִתְּבֹל 72 *m*  
 יִתְּבֹל 91 *f*  
 יִתְּבֹ 103 *k*  
 יִתְּבֹמוֹנִי 103 *h*<sup>5</sup>, *k*  
 יִתְּבֹמִנִי 118 *s*<sup>2</sup>  
 יִתְּבֹרִים? 84<sup>b</sup> *m*  
 יִתְּבֹ 100 *i*  
 יִתְּבֹהִיא 20 *g*  
 יִתְּבֹלוֹת 20 *h*, 53 *q*  
 יִתְּבֹם 85 *t*, 87 *h*  
 יִתְּבֹפֹת 93 *ee*  
 יִתְּבֹסִיל 84<sup>2</sup> *o*  
 יִתְּבֹעֲבֹר 35 *g*  
 יִתְּבֹעֲפֹרֶת 35 *g*  
 יִתְּבֹעֵל 118 *s*<sup>2</sup>  
 יִתְּבֹעֲפֹר 35 *n*  
 יִתְּבֹמִי 103 *f*<sup>3</sup>  
 יִתְּבֹכָה 91 *e*  
 יִתְּבֹלִים 134 *r*<sup>2</sup>  
 יִתְּבֹמֵל 85 *s*  
 יִתְּבֹחַ 22 *s*, 64 *e*  
 יִתְּבֹחַה 64 *e*  
 יִתְּבֹחִי 44 *o*

בְּשִׁית 20 *g*  
 בָּשָׁל forms of 78 *c*  
 בָּתֵּב 25 *c*<sup>2</sup>, a qitāl  
 form 84<sup>a</sup> *n*, the *d* un-  
 changeable 93 *ww*  
 בְּתִבּוֹנָם 91 *e*  
 בְּתִב־הָרֶת 9 *u*  
 בְּהִנֵּת 95 *r*  
 בִּתְרָה 65 *e*

לְ preposition  
 45 *f, g*; pointed לְ 102 *f-i*,  
 103 *e, f*; uses of 119 *r-u*;  
 reflexive use 119 *s*; intro-  
 ducing the object 117 *n*;  
 denoting the genitive 129;  
 with a passive and with  
 passive ideas 121 *f*; לְ in-  
 scriptionis 119 *u*; distri-  
 tributive 123 *d*; with the  
 infinitive 114 *f-s*, "לְ with  
 infin. 114 *p*; = *in respect*  
*to* 143 *e*; perhaps = Arab.  
*lā*, *surely* 143 *e*.

לֹא origin 100 *a*;  
 in prohibitions 107 *o*;  
 with the Jussive 109 *d*;  
 as negative answer 150 *n*;  
 uses of 152 *a-d, u*; nega-  
 tiving a single idea 152 *a*<sup>1</sup>;  
 exceptional positions of for  
 emphasis 152 *e*; וְלֹא = *in*  
*order that . . . not* 165 *a*;  
 וְלֹא forming hypothetical  
 sentence 159 *dd*

לֹא written for לְ  
 103 *g*  
 לְאָרִיב 53 *q*  
 לְאָר 51 *l*, 72 *v*  
 לְאָמ 72 *p*

לְאָמֹר 23 *d*  
 לְאָסֵר 28 *b*  
 לְבָר 119 *c*  
 לְבֹז 67 *n*  
 לְבֹר 67 *r*  
 לְבִיָּא 53 *q*, 72 *z*  
 לְבִיָּא 80 *h*  
 לְבִלְתִּי with infin.  
 114 *s*; with impf. 152 *x*

לְבָר 93 *dd*  
 לְבָעַר קֶזֶן 29 *f*  
 לְבָרֵם 67 *p*  
 לְבָה 69 *c*  
 לְדָרְיֹשׁ 45 *g*  
 לְהָ 23 *k*, 103 *g*  
 לְהָשִׁיבִי 90 *n*  
 לְהִיּוֹת 28 *b*  
 לְהִבִּיל 68 *i*  
 לְהִנָּפֵחַ 72 *z*  
 לְהִנָּחֵם 66 *f*  
 לְהִפָּרֵד 67 *w*  
 לְהִפָּרֵקֵם 67 *dd*  
 לְהִרְאוֹת 75 *c*  
 לְהִשׁוֹת 75 *qq*  
 לְהִשְׁמָעוֹת 53 *l*

לֹא written for לְ  
 103 *g*  
 לֹא in wishes, its  
 construction 151 *e*; in con-  
 ditional clauses 159 *l, m*,  
*x-z*

לֹא 23 *i*  
 לֹאִם 72 *p*  
 לֹאִינִי 91 *k*  
 לֹאִיָּהּ 86 *f*  
 לֹאִי, לֹאִיָּהּ formation

27 *w*, in conditional clauses  
 159 *l, m, x-z*  
 לְהָ 91 *e*  
 לְחָטִיָּא 53 *q*  
 לְחָיִים 88 *b*  
 לְחָלֵק 53 *q*  
 לְחָם 22 *h*  
 לְחָמֵם 28 *b*, 67 *cc*  
 לְחָנְנָה 67 *cc*  
 לְחָפֵר פְּרוֹחַ 84<sup>b</sup> *n*  
 לְחָעַת 66 *b*  
 לְהִזְהוֹ 102 *m*  
 לְיִלָּה 90 *f*  
 לְיִפֹּד 69 *n*, 71  
 לְיִרְוֹא 75 *rr*  
 לְיִרְשֵׁנִי 69 *m*  
 לְהָ imperative,  
 for לְבָה 48 *i*; as an inter-  
 section 105 *b*  
 לְבָה pronoun, for  
 לְהָ 103 *g*  
 לְבֹז 105 *b*  
 לְלָאוֹת 93 *x*  
 לְלָפֶן 53 *q*  
 לָלַח (Moab.) for  
 לְיִלָּה 7 *f*  
 לָלַח 19 *d*, 69 *m*  
 לָמָּה, לָמָּה, לָמָּה, לָמָּה its  
 punctuation 49 *f, g*, 102 *l*;  
 in requests or warnings,  
 often nearly = *lest* 150 *e*  
 לָמוֹ 103 *f*<sup>3</sup>  
 לָמוֹ 103 *k*  
 לָמָּחוֹת 53 *q*  
 לָמִיָּהּ 91 *k*  
 לָמוֹ 119 *e*<sup>2</sup>

|                                     |   |                                       |
|-------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| לִמְעַן 119 c                       | לְשֹׁמֵר 53 g                           | uses 137; in exclamations 148         |
| לְמִרּוֹת 53 g                      | לְשֹׁמֵעַ 53 g                          | מִהֵיטָה 102 b                        |
| לְמִשְׁאֹחַ 45 e                    | לְשֶׁרֶת שָׁם 64 g                      | מִהֵלְכִים? 53 o                      |
| לְנוֹעַ 66 b                        | לֵחַ? 69 m                              | מִהֶפְכָּה followed by                |
| לָנָה 80 i                          | לֶחֶת-הָרֶב 102 f                       | אֵת 115 d, cf. 45 e                   |
| לְנִחוּתָם 53 g                     | לְתִתּוֹן? 66 i                         | מִהֶקְצֵעוֹת 53 g                     |
| לְנִפְלֹא 53 g, 66 f                | מ as preforma-                          | מִהָרַ (ptcp.) 52 s                   |
| לְנִפְשׁ 102 i                      | tive of participles 52 c,               | מוֹ- verbal suffix                    |
| לְסִתּוֹר 53 g                      | sometimes dropped 52 s; of              | 58 g; noun suff. 91 f, l,             |
| לְעֵבִיר 53 g                       | infin. (rare) 45 e; of nouns            | 103 f <sup>2</sup>                    |
| לְעוֹז 72 g                         | 85 e-m                                  | מוֹט 72 g                             |
| לְעִינִים 35 g                      | מִ- for מִהָ 20 d, 37                   | מוֹל 72 p                             |
| לְעִמּוֹת 100 b, 101 a              | מֵאִימָה 90 f                           | מוֹפֵד 71                             |
| לְעִנּוֹת 51 l                      | מֵאֵן (ptcp.) 52 s                      | מוֹסִירוֹת see Additions              |
| לְעֵשֶׂר? 53 k                      | מֵאֶחֶם 61 d                            | מוֹעֲדָה 52 s                         |
| לְפָנַי 119 c, 130 a <sup>s</sup>   | מֵאֶסְפִּי 52 p                         | מוֹצֵא 53 o                           |
| לְקַבֵּא 45 g                       | מֵאֵת שָׁמֶר 29 f                       | מוֹצֵא 75 oo                          |
| לְקַבּוֹת 53 g                      | מִבְּטָח 92 g                           | מוֹצֵאָה 95 p                         |
| לְקַח בָּנוּ 29 g                   | מִבִּי with final א                     | מוֹצֵאֵת 74 i, 94 f                   |
| לְקַצִּים 55 f                      | dropped 72 z, 74 k, 76 h                | מוֹרָגִים 93 p                        |
| לְקַח 66 g                          | מִבִּיאָה 91 k                          | מִוֶּחֶה 90 f                         |
| לְקַח 66 g                          | מִבִּית לִ 130 a <sup>s</sup>           | מִוִּין 68 i                          |
| לְקַח 52 s (ptcp.)                  | מִבְּלִי 119 c <sup>2</sup>             | מִוֶּחֶה וְהַפֶּד 113 h <sup>2</sup>  |
| לְקַח 10 h, 52 d                    | מִבְּלַעֲדִי 119 c <sup>2</sup>         | מִחוּץ 119 c                          |
| לְקַחִי 66 g                        | מִבְּעֵתָהּ 80 d                        | מִחֻלָּמִים 53 o                      |
| לְקַחְתִּי 65 g                     | מִבְּצִיר for מִבֶּ 20 m                | מִחֻנָּה fem. 122 l <sup>1</sup>      |
| לְקַרְאֵת 19 k, 74 h                | מִנְבִּירָתָם 20 m                      | מִחֻנָּה 93 ss                        |
| לְרֹא 69 n                          | מִנְדִּוֹן 85 v                         | מִחֻסִּי 13 b                         |
| לְרֹאוֹת 51 l                       | מִנְדִּלָּתָה (Moab.) 91 k <sup>2</sup> | מִחֻצְרִים 53 o                       |
| לְרֹאחָם 53 g                       | מִנְגִּי 85 f                           | מִחֻרְשׁוֹת 95 g                      |
| לְשִׁמְנוֹ 61 b                     | מִנְרֵשׁ infin. 45 e                    | מִחֻרָת 80 g                          |
| לְשִׁאוֹל 10 g <sup>s</sup>         | מִנְרֵשָׁה? 91 k                        | מִסְתָּחִי 75 k <sup>k</sup>          |
| לְשִׁבִּית 53 g                     | מִנְדָּבָר 19 d, 54 c                   | מִי 37; its uses                      |
| לְשִׁלַּח 65 e                      | מִנְדָּרָה 26 h, 67 o                   | 137                                   |
| לְשִׁלַּח יָמִים 134 o <sup>1</sup> | מִדָּה? 91 e                            | מִי יִתֵּן in wishes                  |
|                                     | מִדּוֹ 27 s                             | • 151 a, d                            |
|                                     | מִדּוּעַ 99 e                           | מִיָּחוּה 102 m                       |
|                                     | מִי, מִהָ, מִהָ 20 d, 37; its           | מִיָּם 88 d, 96                       |
|                                     |   | מִיָּמִינִים 24 f <sup>2</sup> , 70 b |

|  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| לִּי מִיָּמִין 130 <i>a</i> <sup>3</sup>               | 133 <i>a, b</i> ; = <i>too much</i> or     | מִקּוֹם 85 <i>g</i>                         |
| מִיָּמִין ? (Siloam inscr.)                            | <i>too little</i> for 133 <i>c</i> ; preg- | מִנַּח (infm.) 45 <i>e</i>                  |
| 7 <i>f</i>   | nant use in comparisons                    | מִנְהָ 75 <i>qq</i>                         |
| מִיָּדָי 69 <i>m</i>                                   | 119 <i>ff</i> , 133 <i>e</i>               | מִנְהִי 93 <i>ss</i>                        |
| מִנְחָה 23 <i>f</i>                                    | מִנְחָה 103 <i>m</i>                       | מִנְחָתִי 90 <i>n</i>                       |
| מִנְחָם 48 <i>i</i> , 61 <i>b</i>                      | מִן 37 <i>b</i>                            | מִנְחָה (ipfm.) 45 <i>e</i>                 |
| מִנְחָה 91 <i>k</i>                                    | מִנְחָן ? 55 <i>b</i>                      | מִנְחָה 75 <i>rr</i>                        |
| מִנְחָה 91 <i>n</i>                                    | מִנְחָה 119 <i>c</i> <sup>2</sup>          | מִנְחָה 93 <i>ss</i>                        |
| מִנְחָה 75 <i>oo</i>                                   | מִנְחָה 103 <i>m</i>                       | מִנְחָה 93 <i>ss</i>                        |
| מִנְחָה 74 <i>g</i>                                    | מִנְי plur. apoc. ?                        | מִנְחָה 93 <i>ss</i>                        |
| מִנְחָה 74 <i>h</i>                                    | 87 <i>f</i> ; poet. for מִן 90 <i>m</i> ,  | מִנְחָה 65 <i>d</i>                         |
| מִנְחָה 23 <i>c</i> , 85 <i>g</i>                      | 102 <i>b</i> , for מִנְי 103 <i>i</i> (in  | מִנְחָה 22 <i>s</i>                         |
| מִנְחָה 91 <i>e</i> , <i>l</i>                         | pause מִנְי)                               | מִנְחָה 69 <i>m</i>                         |
| מִנְחָה 75 <i>qq</i>                                   | מִנְי twice poet. for                      | מִנְחָה 22 <i>s</i>                         |
| מִנְחָה 119 <i>c</i> <sup>2</sup>                      | מִן 102 <i>b</i>                           | מִנְחָה 102 <i>b</i>                        |
| מִנְחָה 75 <i>qq</i>                                   | מִנְחָה 85 <i>h</i> , <i>k</i>             | מִנְחָה 85 <i>h</i>                         |
| מִנְחָה 46 <i>e</i>                                    | מִנְחָה 3 <i>b</i>                         | מִנְחָה 85 <i>k</i>                         |
| מִנְחָה 55 <i>b</i> , 90 <i>m</i>                      | מִנְחָה ? 67 <i>v</i>                      | מִנְחָה 85 <i>h</i>                         |
| מִנְחָה 72 <i>ee</i>                                   | מִנְחָה 75 <i>rr</i>                       | מִנְחָה 75 <i>rr</i>                        |
| מִנְחָה 46 <i>d</i>                                    | מִנְחָה (infm.) 45 <i>e</i>                | מִנְחָה 22 <i>s</i>                         |
| מִנְחָה 99 <i>e</i> , 119 <i>c</i> <sup>2</sup>        | מִנְחָה 23 <i>f</i>                        | מִנְחָה מִנְחָה (infm.) 45 <i>e</i> ,       |
| מִנְחָה 68 <i>k</i>                                    | מִנְחָה 85 <i>k</i>                        | 74 <i>h</i>                                 |
| מִנְחָה 119 <i>c</i>                                   | מִנְחָה ? 20 <i>o</i>                      | מִנְחָה 85 <i>u</i>                         |
| מִנְחָה 64 <i>i</i>                                    | מִנְחָה 53 <i>o</i>                        | מִנְחָה ? 80 <i>b</i> <sup>2</sup>          |
| מִנְחָה 23 <i>f</i>                                    | מִנְחָה 90 <i>o</i>                        | מִנְחָה 46 <i>d</i>                         |
| מִנְחָה 119 <i>c</i> <sup>2</sup>                      | מִנְחָה 119 <i>c</i> <sup>2</sup>          | מִנְחָה (Inf.) 45 <i>e</i>                  |
| מִנְחָה 75 <i>dd</i> , 93 <i>ss</i>                    | מִנְחָה (infm.) 45 <i>d</i>                | מִנְחָה 119 <i>c</i> <sup>2</sup>           |
| מִנְחָה 103 <i>m</i> , 135 <i>o</i> <sup>3</sup>       | מִנְחָה 93 <i>ss</i>                       | מִנְחָה 67 <i>cc</i>                        |
| מִנְחָה 119 <i>c</i> <sup>2</sup>                      | מִנְחָה 133 <i>e</i> <sup>4</sup>          | מִנְחָה 85 <i>h</i>                         |
| מִנְחָה 85 <i>g</i>                                    | מִנְחָה 119 <i>c</i>                       | מִנְחָה 92 <i>g</i>                         |
| מִנְחָה 85 <i>g</i> <sup>1</sup>                       | מִנְחָה 74 <i>h</i>                        | מִנְחָה 80 <i>d</i> , 94 <i>f</i>           |
| מן preposition   | מִנְחָה 92 <i>g</i>                        | מִנְחָה 116 <i>g</i> <sup>1</sup>           |
| 101 <i>a</i> ; its punctuation                         | מִנְחָה 91 <i>n</i>                        | מִנְחָה 75 <i>kk</i>                        |
| 102 <i>b</i> ; with suffixes                           | מִנְחָה 67 <i>v</i>                        | מִנְחָה 97 <i>b</i> <sup>1</sup>            |
| 103 <i>i, m</i> ; its meanings                         | מִנְחָה 130 <i>a</i> <sup>3</sup>          | מִנְחָה 93 <i>ss</i>                        |
| 119 <i>v-w</i> ; partitive 119 <i>w</i> <sup>2</sup> ; | מִנְחָה 88 <i>c</i>                        | מִנְחָה 72 <i>c</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>n</i> |
| negative force of 119 <i>w-y</i> ;                     | מִנְחָה 23 <i>f</i>                        | מִנְחָה 90 <i>k</i>                         |
| with the comparative                                   | מִנְחָה 93 <i>oo</i> <sup>1</sup>          | מִנְחָה 90 <i>k</i>                         |
|  | מִנְחָה 93 <i>qq</i>                       | מִנְחָה 119 <i>c</i> <sup>2</sup>           |
|  |  | מִנְחָה ? 64 <i>i</i>                       |



מחם 85 *k*מתן 92 *g*

נ as preforma-  
tive of nouns 85 *n*

נָא 105 *b*, em-  
phasizing a cohortative  
108 *b, c*, a jussive 109 *b, c*;  
with an imperative 110 *d*

נָאֲדָר 23 *b*נָאֲדָרִי 90 *l*נָאֲדָה 75 *x*נָאֲדָה 73 *g*, 75 *x*נָאֲדָה 72 *h*נָאֲדָה 68 *i*נָאֲדָה 50 *a*<sup>1</sup>נָאֲדָה 64 *e*נָאֲדָה 52 *o*, 64 *e*נָאֲדָה 84 *b*<sup>e</sup>נָאֲדָה 64 *e*נָאֲדָה 67 *u*נָאֲדָה 64 *e*נָאֲדָה 93 *oo*נָאֲדָה 67 *dd*נָאֲדָה 75 *qq*נָאֲדָה 67 *dd*נָאֲדָה 51 *h*נָאֲדָה 93 *i*נָאֲדָה 93 *r*נָאֲדָה 86 *i*נָאֲדָה 80 *f*נָאֲדָה 75 *x*נָאֲדָה 61 *a*נָאֲדָה forms of 78 *c*נָאֲדָה 72 *n*נָאֲדָה 67 *cc*נָאֲדָה 92 *b*<sup>1</sup>נָאֲדָה 20 *m*נָאֲדָה 92 *b*<sup>1</sup>נָאֲדָה 66 *c*נָה 66 *c*נָה 64 *d*נָה 88 *c*, 93 *ee*נָה 69 *t*נָה 93 *ss*

נָה (inf. constr.)

72 *q*נָה 93 *ss*נָה 69 *t*

נָה (inf. constr.)

72 *q*נָה forms of 76 *c*נָה 67 *dd*נָה 93 *oo*נָה 63 *c*נָה 75 *pp*נָה forms of 78 *c*נָה 66 *c*נָה 91 *e*נָה 67 *u*

נָה (from חָה)

63 *c*נָה 90 *f*נָה 80 *g*נָה 66 *f*נָה 67 *u*, *dd*נָה 32 *d*נָה 23 *f*<sup>1</sup>נָה 67 *u*נָה 75 *x*נָה 95 *k*נָה 67 *u*נָה 63 *c*נָה forms of 76 *c*נָה 66 *c*נָה 75 *v*נָה 75 *x*נָה 93 *oo*נָה 65 *d*נָה 76 *f*נָה 121 *d*<sup>1</sup>נָה forms of 76 *c*נָה 27 *w*

נָה 93-99

נָה 29 *g*נָה (imper.) 51 *o*נָה 75 *y*נָה 72 *v*נָה 72 *ee*נָה 67 *dd*נָה 93 *oo*נָה 72 *dd*נָה 67 *dd*נָה 76 *b*נָה 72 *r*, *v*נָה 29 *e*נָה 91 *k*נָה 60 *b*נָה 72 *ee*, *v*נָה 63 *c*נָה 63 *c*נָה 74 *g*נָה 75 *oo*נָה 61 *b*נָה 55 *d*נָה 67 *dd*, 78 *b*נָה 67 *dd*נָה 132 *g*, 134 *e*<sup>1</sup>נָה forms of 78 *b*נָה 91 *e*נָה 85 *u*<sup>1</sup>נָה 48 *i*נָה (imper.) 51 *o*נָה 72 *h*נָה 72 *dd*נָה 72 *dd*נָה 23 *i*נָה 75 *x*נָה 75 *rr*

נָרָא (Is 41<sup>23</sup> Keth.)  
 48 *g*<sup>1</sup>  
 נָרַד 26 *r*  
 נָרְפָא 75 *oo*  
 נִרְפָּתָה 75 *qq*  
 נִשָּׂא 66 *c*, 76 *b*  
 נִשָּׂא forms of 76 *b*  
 נִשְׁאָת 76 *b*  
 נִשְׁאָת 74 *i*, 94 *f*  
 נִשְׁוֹא 23 *i*, 75 *oo*  
 נִשְׁוִי 75 *qq*  
 נִשְׁקָה 66 *e*  
 נִשָּׂא 75 *oo*  
 נִשְׁאָר 48 *g*<sup>1</sup>  
 נִשְׁרַנֵּי 67 *u*  
 נִשְׁרִי 52 *m*  
 נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה ? 75 *z*  
 נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה 75 *l*  
 נִתַּךְ forms of 78 *c*  
 נִתַּן 66 *h*, *i*; with  
 accus. and infin. = *allow to*  
 157 *b*<sup>2</sup>  
 נִתַּן 66 *i*, 69 *m*<sup>2</sup>  
 נִתַּן 66 *h*  
 נִתְּנִי 44 *o*  
 נִתַּת 19 *c*, 20 *l*  
 נִתַּתָּה 44 *g*, 66 *h*  
 נִסְאָה ? 55 *f*  
 נִסְבֹּת 67 *d*<sup>1</sup>  
 נִסְבִּיב 103 *o*  
 נִסְבִּיב 50 *e*  
 נִסְבִּלוּ 10 *h*, 93 *q*  
 נִסְג 72 *p*  
 נִסְתַּחֲתָה 90 *f*  
 נִסְתַּחֲתָה 72 *p*  
 נִסְתַּח 91 *e*  
 נִסְתִּי 24 *g*<sup>1</sup>  
 נִסְתָּה 91 *e*  
 נִסְתָּה 6 *k*  
 נִסְתָּה 85 *t*, 87 *h*

נִסְתָּה 69 *h*<sup>1</sup>  
 נִסְתָּה (from נִסְתָּה) ?  
 69 *h*<sup>1</sup>  
 נִסְתָּה *a letter* 124 *b*<sup>1</sup>  
 נִסְתָּה 84 *b* *f*  
 נִסְתָּה 67 *cc*  
 נִסְתָּה 60 *h*  
 נִסְתָּה pronunciation  
 6 *e*; with dages f. implici-  
 tum 22 *a-c*  
 נִסְתָּה 2 *b*, 9 *b*  
 נִסְתָּה 84 *a* *t*  
 נִסְתָּה 93 *kk*  
 נִסְתָּה 32 *n*  
 נִסְתָּה, poetic נִסְתָּה 103 *o*; with  
 imperf. of past time 107 *c*  
 נִסְתָּה ? 91 *n*  
 נִסְתָּה 29 *e*<sup>1</sup>  
 נִסְתָּה 103 *o*  
 נִסְתָּה 72 *m*  
 נִסְתָּה 67 *ff*  
 נִסְתָּה 55 *c*  
 נִסְתָּה 93 *u*  
 נִסְתָּה 61 *h*, 91 *d*  
 נִסְתָּה 91 *k*  
 נִסְתָּה 72 *s*  
 נִסְתָּה 30 *n*  
 נִסְתָּה 93 *uu*  
 נִסְתָּה 80 *g*  
 נִסְתָּה 75 *v*  
 נִסְתָּה 24 *b*, 93 *y*  
 נִסְתָּה 82  
 נִסְתָּה 93 *v*  
 נִסְתָּה 96  
 נִסְתָּה 91 *e*  
 נִסְתָּה 93 *v*  
 נִסְתָּה 27 *w*  
 נִסְתָּה 2 *f*<sup>1</sup>  
 נִסְתָּה its origin  
 101 *a*; poetic נִסְתָּה 103 *o*;

uses of 119 *aa-dd*; causal,  
 with perfect 158 *b*, with  
 infin. 158 *c*; concessive  
 160 *c*  
 נִסְתָּה 133 *y*<sup>1</sup>  
 נִסְתָּה Is 23<sup>7</sup> without  
 article 126 *z*<sup>2</sup>  
 נִסְתָּה 103 *f*<sup>3</sup>  
 נִסְתָּה its origin  
 101 *a*; pointing, with suff.  
 103 *c*  
 נִסְתָּה 61 *d*  
 נִסְתָּה ? 93 *kk*  
 נִסְתָּה plur. apoc. ?  
 87 *f*  
 נִסְתָּה 93 *aa*  
 נִסְתָּה 20 *h*  
 נִסְתָּה 63 *l*  
 נִסְתָּה 63 *l*  
 נִסְתָּה 75 *aa*  
 נִסְתָּה 93 *z*  
 נִסְתָּה 9 *l*, 26 *o*<sup>1</sup>  
 נִסְתָּה 93 *uu*  
 נִסְתָּה 61 *a*  
 נִסְתָּה 93 *hh*  
 נִסְתָּה 19 *m*  
 נִסְתָּה 93 *w*  
 נִסְתָּה 88 *c*  
 נִסְתָּה 75 *cc*  
 נִסְתָּה 118 *n*, 146 *r*<sup>1</sup>  
 נִסְתָּה 93 *pp*  
 נִסְתָּה (Hb 3<sup>13</sup>) 75 *n*  
 נִסְתָּה 48 *i*  
 נִסְתָּה 48 *i*  
 נִסְתָּה 95 *d*  
 נִסְתָּה 91 *e*  
 נִסְתָּה 20 *h*, 93 *o*  
 נִסְתָּה 69 *m*<sup>2</sup>  
 נִסְתָּה 23 *h*<sup>1</sup>  
 נִסְתָּה 75 *n*

עָשָׂה ptc. passive  
24 *b*, 75 *v*  
עֲשׂוֹת 75 *v*  
עָשָׂה 80 *l*  
עָשָׂה אֲלֵפִים 97 *g*  
עָשָׂה 93 *l*, 97 *f*  
עָשָׂה 93 *dd*  
עָשָׂה 67 *cc*  
עָשָׂה 67 *cc*  
עָשָׂה 97 *e*<sup>1</sup>  
עָשָׂה 95 *g*<sup>1</sup>  
עָשָׂה 90 *h*  
עָשָׂה 84 *b* *f*  
עָשָׂה ? 116 *g*<sup>1</sup>

פָּאָרָה 23 *c*  
פָּאָרָה צוֹר 23 *h*<sup>1</sup>  
פָּאָרָה 85 *t*  
פָּאָרָה 96  
פָּאָרָה 80 *f*  
פָּאָרָה (Ne 5<sup>14</sup>) ? 91 *e*  
פָּאָרָה 96  
פָּאָרָה 91 *f*  
פָּאָרָה 93 *h*  
פָּאָרָה 22 *e*  
פָּאָרָה 52 *n*  
פָּאָרָה with imperf.  
(twice perf.) 107 *g* and  
note<sup>3</sup>, 152 *w* (end), after  
ideas of fearing 152 *w*

פָּאָרָה 91 *e*  
פָּאָרָה 90 *h*  
פָּאָרָה 145 *h*  
פָּאָרָה 103 *f*<sup>3</sup>  
פָּאָרָה 39 *e*, 41 *d*  
פָּאָרָה 93 *g*  
פָּאָרָה 96  
פָּאָרָה 84 *b* *n*  
פָּאָרָה 22 *e*

פָּאָרָה 75 *rr*  
פָּאָרָה 1 *i*  
פָּאָרָה 93 *w*  
פָּאָרָה 9 *f*  
פָּאָרָה 84 *b* *f*  
פָּאָרָה 84 *b* *h*  
פָּאָרָה 56  
פָּאָרָה 93 *dd*  
פָּאָרָה 80 *g*  
פָּאָרָה 93 *w*

פָּאָרָה with 3rd fem.  
pl. 132 *g*, 145 *c*

פָּאָרָה ? 123 *a*<sup>1</sup>  
פָּאָרָה 69 *m*  
פָּאָרָה 95 *e*  
פָּאָרָה 125 *h*  
פָּאָרָה 93 *w*  
פָּאָרָה 75 *qq*  
פָּאָרָה 133 *b*<sup>2</sup>  
פָּאָרָה 52 *p*  
פָּאָרָה 88 *c*  
פָּאָרָה (verb) 67 *n*  
פָּאָרָה 72 *s*  
פָּאָרָה 86 *g*  
פָּאָרָה 84 *b* *c*  
פָּאָרָה 93 *u*  
פָּאָרָה 67 *cc*  
פָּאָרָה 10 *g*  
פָּאָרָה 30 *r*, 81 *d*<sup>2</sup>  
פָּאָרָה 93 *gg*  
פָּאָרָה 93 *gg*  
פָּאָרָה 55 *d*  
פָּאָרָה 46 *d*  
פָּאָרָה passive ptc.  
75 *v*  
פָּאָרָה 81 *d*<sup>2</sup>, 85 *w*  
פָּאָרָה 44 *l*, 72 *o*

פָּאָרָה for פָּאָרָה 9 *b*, 23 *g*,  
analogous cases 72 *p*

פָּאָרָה 80 *g*  
פָּאָרָה 9 *v*, 67 *o*  
פָּאָרָה the not com-  
pensatory 20 *o*, for פָּאָרָה  
67 *o*, doubtful form 100 *o*<sup>2</sup>  
פָּאָרָה 52 *l*  
פָּאָרָה 85 *u*  
פָּאָרָה 9 *v*, 93 *r*  
פָּאָרָה 124 *h*  
פָּאָרָה 145 *h*  
פָּאָרָה = *hag%* !  
146 *b*

פָּאָרָה constr. st. 90 *n*  
פָּאָרָה 72 *s*  
פָּאָרָה 20 *g*  
פָּאָרָה 72 *p*  
פָּאָרָה 1 *i*  
פָּאָרָה 21 *c*  
פָּאָרָה for פָּאָרָה 19 *i*,  
66 *g*  
פָּאָרָה for פָּאָרָה 19 *i*,  
66 *g*  
פָּאָרָה 58 *g*, 61 *g*,  
66 *g*  
פָּאָרָה 66 *g*, 93 *h*  
פָּאָרָה 93 *g*  
פָּאָרָה 26 *g*  
פָּאָרָה 19 *f*  
פָּאָרָה 93 *g*  
פָּאָרָה 52 *o*  
פָּאָרָה 76 *h*  
פָּאָרָה 76 *h*  
פָּאָרָה 84 *a* *u*  
פָּאָרָה 72 *m*  
פָּאָרָה 91 *f*  
פָּאָרָה 67 *ee*  
פָּאָרָה 72 *g*

קַמְשָׁנִים 85 *u*<sup>1</sup>  
 קָמַת 44 *h*<sup>1</sup>  
 קָמַד 20 *g*  
 קָמָוֶן 93 *uu*  
 קָמָמִי 46 *d*  
 קָפֹד 27 *w*  
 קָץ (Is 18<sup>6</sup>) 73 *b*  
 קָצָה 91 *e*  
 קָצִי 93 *x*  
 קָצָרָם 61 *d*  
 קָרָאִים 75 *oo*  
 קָרָאֵן 46 *f*  
 קָרָאֵן 74 *h*  
 קָרָאת 74 *g*  
 קָרַב 52 *n*, 64 *h*  
 קָרַב 84 *n*  
 קָרַבָּה 48 *i*  
 קָרַחָה 80 *h*  
 קָרַן 82  
 קָרְנִים 88 *b*, 93 *n*  
 קִשָּׁם 26 *r*, 93 *p*  
 ק 6 *g*, *o*  
 ק 22 *g*, *s*  
 קָאָה 105 *b*  
 קָאָה (א with Map-  
 piq) 14 *d*, 64 *e*  
 קָאָה 75 *n*  
 קָאָה 75 *v*  
 קָאָה? 72 *p*  
 קָאָה 61 *h*, 75 *v*  
 קָאָש 23 *g*, 72 *p*  
 קָאָש 96  
 קָאָשֶׁן 27 *w*  
 קָבָה adverbial?  
 132 *h*<sup>2</sup>  
 קָבָה 48 *l*, 75 *cc*  
 קָבָה 67 *ee*  
 קָבָה 67 *m*  
 קָבֹא 23 *i*

רַבְעִים 93 *qq*  
 רַבָּת 73 *a*  
 רַבָּתִי עִם 90 *l*  
 רַבָּע 65 *d*  
 רַבָּעִי 93 *ii*  
 רַב 19 *i*, 69 *g*  
 רַבָּה 69 *m*<sup>2</sup>  
 רַבָּי 61 *c*  
 רַבִּים 72 *q*  
 רַבָּם 22 *h*  
 רַבָּה 80 *k*  
 רַבָּמִים 93 *l*, 145 *h*  
 רַי 24 *b*, cf. 93 *y*  
 רַבּוֹת 73 *a*  
 רַיב יָרִיב 73 *d*  
 רַיִם 23 *e*  
 רַבּוֹ 67 *ee*  
 רַבָּסִי 93 *r*  
 רַבּוֹ 67 *m*  
 רַבּוֹ 20 *i*  
 רַבּוֹנִי? 87 *f*  
 רַבִּי 67 *ff*  
 רַעְבּוֹן 85 *u*  
 רַעָה 64 *d*  
 רַעָה 84<sup>a</sup> *i*, 93 *ll*  
 רַעָה 67 *o*, *s*  
 רַעָה 91 *k*  
 רַעָתָם 91 *k*  
 רַבָּאָה 74 *h*  
 רַבָּאָתִי 75 *oo*  
 רַבָּה 75 *pp*  
 רַבָּאָה 113 *s*<sup>2</sup>  
 רַב 153  
 רַשָּׁה (Moab.) 7 *c*  
 רַשָּׁה pronunciation  
 6 *i*, *k*  
 רַשָּׁה 76 *b*, 93 *t*  
 רַשָּׁה, שָׂרִי 84<sup>a</sup> *f*, 93 *ll*

שָׂרִיד 93 *ss*  
 שָׂה 96  
 שָׂהָרֶן 86 *g*  
 שָׂמָה 73 *f*  
 שָׂחוֹ 24 *d*, 93 *x*  
 שָׂטָן without arti-  
 cle 125 *f*, 126 *e*<sup>1</sup>  
 שָׂכָלָת 6 *k*  
 שָׂלַק 66 *e*  
 שָׂמָל 23 *c*  
 שָׂעִיר 82  
 שָׂעַר 93 *gg*  
 שָׂעָה 82  
 שָׂרִי (n. pr.) 80 *l*;  
 in Ju 5<sup>15</sup>, 87 *g*  
 ש as preforma-  
 tive of noun 85 *o*  
 שָׁ-, שָׁ-, שָׁ-, שָׁ- (relative)  
 36; uses of p. 485 note  
 שָׁאָמִים 72 *p*  
 שָׁאָמֶךְ 23 *c*  
 שָׁאָל 64 *e*  
 שָׁאָלָה (Is 7<sup>11</sup>) 29 *u*  
 שָׁאָלוֹנִי 64 *f*  
 שָׁאָלָךְ 64 *f*  
 שָׁאָלָתִיָּהוּ 64 *f*  
 שָׁאָלָתִי 44 *d*  
 שָׁאָלָתָם 44 *d*, 64 *f*  
 שָׁאָסֶךְ 67 *s*  
 שָׁבִיטִים 86 *g*<sup>1</sup>  
 שָׁבִיטָה? 91 *e*  
 שָׁבִעָה? 97 *c*  
 שָׁבִרִי 61 *b*  
 שָׁבַת 69 *c*  
 שָׁרִיד 20 *b*, 67 *cc*  
 שָׁוָה form of the  
 name 10 *b*<sup>1</sup>  
 שָׁוֵה infin. abs., er-

ror for יָשׁוּב 19 *i*, 69 *g*; in-  
fin. constr. (once) of שׁוּב 72 *q*  
שׁוּבִי (imper.) 72 *s*  
יָשׁוּבִי 72 *b*  
שׁוּבִי 75 *z*  
שׁוּבִי 22 *p*, 64 *a*  
שׁוּבִי 67 *ee*  
שׁוּבִי 67 *cc*  
שׁוּבִי 64 *a*  
שׁוּבִי 95 *k*  
שׁוּבִי 85 *v*  
שׁוּבִי 93 *v*  
שׁוּבִי 45 *c*  
שׁוּבִי 61 *c*, 93 *s*  
שׁוּבִי 65 *g*  
שׁוּבִי 44 *c*  
שׁוּבִי 90 *n*  
שׁוּבִי 55 *i*, 85 *o*  
שׁוּבִי 21 *c*  
שׁוּבִי with accus.  
121 *d*<sup>1</sup>  
שׁוּבִי subst. and  
adj. 141 *c*<sup>2</sup>  
שׁוּבִי 65 *a*  
שׁוּבִי 52 *o*  
שׁוּבִי 61 *h*, 65 *d*  
שׁוּבִי 21 *f*, 28 *e*<sup>2</sup>  
שׁוּבִי 129 *h*<sup>1</sup>  
שׁוּבִי 84 *a* *g*  
שׁוּבִי 52 *o*  
שׁוּבִי 93 *q*  
שׁוּבִי 129 *h*<sup>1</sup>  
שׁוּבִי 23 *f*  
שׁוּבִי 26 *o*<sup>1</sup>, 96  
שׁוּבִי 90 *k*  
שׁוּבִי (inf.) 67 *r*  
שׁוּבִי 88 *d*, 96  
שׁוּבִי see Additions

שְׁמִנָּה 97 *e*  
שְׁמִנָּה 46 *f*  
שְׁמִנָּה 80 *g*  
שְׁמִנָּה 48 *i*<sup>2</sup>, 61 *f*<sup>1</sup>  
שְׁמִנָּה 88 *c*  
שְׁמִנָּה 48 *i*<sup>2</sup>, 61 *f*<sup>1</sup>  
שְׁמִנָּה 23 *l*  
שְׁמִנָּה 75 *rr*  
שְׁמִנָּה (Phoen.) 7 *d*<sup>1</sup>  
שְׁמִנָּה 95 *c*<sup>1</sup>  
שְׁמִנָּה 97 *d*  
שְׁמִנָּה 80 *g*  
שְׁמִנָּה 65 *d*  
שְׁמִנָּה 135 *p*<sup>1</sup>  
שְׁמִנָּה 29 *i*<sup>1</sup>  
שְׁמִנָּה 86 *g*  
שְׁמִנָּה 10 *g*  
שְׁמִנָּה 80 *f*  
שְׁמִנָּה 84 *b* *m*  
שְׁמִנָּה 93 *o*  
שְׁמִנָּה 95 *f*  
שְׁמִנָּה 22 *s*  
שְׁמִנָּה 23 *f*  
שְׁמִנָּה 22 *s*  
שְׁמִנָּה 9 *v*, 93 *r*  
שְׁמִנָּה 55 *f*  
שְׁמִנָּה 9 *u*, 26 *o*<sup>1</sup>  
שְׁמִנָּה (only Qal) 78 *b*  
שְׁמִנָּה 73 *d*  
שְׁמִנָּה 67 *ee*  
שְׁמִנָּה (inf. abs.) 75 *n*  
שְׁמִנָּה 73 *d*  
שְׁמִנָּה 97 *b*<sup>1</sup>  
שְׁמִנָּה 97 *d*

ת as preforma-  
tive of nouns 85 *p-r*

ת, ת original femi-  
nine ending 80 *f, g*, 89 *e*

ת 63 *m*, 93 *t*<sup>1</sup>

תֹּאחֵר 65 *e*  
תֹּאחֵר 68 *c*  
תֹּאחֵר 68 *f*  
תֹּאחֵר 51 *m*  
תֹּאחֵר 68 *h*  
תֹּאחֵר 93 *q*  
תֹּאחֵר 68 *f*  
תֹּאחֵר 75 *hh*  
תֹּאחֵר 72 *k*  
תֹּאחֵר 48 *d*  
תֹּאחֵר 48 *d*  
תֹּאחֵר 10 *g*<sup>3</sup>  
תֹּאחֵר as 3rd pl. fem.  
47 *k*  
תֹּאחֵר 85 *p*  
תֹּאחֵר 75 *hh*  
תֹּאחֵר 53 *n*  
תֹּאחֵר 75 *hh*  
תֹּאחֵר 27 *l*  
תֹּאחֵר 52 *n*  
תֹּאחֵר 75 *oo*  
תֹּאחֵר 67 *t*  
תֹּאחֵר 75 *dd*  
תֹּאחֵר 53 *n*  
תֹּאחֵר 85 *r*  
תֹּאחֵר 75 *hh*  
תֹּאחֵר 72 *k*  
תֹּאחֵר 53 *n*  
תֹּאחֵר 69 *x*  
תֹּאחֵר 80 *g*  
תֹּאחֵר 53 *q*  
תֹּאחֵר 75 *gg*  
תֹּאחֵר 84 *a* *r*  
תֹּאחֵר 50 *e*  
תֹּאחֵר 23 *f*  
תֹּאחֵר 26 *r*, 69 *v*  
תֹּאחֵר 51 *g*  
תֹּאחֵר 47 *k*  
תֹּאחֵר 72 *r*

|  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| תַּחֲנוּתִי 91 <i>n</i>  | תַּחֲנוּנָה 67 <i>dd</i>                     | תָּבַר 69 <i>p</i>  |
| תַּחַת 103 <i>o</i>  | תַּחֲלִימוֹר 67 <i>y</i>                     | תַּרְדֵּמָה 85 <i>q</i>                                   |
| תַּחֲתִית 66 <i>f</i>  | תַּחֲרִיף 66 <i>f</i>                        | תַּרְדֵּמָה (Jb 17 <sup>1</sup> ) 72 <i>cc</i>            |
| תַּחֲתִיָּה 103 <i>d</i>   | תַּחֲשָׁא 19 <i>d</i>                        | תַּרְנָה 47 <i>k</i>                                      |
| תַּחֲתִי 103 <i>d</i>  | תַּחֲנֹתוֹ אֶחָד־ 131 <i>b</i> <sup>1</sup>  | תַּרְנֶנֶה 44 <i>o</i>                                    |
| תַּטְעִי (Is 17 <sup>10</sup> )? 20 <i>m</i> <sup>3</sup>              | תַּחֲבִינָה 67 <i>d</i> <sup>1</sup>         | תַּרְפִּים 124 <i>h</i> , 132 <i>h</i> <sup>2</sup>       |
| תַּטְעִי 70 <i>e</i>   | תַּחֲבָרִם 60 <i>b</i>                       | תַּרְפִּינָה 75 <i>qq</i>                                 |
| תַּיִכּוֹן 27 <i>w</i>   | תַּעֲבִירִי 47 <i>g</i>                      | תַּרְצִחוֹ? 52 <i>q</i>                                   |
| תַּיַּעֲשֶׂה 63 <i>h</i>   | תַּעֲנָנָה 51 <i>m</i>                       | תַּשְׁאִינָה (Ez 23 <sup>40</sup> )? 76 <i>b</i>          |
| תַּיִרָאוֹ (Jb 6 <sup>21</sup> +) 75 <i>t</i>                          | תַּעֲנָנָה 58 <i>k</i>                       | תַּשְׁנָה (Ru 1 <sup>14</sup> ) 74 <i>k</i> , 76 <i>b</i> |
| תַּשְׁמָנָה (Ez 6 <sup>6</sup> )? 67 <i>p</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>dd</i> | תַּעֲלוֹ 75 <i>y</i>                         | תַּשְׁבֵּן 72 <i>k</i>                                    |
| תַּחֲבִיבָרָה 60 <i>f</i>  | תַּעֲנָנָה (Ju 5 <sup>29</sup> ) 75 <i>w</i> | תַּשְׁבָּרָה 72 <i>k</i>                                  |
| תַּחֲבִיזֹן 19 <i>d</i>  | תַּעֲפָה 48 <i>d</i>                         | תַּשְׁכִּי? 75 <i>s</i>                                   |
| תַּחֲבִיבִים 1 <i>i</i>  | תַּעֲשֶׂה 75 <i>hh</i>                       | תַּשְׁלַחְנָה (anomalously) 47 <i>k</i>                   |
| תַּחֲבִלָּה 77 <i>rr</i>   | תַּעֲשֶׂה 60 <i>g</i>                        | תַּשְׁמֹרֶם 47 <i>g</i>                                   |
| תַּחֲל־ 20 <i>g</i>  | תַּעֲשֶׂה 91 <i>l</i>                        | תַּשְׁתַּע 75 <i>bb</i>                                   |
| תַּחֲלֹאֵם 75 <i>rr</i>  | תַּעֲשֶׂה 67 <i>p</i>                        | תַּחֲטָא 75 <i>bb</i>                                     |
| תַּחֲלֹאִים 75 <i>rr</i>   | תַּעֲלָנָה 67 <i>g</i>                       | תַּחֲטָא? 75 <i>bb</i> <sup>1</sup>                       |
| תַּחֲלִיבָשׁוֹן 47 <i>l</i>  | תַּעֲרִי 67 <i>dd</i>                        | תַּחֲבָר 67 <i>l</i>                                      |
| תַּחֲלוֹנִי 72 <i>ee</i>   | תַּחֲבָנִי 67 <i>g</i>                       | תַּחֲנֹר 75 <i>bb</i>                                     |
| תַּחֲלֹ 29 <i>q</i> , 73 <i>e</i>                                      | תַּחֲקִי אֶמֶיךָ 72 <i>cc</i>                | תַּחֲהָ 19 <i>i</i> , 66 <i>k</i>                         |
| תַּחֲלֵג 10 <i>g</i> <sup>3</sup>                                      | תַּחֲקֵל 47 <i>k</i>                         | תַּחֲהָ 67 <i>y</i>                                       |
| תַּחֲוִינָה 72 <i>k</i>  | תַּחֲקִינָה? 72 <i>k</i>                     | תַּחֲהָ 67 <i>p</i>                                       |
| תַּחֲלִימָה? 75 <i>ii</i>  | תַּחֲקִינָה 47 <i>k</i> , 75 <i>rr</i>       | תַּחֲצִי 20 <i>m</i>                                      |
| תַּחֲחִיץ 10 <i>g</i> <sup>3</sup>                                     | תַּחֲרָא 75 <i>p</i>                         | תַּחֲשׁ 53 <i>u</i>                                       |
| תַּחֲמוֹנִי 67 <i>e</i> , <i>dd</i>                                    | תַּחֲרָה 75 <i>hh</i>                        |   |
| תַּחֲמוֹ (Lam 3 <sup>22</sup> )? 200                                   | תַּחֲרָנָה 75 <i>w</i>                       |   |
| תַּחֲמֹם 85 <i>p</i>   |  |   |

# III.

## INDEX OF PASSAGES

The references are to the sections and their marginal letters, except where otherwise indicated. N. = note.

### Genesis

- 1 1. 5*n*, 21*b*, 117*a*,  
123*f*, 142*g*, 145*h*
- 2 . 141*c* N., 142*c*
- 3 . . 109*b*, 145*h*
- 4 . . 53*n*, 117*h*
- 5 . 29*e*, 98*a*, 111*c*
- 6 . . 102*h*, 116*r*
- 7 . 16*b*, 21*b*, 138*b*
- 8 . . . . 126*w*
- 9 75*t*, 107*n*, 109*a* N.
- 11 . . 16*h*, 20*f*, 117*r*
- 12 . . . . 20*f*, 91*d*
- 14 112*g*, 145*o*, 145*s*
- 16 . . . . 133*f*
- 20 . . . . 15*m*, 117*z*
- 21 . 91*c*, 91*k*, 117*c*,  
126*x*
- 22 . . . . . 64*g*
- 24 . . . . . 90*o*
- 26 75*t*, 110*h*, 122*s*,  
124*g* N.
- 27 . . 117*kk*, 122*g*
- 28 . . . . . 110*c*
- 29 16*a*, 106*m*, 141*n*
- 31 . . . 126*w*, 131*g*
- 2 1 . . . . . 111*k*
- 2 . . . 106*f*, 138*h*
- 3 . . 114*o*, 126*w*
- 4 . 5*n*, 20*f*, 114*g*
- 5 106*f*, 107*c*, 142*a*,  
152*k*, 152*r*
- 6 107*b*, 107*d*, 112*e*,  
142*b*
- 7 . . . 70*a*, 117*hh*
- 9 . . . 115*d*, 127*b*
- 10 107*d*, 112*e*, 141*a*
- 11 98*a*, 117*g*, 126*k*,  
134*k*, 141*n*
- 12 . . . 10*g*, 141*b*
- 13 . . . . 26*o* N.
- 14 . . . . 118*g*
- 15 . . . . 122*l*
- 16 . . 26*o* N., 113*p*
- 17 61*d*, 113*n*, 114*b*,  
135*c* N., 143*c*
- 18 . . . 75*l*, 114*a*
- 19 70*a*, 107*k*, 131*n*  
N., 145*m*

### Genesis

- 2 21 . . . . . 103*d*
- 23 10*h*, 20*c*, 52*d*,  
102*g*, 125*i*, 126*b*,  
141*a*
- 24 . . . 107*g*, 112*m*
- 25 9*o*, 72*m*, 85*t*,  
93*pp*, 107*b*, 111*d*,  
134*d*
- 3 1 111*a*, 119*w*, 142*c*,  
152*b*
- 2 . . . . . 107*s*
- 3 . . . . . 72*u*
- 4 . . . 72*u*, 113*v*
- 5 61*d*, 112*oo*, 116*n*
- 6 . 35*g*, 116*e*, 131*t*
- 7 . . . 85*t*, 93*pp*
- 8 . . . 118*p*, 146*f*
- 10 . . . . . 142*f*
- 11 . . . 114*s*, 150*e*
- 12 . 44*g*, 68*e*, 135*c*
- 13 136*c*, 142*a*, 148*b*
- 14 116*r* N., 118*k*,  
119*w*
- 15 . . . . . 117*ll*
- 16 . . . 154*a* N.
- 17 . . . . . 10*g*
- 19 . 29*e*, 95*e*, 141*l*
- 21 . . . 60*g*, 128*o*
- 22 76*i*, 96*(תת)*,  
107*g*, 112*p*, 114*o*,  
124*g* N., 130*a*,  
152*w*
- 24 . . . . . 128*h*
- 4 2 . . . 131*h*, 142*d*
- 4 91*c*, 106*d*, 154*a*  
N.
- 6 . . . 20*f*, 144*b*
- 7 . . . . 145*u*
- 9 . . . 106*g*, 150*d*
- 10 . . . 146*b*, 148*b*
- 12 109*d*, 114*m*, 164*d*
- 13 76*b*, 133*c*, 141*m*
- 14 . . . 112*p*, 116*g*
- 15 97*h*, 114*s*, 115*k*,  
116*w*, 117*e*, 134*r*
- 16 . . . . 118*g*
- 17 . . . . . 29*e*
- 18 . . . . . 121*b*

### Genesis

- 4 20 . . . . . 117*bb*
- 22 . . . . . 127*b*
- 23 . . . . 44*o*, 46*f*
- 24 29*g*, 134*r*, 159*bb*,  
159*dd*
- 25 9*u*, 16*f*, 26*o* N.,  
157*b*
- 26 107*c*, 135*h*, 144*k*
- 5 1 115*t*, 119*h*, 125*f*
- 3 . . . . . 134*d*
- 5 . . . . . 146*c*
- 20 . . . . . 134*h*
- 23 . . . 145*g*, 146*c*
- 24 . . . . 152*m*
- 6 1 . . . . . 164*d*
- 2 117*h*, 119*w* N.,  
128*v*
- 3 . . . . 67*p*, 72*r*
- 4 107*e*, 112*e*, 128*t*
- 5 . . . . . 157*b*
- 8 . . . . . 142*b*
- 9 . . . . . 16*b*
- 11 . . . . . 117*z*
- 13 . . . . . 117*z*
- 14 112*r*, 117*ii*, 126*m*
- 17 112*t*, 116*p*, 131*k*  
N., 158*a*
- 18 . . . . 49*l*, 72*w*
- 19 . . . . . 35*f*
- 21 . . . . . 107*g*
- 22 . . . . . 117*b*
- 7 1 . . . 117*e*, 117*h*
- 2 . . . . . 138*b*
- 4 112*t*, 116*p*, 118*k*,  
141*a*, 141*f*
- 5 . . . . . 117*b*
- 6 . . . . . 164*a*
- 7 . . . . . 146*f*
- 9 . . . . . 134*g*
- 11 126*y*, 129*f*, 134*o*
- 13 . 97*e*, 104*g*, 139*g*
- 15 . . . . . 127*c*
- 19 . . . 106*d*, 133*k*
- 20 . . . . . 118*h*
- 21 . . . . . 119*t*
- 22 . . . . 119*w* N.
- 23 . . . . 51*u*, 75*o*
- 8 3 . . . . 63*f*, 113*u*

## Genesis

- 8 4 . . . . . 124 o  
 5 . . . . . 129 f, 134 p  
 7 70 a N., 113 s,  
 126 r, 126 t  
 8 . . . . . 150 i  
 9 . . . . . 135 i  
 12 . . . . . 69 t  
 13 . 15 l, 72 l, 72 aa  
 14 . . . . . 129 f  
 17 . 69 v, 70 b, 119 i  
 18 . . . . . 15 g, 146 f  
 21 . . . . . 72 aa  
 22 . . . . . 104 g, 146 d  
 9 2 . . . . . 135 m  
 3 . . . . . 117 c, 138 b  
 4 . . . . . 119 n, 131 k  
 5 . . . . . 139 c  
 6 116 w, 121 f, 143 b  
 9 . . . . . 143 a  
 10 116 h, 119 i, 143 e  
 11 . . . . . 121 f, 152 b  
 14 52 d, 112 y, 117 r  
 15 . . . . . 159 g  
 16 . . . . . 131 t  
 19 . . . . . 67 dd, 134 k  
 20 . . . . . 120 b  
 21 . . . . . 75 bb, 91 e  
 22 . . . . . 117 f  
 23 117 f, 141 e, 146 f  
 24 . . . . . 70 a, 133 g  
 25 . . . . . 133 i  
 26 . . . . . 116 r N.  
 27 . . . . . 75 gg  
 10 5 . . . . . 139 b  
 9 . . . . . 107 g  
 11 . . . . . 118 f  
 17 . . . . . 35 g  
 19 . . . . . 91 d, 144 h  
 21 . . . . . 135 h  
 26 . . . . . 35 m  
 11 1 . . . . . 141 d  
 3 . . . . . 69 o, 117 r  
 4 . . . . . 107 g, 152 w  
 5 . . . . . 114 g  
 6 67 w, 67 dd, 133 d,  
 147 b  
 7 67 dd, 107 g, 124 g  
 N., 165 b  
 8 . . . . . 63 f  
 9 . . . . . 144 d  
 10 . . . . . 118 i  
 28 . . . . . 125 h  
 29 . . . . . 146 f  
 30 . . . . . 152 o  
 31 . . . . . 20 f  
 12 1 . . . . . 119 s, 121 c  
 2 63 g, 110 i, 141 d  
 3 . . . . . 116 g  
 4 . . . . . 134 h  
 7 . . . . . 116 o

## Genesis

- 12 8 . . . . . 91 e, 156 c  
 9 . . . . . 113 u  
 11 . . . . . 111 g, 114 m  
 12 112 c, 112 y, 112 hh,  
 164 d  
 13 110 d, 112 p, 141 l,  
 157 a, 165 b  
 14 111 g, 117 h, 118 u  
 15 . . . . . 118 f  
 16 . . . . . 145 o  
 17 . . . . . 117 q  
 19 111 m, 117 f, 147 b  
 13 2 . . . . . 126 m  
 3 . . . . . 138 c, 154 a N.  
 5 . . . . . 145 o  
 8 . . . . . 131 b  
 9 . 51 n, 56, 159 dd  
 10 . . . . . 144 h  
 11 . . . . . 139 e  
 12 . . . . . 142 c  
 13 . . . . . 140 a  
 14 . . . . . 104 g  
 15 . . . . . 142 g, 143 c  
 16 . . . . . 166 b  
 17 . . . . . 120 g  
 14 4 . . . . . 118 i, 134 o  
 5 . . . . . 134 o  
 6 . . . . . 93 aa, 131 f  
 9 . . . . . 134 k  
 10 27 q, 90 o, 90 i,  
 93 aa, 123 e, 130 e  
 13 . 2 b, 126 r, 128 u  
 17 . . . . . 115 a  
 18 . . . . . 129 c  
 19 . . . . . 121 f, 128 a  
 22 . . . . . 106 i  
 23 102 b, 109 g, 135 a,  
 149 c, 154 a N.  
 24 . . . . . 135 c  
 15 1 . . . . . 126 r, 131 q  
 2 116 n, 118 n, 128 v,  
 141 e  
 5 . . . . . 150 i  
 6 112 ss, 122 g, 135 p  
 7 . 29 f, 66 i, 138 d  
 10 . . . . . 139 b, 139 c  
 11 . . . . . 126 r  
 12 . . . . . 114 i  
 13 113 o, 135 p, 155 e  
 14 . . . . . 119 n  
 15 . . . . . 135 a  
 16 . . . . . 118 q  
 17 . . . . . 111 g  
 18 . . . . . 106 m, 136 b  
 16 1 . . . . . 142 b, 156 b  
 2 . 51 g, 51 p, 119 x  
 3 . . . . . 102 f  
 4 . . . . . 67 p  
 5 5 n, 103 o, 135 a,  
 135 m

## Genesis

- 16 7 . . . . . 60 d, 127 e  
 8 10 k, 76 g, 107 h,  
 116 n  
 10 . . . . . 166 a  
 11 . 80 d, 94 f, 116 n  
 12 127 c, 128 l, 156 b  
 16 . . . . . 115 f  
 17 1 . . . . . 110 f  
 4 . . . . . 143 a  
 5 117 ii, 121 b, 163 a  
 8 . . . . . 128 p  
 9 . . . . . 142 f N.  
 10 . . . . . 113 gg  
 11 67 dd, 112 aa, 121 d,  
 144 b  
 14 29 g, 67 v, 112 mm,  
 158 a, 167 b N.  
 15 . . . . . 143 b  
 17 96, 100 l, 107 t,  
 134 d, 150 g  
 19 . . . . . 49 l  
 20 . . . . . 106 m, 112 s  
 21 . . . . . 154 a  
 26 . . . . . 72 ee  
 18 1 116 o, 118 g, 141 e  
 5 . . . . . 158 b N.  
 6 . 90 c, 90 i, 131 d  
 7 . . . . . 117 f, 126 r  
 9 . . . . . 147 b  
 10 . . . . . 118 u  
 11 . . . . . 116 d, 146 d  
 12 106 n, 139 f, 141 e,  
 150 a, 150 b  
 13 . . . . . 106 g, 136 c  
 14 133 c, 139 d, 141 m  
 15 . . . . . 106 b, 163 a  
 17 . . . . . 100 l  
 18 . . . . . 75 n, 142 d  
 19 . . . . . 114 o, 165 c  
 20 128 h, 148 d, 159 ee  
 21 100 l, 108 b, 135 m,  
 138 k  
 24 . . . . . 117 g, 122 l  
 25 112 w, 115 b, 161 c  
 26 . . . . . 112 ff  
 27 . . . . . 141 e  
 28 47 m, 117 aa,  
 119 p, 134 l, 159 n  
 N., 159 r  
 29 . . . . . 134 k  
 19 1 116 o, 141 e, 141 f,  
 156 c  
 2 17 e, 20 d, 20 g,  
 100 o, 135 g, 142 g,  
 150 n, 152 c  
 4 15 l, 107 c, 152 r,  
 154 a N., 164 c  
 5 . . . . . 29 f  
 6 . . . . . 93 i  
 8 34 b, 103 b, 139 d



Genesis

19 9 . . . 66c, 113r  
 11 . . . 126n  
 12 . . . 150b  
 14 . . . 20g, 116d  
 15 . . . 152w  
 16 15f, 45d, 55g,  
 115f  
 17 . . . 107p  
 18 . . . 152g  
 19 60d, 72n, 107f,  
 152w, 154a  
 20 . . . 109f  
 21 . . . 61a  
 22 . . . 120g  
 23 . . . 164b  
 28 . . . 126o  
 29 . . . 115a, 124o  
 30 . . . 126r  
 31 . . . 133f, 152o  
 32 . . . 69x, 117cc  
 33 5n, 47l, 61c, 93s,  
 126y  
 34 . . . 126b  
 20 1 . . . 90c  
 5 . . . 32l  
 6 66b, 75q, 114m,  
 157b N.  
 7 . . . 63q, 110i  
 9 . . . 107w  
 10 . . . 107v, 166b  
 11 . . . 112x, 153  
 12 . . . 152d  
 13 119u, 124h N.,  
 127e, 141f, 145i,  
 167b  
 16 . . . 116s, 134n  
 17 . . . 145u  
 18 . . . 106f, 113n  
 21 3 . . . 138k  
 5 . . . 121b, 128v  
 6 . . . 10g, 64h, 114c  
 7 106p, 124o, 142f,  
 151a  
 8 . . . 51m  
 9 . . . 52n  
 11 . . . 67p  
 13 . . . 143c  
 14 95l, 128q, 156d  
 N<sup>4</sup>  
 16 75hk, 108b, 113h,  
 119k, 119s  
 17 . . . 138e  
 19 . . . 117cc  
 20 . . . 131b  
 23 . . . 20f, 51o  
 24 . . . 51p, 135a  
 25 . . . 112rr  
 26 . . . 162b  
 28 . . . 91c, 127e  
 29 . . . 91f, 126x

Genesis

21 30 . . . 117d, 157b  
 32 . . . 138f, 146h  
 22 1 . . . 111g  
 3 . . . 135i  
 4 . . . 111b  
 5 . . . 119s  
 7 . . . 147b  
 12 . . . 116g, 158a  
 14 . . . 130d N<sup>2</sup>  
 17 . . . 75ff  
 23 . . . 134k  
 24 . . . 111h, 147e  
 23 1 . . . 134d, 134h  
 3 . . . 122f  
 4 . . . 52f, 128m  
 5 . . . 110e  
 6 75q, 119x, 128r,  
 142f N<sup>2</sup>, 152b  
 8 . . . 61g  
 9 . . . 119p  
 10 116h, 141b, 143e  
 11 . . . 106m, 152c  
 13 . . . 110e  
 20 . . . 111k  
 24 3 . . . 128a, 165b  
 5 . . . 100n, 113q  
 6 . . . 51n, 152w  
 7 . . . 138a  
 8 . . . 75x, 109d, 126y  
 9 . . . 16h  
 14 112bb, 135p,  
 167c  
 15 106f, 107c, 152r  
 18 . . . 120d  
 19 . . . 106o, 164b  
 20 . . . 75bb  
 21 . . . 130a, 150i  
 22 . . . 134n, 156b  
 23 . . . 37a, 118g  
 26 . . . 67g  
 27 . . . 75ll, 135e, 143b  
 29 . . . 156b  
 30 . . . 115e N., 116s  
 31 . . . 116l  
 33 . . . 73f  
 35 . . . 154a N.  
 37 . . . 149c  
 41 95n, 117f, 164d  
 42 . . . 159v, 167c  
 43 . . . 112t  
 44 . . . 154a N., 162b  
 45 . . . 135a  
 48 . . . 75t  
 49 . . . 159v  
 51 . . . 109f, 117f  
 55 . . . 139h, 146f  
 56 . . . 142d  
 58 . . . 150n  
 60 . . . 63g, 97g, 134g  
 61 . . . 146g, 146h

Genesis

24 63 . . . 114f N.  
 65 . . . 34f  
 67 . . . 127f  
 25 1 . . . 120d  
 5 . . . 16a  
 16 . . . 336d  
 21 . . . 51n, 121f  
 23 . . . 119ff  
 24 . . . 23f  
 26 115a, 115c, 115e  
 N.  
 31 . . . 35n, 48i  
 34 . . . 75o  
 26 7 144p N., 147a N.  
 9 148b, 152w, 157b  
 10 . . . 49l, 106p  
 13 . . . 113w, 164f  
 15 . . . 60h, 135o  
 16 . . . 133c  
 18 . . . 60h, 111q, 120d  
 23 . . . 118f  
 25 . . . 76c  
 28 . . . 75n, 103p N.  
 29 . . . 65h, 75hh  
 27 1 111g, 114d, 119y  
 3 . . . 118f, 122t  
 4 . . . 20b, 106g, 108d  
 7 . . . 58g  
 9 . . . 117ii  
 12 . . . 49l, 112p  
 13 . . . 10g, 141f  
 19 . . . 60d  
 20 114n N., 136c,  
 148b  
 21 . . . 67r, 136d  
 24 . . . 150a  
 26 . . . 10g  
 28 . . . 20m  
 29 . . . 145l  
 30 . . . 113n, 164b N.  
 31 . . . 72t  
 33 107c, 116d, 117q,  
 150l, 153  
 34 111h N., 113m,  
 117q, 135e  
 36 63m, 136d, 150s  
 37 103g, 117ff, 117ii,  
 142g, 150l  
 38 . . . 10g, 16g, 100l  
 39 . . . 20m, 119c  
 41 . . . 63f  
 42 . . . 61a, 121a  
 43 . . . 112r, 119s  
 45 114d, 114r,  
 117aa, 118i,  
 150v, 154a N.  
 28 2 . . . 16h, 90i  
 3 . . . 75ll  
 4 . . . 95g, 114g  
 6 . . . 167c

## Genesis

|    |                         |                    |
|----|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 28 | 8 . . . . .             | 111 d              |
|    | 9 . . . . .             | 119 aa N.          |
|    | 11 . . . . .            | 126 r              |
|    | 15 . . . . .            | 106 o, 147 b       |
|    | 16 . . . . .            | 106 g              |
|    | 18 . . . . .            | 71                 |
| 29 | 2 . . . . .             | 111 e, 144 f       |
|    | 6 . . . . .             | 150 n              |
|    | 7 . . . . .             | 126 i, 152 d       |
|    | 9 . . . . .             | 116 u, 129 h       |
|    | 10 . 67 p, 75 gg, 106 f |                    |
|    | 14 . . . . .            | 131 d              |
|    | 15 . . . . .            | 112 cc, 150 e      |
|    | 17 . . . . .            | 145 n              |
|    | 19 . . . . .            | 133 a              |
|    | 21 . . . . .            | 69 o, 165 a        |
|    | 25 . . . . .            | 142 g              |
|    | 26 . . . . .            | 107 g              |
|    | 27 . . . . .            | 121 b              |
|    | 30 . . . . .            | 133 b              |
|    | 32 . . . . .            | 60 d               |
| 30 | 3 . . . . .             | 51 g               |
|    | 6 . . . . .             | 26 g, 59 f         |
|    | 8 85 n, 117 g, 154 a    | N.                 |
|    | 13 . . . . .            | 106 n              |
|    | 15 . . . . .            | 114 a              |
|    | 16 . . . . .            | 126 y              |
|    | 18 . . . . .            | 17 c, 135 m        |
|    | 19 . . . . .            | 96                 |
|    | 20 . . . . .            | 117 bb, 117 ff     |
|    | 23 . . . . .            | 135 m              |
|    | 27 111 h N., 120 f,     | 159 dd             |
|    | 29 . . . . .            | 157 c              |
|    | 31 . . . . .            | 120 g, 120 h       |
|    | 32 . . . . .            | 112 mm             |
|    | 34 . . . . .            | 109 b, 151 e       |
|    | 37 . . . . .            | 117 r, 123 b       |
|    | 38 10 g, 47 k, 76 g,    | 95 f, 138 c, 145 c |
|    | 39 . . . . .            | 69 f, 145 p        |
|    | 40 . 119 aa N., 142 f   |                    |
|    | 41 . . . . .            | 91 f, 112 ee       |
|    | 43 . . . . .            | 132 g              |
| 31 | 2 . . . . .             | 138 f              |
|    | 6 . . . . .             | 32 i               |
|    | 7 . . . . .             | 67 w, 112 h        |
|    | 8 145 u, 159 r, 159 s   |                    |
|    | 9 . . . . .             | 135 o              |
|    | 13 . . . . .            | 127 f              |
|    | 14 . . . . .            | 146 g, 146 h       |
|    | 15 . . . . .            | 113 r              |
|    | 19 . . . . .            | 67 cc              |
|    | 23 . . . . .            | 118 h              |
|    | 27 63 c, 111 m, 114 n   | N.                 |
|    | 28 . . . . .            | 75 n               |
|    | 29 . . . . .            | 152 i              |
|    | 30 . . . . .            | 51 t, 113 p        |

## Genesis

|    |                           |                    |
|----|---------------------------|--------------------|
| 31 | 32 . . . . .              | 59 g, 138 f        |
|    | 34 111 g, 124 h N.,       | 132 h N.           |
|    | 35 . . . . .              | 106 l              |
|    | 36 . . . . .              | 20 d, 37 d         |
|    | 39 23 f, 74 k, 75 oo,     | 75 gg, 90 l, 107 e |
|    | 40 67 cc, 76 a, 104 g,    | 143 a N., 167 b N. |
|    | 41 . . . . .              | 136 d              |
|    | 42 . . . . .              | 106 p              |
|    | 44 . . . . .              | 69 x               |
|    | 45 . . . . .              | 117 ii             |
|    | 47 . . . . .              | 1 c                |
|    | 52 . . . . .              | 149 e, 167 b       |
|    | 53 . . . . .              | 145 i              |
| 32 | 1 . . . . .               | 103 b, 122 g       |
|    | 3 . . . . .               | 136 b              |
|    | 5 . . . . .               | 64 h, 68 f         |
|    | 6 . 49 e, 104 g, 123 b    |                    |
|    | 7 . . . . .               | 116 s              |
|    | 8 . . . . .               | 67 p, 144 b        |
|    | 9 . . . . .               | 112 p, 145 u       |
|    | 10 . . . . .              | 116 o              |
|    | 11 106 g, 119 n, 133 c    |                    |
|    | 12 119 aa N., 152 w,      | 156 c              |
|    | 13 . . . . .              | 107 w              |
|    | 15 . . . . .              | 134 c              |
|    | 16 28 b, 122 d, 132 e,    | 135 o              |
|    | 17 . . . . .              | 123 d              |
|    | 18 9 v, 10 g, 60 b, 64 f, | 137 b              |
|    | 19 . . . . .              | 124 i              |
|    | 20 . 52 n, 61 d, 74 h     |                    |
|    | 25 . . . . .              | 51 n               |
|    | 27 . 60 f, 65 k, 163 c    |                    |
|    | 30 . . . . .              | 20 f, 107 h        |
|    | 31 90 k, 111 e, 156 c,    | 157 b              |
| 33 | 2 . . . . .               | 146 e N.           |
|    | 3 . . . . .               | 66 b               |
|    | 4 . . . . .               | 5 n                |
|    | 5 37 a, 67 a, 117 ff,     | 137 a              |
|    | 7 . . . . .               | 146 h              |
|    | 8 . . . . .               | 147 a N.           |
|    | 10 . 112 gg, 153 b N.     |                    |
|    | 11 . . . . .              | 74 g               |
|    | 13 60 h, 104 g, 122 d,    | 126 i, 135 o       |
|    | 18 . . . . .              | 118 n              |
|    | 19 . . . . .              | 134 g              |
| 34 | 5 . . . . .               | 112 ss             |
|    | 7 . . . . .               | 45 c, 45 g         |
|    | 8 . . . . .               | 140 d              |
|    | 9 . . . . .               | 117 w              |
|    | 15 . . . . .              | 72 h, 119 p        |
|    | 16 . . . . .              | 44 o, 49 k         |

## Genesis

|    |                        |                 |
|----|------------------------|-----------------|
| 34 | 19 . . . . .           | 64 d            |
|    | 22 . . . . .           | 72 ee           |
|    | 23 . . . . .           | 143 a           |
|    | 24 . . . . .           | 145 d           |
|    | 25 . . . . .           | 118 g, 131 g    |
|    | 27 . . . . .           | 144 g           |
|    | 30 . . . . .           | 128 n, 141 d    |
|    | 31 . . . . .           | 107 t, 118 v    |
| 35 | 1 . . . . .            | 65 a            |
|    | 3 . . . . .            | 116 d           |
|    | 7 . 124 h N., 145 i    |                 |
|    | 8 . . . . .            | 126 d, 144 d    |
|    | 11 . . . . .           | 145 f           |
|    | 13 . . . . .           | 142 g           |
|    | 14 . . . . .           | 138 c           |
|    | 22 . . . . .           | 15 p, 45 g      |
|    | 26 . . . . .           | 121 b           |
| 36 | 7 . . . . .            | 133 c           |
| 37 | 2 . . . . .            | 126 x           |
|    | 3 . . . . .            | 112 h, 133 b    |
|    | 4 . . . . .            | 115 c           |
|    | 7 . . . . .            | 47 l, 116 o     |
|    | 8 . . . . .            | 113 g, 150 h    |
|    | 15 . . . . .           | 107 f, 116 s    |
|    | 16 . . . . .           | 142 f N.        |
|    | 17 . . . . .           | 117 f           |
|    | 18 . . . . .           | 117 w           |
|    | 19 . . . . .           | 128 u           |
|    | 21 . . . . .           | 117 ll          |
|    | 23 . . . . .           | 117 cc          |
|    | 29 . . . . .           | 152 l           |
|    | 30 . . . . .           | 116 p, 143 a    |
|    | 32 . . . . .           | 150 i           |
|    | 33 . . . . .           | 60 d, 113 w     |
|    | 35 . . . . .           | 118 n           |
| 38 | 5 . . . . .            | 112 uu          |
|    | 9 . 13 c, 66 i, 112 gg |                 |
|    | 11 . . . . .           | 118 g, 152 w    |
|    | 17 . . . . .           | 159 dd          |
|    | 21 . . . . .           | 126 y           |
|    | 24 20 m, 97 e, 116 s,  | 119 y N.        |
|    | 25 32 l, 74 i, 116 v,  | 142 e           |
|    | 26 . . . . .           | 133 b N.        |
|    | 28 . . . . .           | 144 d           |
|    | 29 . . . . .           | 164 g           |
| 39 | 1 . . . . .            | 142 b           |
|    | 4 130 d, 155 d, 155 n  |                 |
|    | 5 . . . . .            | 145 g           |
|    | 6 . . . . .            | 128 x           |
|    | 8 . . . . .            | 137 c           |
|    | 9 . . . . .            | 107 t, 112 p    |
|    | 10 . . . . .           | 123 c           |
|    | 11 . . . . .           | 35 n, 126 s     |
|    | 14 . . . . .           | 2 b, 29 g, 64 g |
|    | 16 . . . . .           | 72 ee           |
|    | 18 . . . . .           | 114 r           |
|    | 20 . . . . .           | 130 c           |
|    | 22 . . . . .           | 116 s           |

Genesis

39 23 . . . 116 o, 152 l  
40 4 . . . . 139 h  
5 . . . . 129 h  
7 . . . . 84<sup>b</sup> f, 87 t  
8 . . . . 152 o  
9 . . . . 143 d  
10 . . . . 91 e, 164 g  
13 . . . . 72 w  
14 105<sup>b</sup> N., 106 n N.,  
163 d  
15 . . . . 2 b  
16 . . . . 135 f  
20 . . . . 69 w, 71, 121 b  
22 . . . . 144 n  
41 1 116 s, 119 cc, 131 d  
6 . . . . 116 l  
8 . . . . 64 b, 122 i  
11 . . . . 49 e  
12 . . . . 139 c  
15 . . . . 152 o, 157 a  
21 . . . . 91 f, 93 ss  
25 . . . . 116 d  
26 . . . . 126 x, 141 h  
28 . . . . 53 p  
29 . . . . 156 e  
30 . . . . 112 x  
33 . . . . 75 p, 75 h h  
39 . . . . 115 a  
40 . . . . 118 h  
42 . . . . 117 cc  
43 85 h, 113 z, 129 h  
49 . . . . 75 f  
51 . . . . 52 m  
57 . . . . 145 e  
42 1 . . . . 54 f  
2 . . . . 109 g  
4 . . . . 75 r r  
6 . . . . 126 k  
7 . . . . 122 q  
9 . . . . 114 g  
10 . . . . 163 a  
11 . . . . 32 d, 91 f  
13 133 g, 141 b, 152 m  
16 . . . . 110 c  
18 . . . . 110 f  
19 . . . . 134 d  
23 . . . . 126 r  
25 93 m, 120 f, 124 l,  
139 c  
28 . . . . 119 gg  
30 . . . . 124 i, 126 p  
33 . . . . 134 d  
35 111 g, 116 u, 139 c  
36 . . . . 91 f, 135 p  
37 . . . . 159 r  
43 3 . . . . 113 n, 163 c  
5 . . . . 116 q, 159 v  
6 . . . . 150 i N.  
7 107 k, 107 t, 113 g,  
150 d

Genesis

43 9 . . . . 159 o  
10 . . . . 106 p, 159 x  
12 65 d, 72 bb, 93 pp,  
131 e  
14 . . . . 29 u, 106 o  
15 . . . . 20 c, 131 q  
16 . . . . 65 b  
17 . . . . 90 c  
18 . . . . 116 d  
21 . . . . 49 e  
26 . . . . 14 d  
27 . . . . 141 c N.  
28 . . . . 67 g  
29 . . . . 67 n  
33 . . . . 119 gg  
34 . . . . 134 r, 144 n  
44 1 . . . . 47 m, 138 e  
2 . . . . 135 n N.  
3 . . . . 142 e, 144 c  
4 138 e, 156 f, 164 b  
5 . . . . 119 m N.  
9 . . . . 112 ii, 138 f  
10 . . . . 153  
12 . . . . 156 d  
16 . . . . 20 d, 58 k  
22 . . . . 159 g  
23 . . . . 137 b  
28 . . . . 113 w  
29 . . . . 112 k k  
31 . . . . 112 oo  
33 . . . . 69 p, 109 b  
34 . . . . 152 w  
45 4 . . . . 138 d  
7 . . . . 117 n  
8 . . . . 119 h h  
14 . . . . 93 pp  
23 . . . . 102 g  
46 2 . . . . 124 e, 126 r  
3 . . . . 69 m  
4 . . . . 113 w  
22 . . . . 121 b  
27 . . . . 121 b, 132 g  
30 . . . . 108 b  
34 . . . . 127 e  
47 3 . . . . 145 r  
6 . . . . 120 e  
9 . . . . 128 a  
11 . . . . 69 v  
17 . . . . 93 ss  
19 . . . . 67 p  
21 . . . . 139 e N., 143 c  
22 . . . . 112 l  
24 . . . . 145 u  
48 1 . . . . 144 d  
2 . . . . 144 d N<sup>2</sup>  
9 . . . . 58 g, 60 d, 61 g  
11 . . . . 75 n, 115 b  
14 . . . . 141 e, 156 d  
22 . . . . 96, 106 m, 130 g  
49 1 . . . . 75 r r

Genesis

49 3 . . . . 29 u  
4 53 n, 124 b, 144 p,  
147 c  
8 . . . . 135 e  
10 . . . . 20 h, 164 f  
11 7 c, 52 l, 90 m, 91 e,  
93 v, 96, 106 k,  
116 x, 118 p  
12 . . . . 93 d d  
13 . . . . 95 i  
15 . . . . 117 b N.  
17 . . . . 20 h, 109 k  
18 . . . . 106 g  
21 . . . . 126 b  
22 44 m, 80 g, 96,  
145 k  
23 . . . . 67 m, 112 r r  
25 . . . . 117 f f, 119 c  
27 29 l, 29 u, 107 g,  
155 f  
30 . . . . 138 b N.  
50 13 . . . . 138 b N.  
15 . . . . 117 f f, 159 y  
18 . . . . 58 k  
20 . . . . 75 n  
23 . . . . 128 v  
25 . . . . 116 v  
26 . . . . 73 f, 144 d N.

Exodus

1 1 . . . . 49 b N.  
7 117 z, 121 d, 133 k  
10 . . . . 47 k, 75 r r, 112 y  
12 . . . . 107 e  
14 . . . . 119 o  
16 . . . . 67 k, 72 w, 76 i  
18 . . . . 47 l  
19 . . . . 47 l, 112 oo  
20 . . . . 47 l  
21 . . . . 135 o  
22 . . . . 127 b N.  
2 1 . . . . 117 d  
2 . . . . 117 h  
3 20 h, 58 g, 114 m,  
126 m  
4 . . . . 69 m, 71  
6 . . . . 131 m  
9 . . . . 69 x, 70 e, 135 m  
10 . . . . 111 d  
15 . . . . 126 r  
16 . . . . 75 w  
17 . . . . 60 d, 60 h, 135 o  
20 . . . . 46 f, 154 b  
3 2 . . . . 52 s, 119 i, 126 r  
3 . . . . 108 b, 126 v  
8 . . . . 128 x  
9 . . . . 117 r  
10 . . . . 110 i  
11 . . . . 107 u

## Exodus

|    |           |                               |   |
|----|-----------|-------------------------------|---|
| 3  | 13        | . . . . .                     | 112 <i>t</i>                              |
| 15 | . . . . . | 133 <i>l</i>                  |   |
| 18 | . . . . . | 49 <i>l</i>                   |   |
| 19 | . . . . . | 69 <i>x</i> , 157 <i>b</i> N. |   |
| 20 | . . . . . | 63 <i>m</i>                   |   |
| 21 | . . . . . | 164 <i>d</i>                  |   |
| 22 | . . . . . | 95 <i>k</i> , 139 <i>b</i>    |   |
| 4  | 1         | . . . . .                     | 107 <i>i</i>                              |
|    | 2         | . . . . .                     | 37 <i>c</i>                               |
|    | 4         | . . . . .                     | 29 <i>g</i> , 64 <i>c</i>                 |
|    | 10        | . . . . .                     | 61 <i>e</i> , 128 <i>t</i> , 152 <i>d</i> |
|    | 12        | . . . . .                     | 75 <i>ee</i>                              |
|    | 13        | . . . . .                     | 130 <i>d</i> , 155 <i>n</i>               |
|    | 14        | . . . . .                     | 159 <i>g</i>                              |
|    | 21        | . . . . .                     | 112 <i>mm</i> , 143 <i>d</i>              |
| 5  | 2         | . . . . .                     | 107 <i>u</i>                              |
|    | 5         | . . . . .                     | 112 <i>cc</i>                             |
|    | 7         | . . . . .                     | 68 <i>h</i>                               |
|    | 10        | . . . . .                     | 152 <i>m</i>                              |
|    | 11        | . . . . .                     | 138 <i>e</i>                              |
|    | 16        | . . . . .                     | 74 <i>g</i> , 116 <i>t</i> , 152 <i>o</i> |
|    | 18        | . . . . .                     | 163 <i>a</i>                              |
|    | 19        | . . . . .                     | 57 <i>N</i> , 135 <i>k</i>                |
|    | 20        | . . . . .                     | 126 <i>r</i>                              |
|    | 21        | . . . . .                     | 66 <i>i</i> , 102 <i>f</i>                |
|    | 23        | . . . . .                     | 113 <i>v</i>                              |
| 6  | 3         | . . . . .                     | 119 <i>g</i> , 144 <i>l</i> N.            |
|    | 6         | . . . . .                     | 112 <i>x</i>                              |
|    | 10        | . . . . .                     | 20 <i>c</i> N.                            |
|    | 14        | . . . . .                     | 124 <i>r</i>                              |
|    | 28        | . . . . .                     | 52 <i>o</i> , 130 <i>d</i>                |
| 7  | 9         | . . . . .                     | 109 <i>h</i> , 159 <i>d</i>               |
|    | 11        | . . . . .                     | 131 <i>l</i>                              |
|    | 20        | . . . . .                     | 119 <i>g</i>                              |
|    | 27        | . . . . .                     | 52 <i>s</i>                               |
| 8  | 1         | . . . . .                     | 20 <i>m</i> , 75 <i>gg</i>                |
|    | 4         | . . . . .                     | 63 <i>o</i>                               |
|    | 10        | . . . . .                     | 123 <i>e</i>                              |
|    | 17        | . . . . .                     | 117 <i>z</i>                              |
|    | 20        | . . . . .                     | 107 <i>b</i>                              |
|    | 22        | . . . . .                     | 150 <i>a</i> , 159 <i>w</i>               |
| 9  | 4         | . . . . .                     | 130 <i>d</i> , 155 <i>n</i>               |
|    | 9         | . . . . .                     | 117 <i>c</i>                              |
|    | 15        | . . . . .                     | 106 <i>p</i>                              |
|    | 16        | . . . . .                     | 115 <i>e</i> N.                           |
|    | 18        | . . . . .                     | 91 <i>e</i> , 127 <i>f</i>                |
|    | 23        | . . . . .                     | 63 <i>n</i> , 69 <i>x</i>                 |
|    | 27        | . . . . .                     | 126 <i>k</i>                              |
|    | 30        | . . . . .                     | 107 <i>c</i>                              |
|    | 31        | . . . . .                     | 141 <i>d</i>                              |
| 10 | 1         | . . . . .                     | 126 <i>y</i>                              |
|    | 3         | . . . . .                     | 51 <i>l</i> , 106 <i>h</i>                |
|    | 4         | . . . . .                     | 65 <i>e</i>                               |
|    | 6         | . . . . .                     | 161 <i>b</i>                              |
|    | 7         | . . . . .                     | 107 <i>c</i> , 152 <i>r</i>               |
|    | 8         | . . . . .                     | 137 <i>a</i>                              |
|    | 9         | . . . . .                     | 91 <i>k</i> , 127 <i>e</i>                |
|    | 10        | . . . . .                     | 154 <i>a</i> N.                           |
|    | 11        | . . . . .                     | 135 <i>p</i>                              |
|    | 22        | . . . . .                     | 133 <i>i</i>                              |

## Exodus

|    |    |           |  |
|----|----|-----------|--|
| 10 | 28 | . . . . . | 69 <i>v</i>  |
| 11 | 6  | . . . . . | 135 <i>o</i>   |
|    | 8  | . . . . . | 9 <i>v</i>   |
| 12 | 4  | . . . . . | 133 <i>c</i> , 139 <i>c</i>  |
|    | 5  | . . . . . | 128 <i>v</i>   |
|    | 6  | . . . . . | 88 <i>c</i>  |
|    | 8  | . . . . . | 154 <i>a</i> N.  |
|    | 12 | . . . . . | 124 <i>g</i>   |
|    | 13 | . . . . . | 159 <i>g</i>   |
|    | 14 | . . . . . | 67 <i>n</i>  |
|    | 15 | . . . . . | 20 <i>g</i> , 112 <i>mm</i> , 116 <i>w</i> , 126 <i>w</i>                            |
|    | 16 | . . . . . | 146 <i>c</i> , 152 <i>b</i>  |
|    | 18 | . . . . . | 134 <i>o</i>   |
|    | 21 | . . . . . | 46 <i>d</i>  |
|    | 23 | . . . . . | 126 <i>l</i> N.  |
|    | 27 | . . . . . | 61 <i>a</i>  |
|    | 31 | . . . . . | 20 <i>g</i>  |
|    | 34 | . . . . . | 107 <i>c</i>   |
|    | 39 | . . . . . | 117 <i>ii</i>  |
|    | 43 | . . . . . | 119 <i>m</i>   |
|    | 48 | . . . . . | 113 <i>gg</i>  |
|    | 49 | . . . . . | 145 <i>u</i>   |
| 13 | 2  | . . . . . | 52 <i>n</i>  |
|    | 3  | . . . . . | 113 <i>bb</i>  |
|    | 7  | . . . . . | 118 <i>k</i> , 121 <i>b</i>  |
|    | 8  | . . . . . | 138 <i>h</i>   |
|    | 18 | . . . . . | 67 <i>y</i>  |
|    | 21 | . . . . . | 53 <i>q</i>  |
| 14 | 2  | . . . . . | 93 <i>q</i>  |
|    | 11 | . . . . . | 61 <i>c</i> , 152 <i>y</i>   |
|    | 20 | . . . . . | 139 <i>e</i> N.  |
| 15 | 1  | . . . . . | 20 <i>e</i> , 107 <i>c</i> , 146 <i>f</i>  |
|    | 2  | . . . . . | 58 <i>k</i> , 80 <i>g</i> , 117 <i>b</i>   |
|    | 4  | . . . . . | 128 <i>r</i>   |
|    | 5  | . . . . . | 58 <i>g</i> , 75 <i>dd</i> , 91 <i>l</i>   |
|    | 6  | . . . . . | 90 <i>l</i>  |
|    | 7  | . . . . . | 116 <i>i</i>   |
|    | 8  | . . . . . | 15 <i>c</i>  |
|    | 9  | . . . . . | 117 <i>z</i> , 120 <i>g</i> N., 154 <i>a</i> N.                                      |
|    | 10 | . . . . . | 35 <i>g</i>  |
|    | 11 | . . . . . | 20 <i>e</i> , 20 <i>g</i>  |
|    | 12 | . . . . . | 107 <i>d</i>   |
|    | 13 | . . . . . | 20 <i>e</i> , 64 <i>d</i> , 138 <i>g</i>   |
|    | 14 | . . . . . | 47 <i>m</i>  |
|    | 15 | . . . . . | 107 <i>c</i>   |
|    | 16 | . . . . . | 20 <i>e</i> , 67 <i>g</i> , 90 <i>g</i> , 132 <i>c</i> , 138 <i>g</i> , 164 <i>f</i> |
|    | 17 | . . . . . | 20 <i>h</i> , 155 <i>h</i>   |
|    | 20 | . . . . . | 47 <i>l</i> , 146 <i>c</i>   |
|    | 21 | . . . . . | 20 <i>e</i>  |
|    | 24 | . . . . . | 20 <i>c</i>  |
|    | 26 | . . . . . | 113 <i>o</i>   |
| 16 | 2  | . . . . . | 72 <i>ee</i>   |
|    | 6  | . . . . . | 112 <i>oo</i>  |
|    | 7  | . . . . . | 32 <i>d</i> , 72 <i>ee</i> , 141 <i>i</i> N.   |
|    | 8  | . . . . . | 72 <i>ee</i>   |
|    | 12 | . . . . . | 88 <i>c</i>  |
|    | 14 | . . . . . | 55 <i>k</i>  |

## Exodus

|    |    |           |  |
|----|----|-----------|--|
| 16 | 16 | . . . . . | 118 <i>h</i>                               |
|    | 20 | . . . . . | 27 <i>o</i> , 67 <i>n</i> , 121 <i>d</i>   |
|    |    | . . . . . | N., 139 <i>h</i> N.                        |
|    | 21 | . . . . . | 123 <i>c</i> , 159 <i>g</i>                |
|    | 22 | . . . . . | 134 <i>e</i>                               |
|    | 23 | . . . . . | 63 <i>i</i> , 76 <i>d</i>                  |
|    | 29 | . . . . . | 91 <i>l</i> , 69 <i>p</i> , 139 <i>d</i>   |
|    | 32 | . . . . . | 117 <i>cc</i>                              |
|    | 33 | . . . . . | 125 <i>b</i>                               |
| 17 | 1  | . . . . . | 115 <i>f</i>                               |
|    | 2  | . . . . . | 47 <i>m</i>                                |
|    | 3  | . . . . . | 72 <i>ee</i> , 117 <i>e</i>                |
|    | 4  | . . . . . | 112 <i>x</i>                               |
|    | 6  | . . . . . | 49 <i>k</i>                                |
|    | 7  | . . . . . | 152 <i>k</i>                               |
|    | 12 | . . . . . | 141 <i>d</i> , 145 <i>n</i>                |
|    | 14 | . . . . . | 126 <i>s</i>                               |
| 18 | 4  | . . . . . | 119 <i>i</i>                               |
|    | 5  | . . . . . | 118 <i>g</i>                               |
|    | 9  | . . . . . | 75 <i>r</i>                                |
|    | 14 | . . . . . | 102 <i>b</i>                               |
|    | 18 | . . . . . | 75 <i>n</i> , 133 <i>c</i>                 |
|    | 20 | . . . . . | 155 <i>d</i> , 155 <i>i</i>                |
|    | 21 | . . . . . | 97 <i>h</i>                                |
|    | 22 | . . . . . | 127 <i>b</i>                               |
|    | 23 | . . . . . | 49 <i>i</i>                                |
|    | 26 | . . . . . | 47 <i>g</i> , 112 <i>g</i>                 |
|    | 27 | . . . . . | 119 <i>s</i>                               |
| 19 | 1  | . . . . . | 102 <i>f</i>                               |
|    | 3  | . . . . . | 53 <i>n</i>                                |
|    | 5  | . . . . . | 113 <i>o</i>                               |
|    | 8  | . . . . . | 135 <i>r</i>                               |
|    | 13 | . . . . . | 69 <i>t</i>                                |
|    | 15 | . . . . . | 134 <i>o</i> N.                            |
|    | 18 | . . . . . | 93 <i>dd</i>                               |
|    | 19 | . . . . . | 113 <i>u</i>                               |
|    | 23 | . . . . . | 72 <i>w</i> , 72 <i>x</i>                  |
| 20 | 2  | . . . . . | 15 <i>p</i> , 138 <i>d</i>                 |
|    | 3  | . . . . . | 107 <i>o</i> , 132 <i>h</i>                |
|    | 5  | . . . . . | 60 <i>b</i> , 129 <i>e</i>                 |
|    | 8  | . . . . . | 113 <i>bb</i>                              |
|    | 9  | . . . . . | 118 <i>k</i>                               |
|    | 15 | . . . . . | 107 <i>o</i>                               |
|    | 18 | . . . . . | 116 <i>o</i>                               |
|    | 20 | . . . . . | 135 <i>m</i> , 152 <i>x</i>                |
|    | 24 | . . . . . | 127 <i>e</i>                               |
|    | 25 | . . . . . | 72 <i>k</i> , 117 <i>kk</i>                |
| 21 | 2  | . . . . . | 159 <i>bb</i>                              |
|    | 4  | . . . . . | 145 <i>h</i> , 146 <i>e</i>                |
|    | 5  | . . . . . | 113 <i>o</i>                               |
|    | 8  | . . . . . | 61 <i>b</i> , 75 <i>ee</i> , 103 <i>g</i>  |
|    | 12 | . . . . . | 104 <i>g</i> , 112 <i>n</i> , 116 <i>w</i> |
|    | 13 | . . . . . | 112 <i>ii</i>                              |
|    | 18 | . . . . . | 47 <i>m</i>                                |
|    | 20 | . . . . . | 126 <i>r</i>                               |
|    | 28 | . . . . . | 117 <i>d</i> , 121 <i>b</i>                |
|    | 29 | . . . . . | 124 <i>i</i>                               |
|    | 31 | . . . . . | 29 <i>i</i> N.                             |
|    | 35 | . . . . . | 135 <i>m</i>                               |
|    | 36 | . . . . . | 159 <i>cc</i>                              |

## Exodus

|    |    |  |
|----|----|--|
| 21 | 37 | 47 <i>f</i> , 123 <i>a</i>               |
| 22 | 1  | 124 <i>n</i>                             |
|    | 3  | 51 <i>k</i> , 113 <i>o</i>               |
|    | 4  | 53 <i>n</i>                              |
|    | 5  | 117 <i>g</i>                             |
|    | 8  | 138 <i>e</i>                             |
|    | 11 | 113 <i>o</i>                             |
|    | 17 | 94 <i>d</i>                              |
|    | 22 | 113 <i>m</i> , 163 <i>c</i> N.           |
|    | 25 | 135 <i>o</i>                             |
|    | 29 | 60 <i>d</i>                              |
|    | 30 | 131 <i>k</i>                             |
| 23 | 4  | 21 <i>h</i>                              |
|    | 8  | 107 <i>g</i>                             |
|    | 9  | 158 <i>a</i>                             |
|    | 16 | 61 <i>a</i>                              |
|    | 21 | 51 <i>n</i> , 67 <i>y</i>                |
|    | 22 | 113 <i>o</i>                             |
|    | 24 | 60 <i>b</i>                              |
|    | 26 | 94 <i>d</i>                              |
|    | 27 | 117 <i>ii</i> N.                         |
|    | 28 | 126 <i>t</i>                             |
|    | 30 | 123 <i>e</i> , 133 <i>k</i>              |
|    | 31 | 58 <i>g</i>                              |
| 24 | 3  | 118 <i>g</i>                             |
|    | 4  | 134 <i>f</i>                             |
|    | 10 | 139 <i>g</i>                             |
|    | 12 | 154 <i>a</i> N.                          |
| 25 | 5  | 52 <i>q</i>                              |
|    | 11 | 49 <i>l</i>                              |
|    | 15 | 135 <i>o</i> N.                          |
|    | 18 | 117 <i>hh</i>                            |
|    | 28 | 117 <i>hh</i>                            |
|    | 29 | 20 <i>f</i> , 117 <i>hh</i>              |
|    | 31 | 63 <i>h</i>                              |
|    | 33 | 123 <i>d</i>                             |
|    | 35 | 123 <i>d</i>                             |
|    | 40 | 121 <i>c</i>                             |
| 26 | 2  | 134 <i>n</i>                             |
|    | 3  | 123 <i>d</i> , 139 <i>e</i>              |
|    | 19 | 123 <i>d</i>                             |
|    | 33 | 49 <i>h</i> , 53 <i>r</i> , 133 <i>i</i> |
| 27 | 11 | 134 <i>n</i>                             |
| 28 | 9  | 117 <i>d</i>                             |
|    | 10 | 134 <i>c</i> N.                          |
|    | 17 | 131 <i>d</i>                             |
|    | 20 | 117 <i>y</i>                             |
|    | 21 | 139 <i>c</i>                             |
|    | 32 | 165 <i>a</i>                             |
|    | 43 | 165 <i>a</i>                             |
| 29 | 1  | 66 <i>g</i>                              |
|    | 2  | 126 <i>m</i>                             |
|    | 12 | 119 <i>w</i> N.                          |
|    | 31 | 128 <i>p</i>                             |
|    | 35 | 103 <i>b</i>                             |
| 30 | 4  | 103 <i>g</i>                             |
|    | 20 | 117 <i>y</i> N.                          |
|    | 32 | 73 <i>f</i>                              |
| 31 | 4  | 63 <i>i</i>                              |
|    | 13 | 60 <i>f</i>                              |

## Exodus

|    |    |  |
|----|----|--|
| 31 | 17 | 51 <i>m</i>                                |
|    | 18 | 124 <i>g</i>                               |
| 32 | 1  | 126 <i>aa</i> , 137 <i>c</i>               |
|    | 3  | 54 <i>f</i> , 117 <i>w</i>                 |
|    | 4  | 72 <i>t</i> , 145 <i>i</i>                 |
|    | 6  | 52 <i>n</i> , 113 <i>e</i>                 |
|    | 12 | 150 <i>e</i>                               |
|    | 25 | 5 <i>n</i> , 58 <i>g</i> , 116 <i>i</i>    |
|    | 26 | 137 <i>c</i>                               |
|    | 29 | 114 <i>p</i>                               |
|    | 30 | 108 <i>h</i>                               |
|    | 32 | 159 <i>dd</i> , 167 <i>a</i>               |
|    | 33 | 137 <i>c</i>                               |
|    | 34 | 112 <i>oo</i>                              |
| 33 | 3  | 27 <i>q</i>                                |
|    | 6  | 54 <i>f</i> , 117 <i>w</i>                 |
|    | 7  | 107 <i>e</i> , 112 <i>e</i> , 113 <i>h</i> |
|    | 10 | 112 <i>kk</i>                              |
|    | 11 | 156 <i>c</i>                               |
|    | 12 | 75 <i>gg</i>                               |
|    | 13 | 69 <i>b</i> N., 91 <i>k</i>                |
|    | 14 | 150 <i>a</i>                               |
|    | 19 | 67 <i>ee</i>                               |
|    | 20 | 60 <i>d</i> , 159 <i>gg</i>                |
|    | 23 | 124 <i>b</i>                               |
| 34 | 1  | 124 <i>q</i>                               |
|    | 10 | 122 <i>q</i>                               |
|    | 13 | 47 <i>m</i>                                |
|    | 19 | 51 <i>g</i>                                |
|    | 24 | 51 <i>l</i>                                |
|    | 34 | 159 <i>k</i>                               |
| 36 | 1  | 103 <i>g</i>                               |
|    | 29 | 112 <i>ss</i>                              |
| 38 | 3  | 117 <i>hh</i>                              |
|    | 5  | 95 <i>n</i>                                |
| 39 | 17 | 131 <i>d</i>                               |
|    | 18 | 60 <i>h</i>                                |
|    | 23 | 165 <i>a</i>                               |

## Leviticus

|   |    |                                |
|---|----|--------------------------------|
| 1 | 1  | 49 <i>b</i> N.                 |
|   | 17 | 156 <i>f</i>                   |
| 2 | 1  | 139 <i>d</i> , 145 <i>t</i>    |
|   | 2  | 85 <i>b</i>                    |
|   | 8  | 144 <i>p</i> N.                |
| 4 | 2  | 119 <i>w</i> N., 139 <i>d</i>  |
|   | 23 | 69 <i>w</i>                    |
| 5 | 9  | 75 <i>hh</i>                   |
|   | 11 | 131 <i>d</i>                   |
|   | 13 | 119 <i>w</i> N.                |
|   | 15 | 128 <i>d</i>                   |
| 6 | 2  | 91 <i>e</i>                    |
|   | 3  | 128 <i>d</i>                   |
|   | 7  | 113 <i>gg</i>                  |
|   | 8  | 118 <i>g</i> , 135 <i>o</i> N. |
|   | 9  | 118 <i>g</i>                   |
|   | 13 | 131 <i>c</i>                   |
| 7 | 8  | 117 <i>d</i>                   |
|   | 35 | 53 <i>l</i> , 155 <i>t</i>     |

## Leviticus

|    |    |  |
|----|----|--|
| 8  | 11 | 76 <i>c</i>                                |
|    | 16 | 91 <i>c</i>                                |
| 9  | 6  | 107 <i>q</i> , 120 <i>c</i>                |
| 10 | 6  | 109 <i>g</i>                               |
|    | 10 | 114 <i>p</i>                               |
|    | 19 | 75 <i>rr</i> , 100 <i>k</i> , 159 <i>g</i> |
| 11 | 7  | 67 <i>g</i>                                |
|    | 23 | 88 <i>f</i>                                |
|    | 35 | 53 <i>u</i>                                |
|    | 42 | 5 <i>n</i>                                 |
|    | 43 | 74 <i>k</i>                                |
|    | 44 | 54 <i>k</i>                                |
| 13 | 4  | 91 <i>e</i>                                |
|    | 19 | 131 <i>i</i>                               |
|    | 34 | 127 <i>e</i>                               |
|    | 55 | 54 <i>h</i>                                |
| 14 | 34 | 101 <i>a</i>                               |
|    | 43 | 53 <i>l</i>                                |
|    | 46 | 53 <i>l</i>                                |
|    | 55 | 54 <i>h</i>                                |
| 15 | 20 | 53 <i>r</i>                                |
| 16 | 8  | 30 <i>n</i>                                |
| 17 | 14 | 145 <i>l</i>                               |
| 18 | 7  | 75 <i>hh</i>                               |
|    | 21 | 95 <i>q</i> N.                             |
|    | 25 | 76 <i>h</i>                                |
|    | 27 | 34 <i>b</i> N.                             |
|    | 28 | 116 <i>s</i>                               |
| 19 | 9  | 61 <i>d</i> , 142 <i>f</i> N.              |
|    | 16 | 118 <i>q</i>                               |
|    | 20 | 113 <i>w</i>                               |
|    | 28 | 102 <i>i</i>                               |
| 20 | 7  | 54 <i>k</i>                                |
|    | 10 | 117 <i>d</i>                               |
|    | 14 | 117 <i>d</i>                               |
|    | 19 | 75 <i>hh</i>                               |
| 21 | 4  | 67 <i>t</i>                                |
|    | 9  | 67 <i>t</i> , 164 <i>d</i>                 |
|    | 21 | 142 <i>f</i> N.                            |
| 23 | 17 | 14 <i>d</i>                                |
|    | 22 | 61 <i>d</i>                                |
|    | 39 | 61 <i>a</i>                                |
|    | 42 | 126 <i>r</i>                               |
| 24 | 5  | 49 <i>l</i> , 117 <i>ii</i>                |
|    | 22 | 134 <i>d</i>                               |
| 25 | 5  | 20 <i>h</i>                                |
|    | 10 | 134 <i>o</i> N.                            |
|    | 20 | 159 <i>w</i>                               |
|    | 21 | 49 <i>l</i> , 75 <i>m</i>                  |
|    | 33 | 145 <i>u</i> N.                            |
|    | 36 | 76 <i>i</i>                                |
|    | 48 | 130 <i>d</i>                               |
| 26 | 15 | 67 <i>dd</i>                               |
|    | 18 | 52 <i>p</i>                                |
|    | 25 | 49 <i>l</i>                                |
|    | 33 | 52 <i>n</i>                                |
|    | 34 | 67 <i>y</i> , 75 <i>m</i>                  |
|    | 37 | 118 <i>s</i> N.                            |
|    | 42 | 128 <i>d</i> , 131 <i>r</i>                |
|    | 43 | 67 <i>y</i>                                |

## Leviticus

27 2 . . . . . 128 d  
23 . . . . . 127 i

## Numbers

1 1 . . . . . 49 b N.  
2 . . . . . 124 r  
47 . . . . . 54 l  
2 33 . . . . . 54 l  
3 1 . . . . . 52 o, 130 d  
9 . . . . . 123 e  
26 . . . . . 117 l  
46 . . . . . 117 m, 134 k  
49 . . . . . 85 t  
4 2 . . . . . 113 b b  
23 . . . . . 45 g  
27 . . . . . 128 v  
5 2 . . . . . 102 i  
3 . . . . . 119 e  
10 . . . . . 117 m, 139 c  
17 . . . . . 128 p  
19 . . . . . 110 i  
20 . . . . . 167 a  
22 . . . . . 53 g, 66 f  
23 . . . . . 126 s  
27 . . . . . 112 y  
6 7 . . . . . 74 b, 96  
9 . . . . . 133 k N., 144 e  
26 . . . . . 109 b  
7 2 . . . . . 5 n  
11 . . . . . 123 d  
8 7 . . . . . 27 g, 64 d  
24 . . . . . 45 g  
9 20 . . . . . 131 e  
10 3 . . . . . 145 c  
4 . . . . . 134 r N.  
29 . . . . . 138 b  
35 . . . . . 5 n  
36 . . . . . 118 f  
11 4 . . . . . 35 d, 151 a N.  
5 . . . . . 106 g  
7 . . . . . 93 h  
10 . . . . . 117 h  
11 . . . . . 74 k  
12 . . . . . 69 s, 122 f N.  
15 . . . . . 32 g  
16 . . . . . 48 i  
17 . . . . . 119 m  
20 . . . . . 80 h  
25 23 d, 68 f, 72 a,  
120 d N., 126 x  
27 . . . . . 126 r  
29 . . . . . 154 b  
12 1 . . . . . 146 g  
2 . . . . . 133 k N.  
4 . . . . . 97 i  
6 . . . . . 128 d  
13 . . . . . 105 b N.  
14 . . . . . 154 b  
13 21 . . . . . 102 f

## Numbers

13 27 . . . . . 118 f  
32 . . . . . 72 l  
14 2 . . . . . 106 p, 151 e  
16 . . . . . 69 n, 114 s  
17 . . . . . 5 n  
21 . . . . . 167 b  
24 . . . . . 119 g  
27 . . . . . 72 ce  
31 . . . . . 76 h  
33 . . . . . 91 l  
34 . . . . . 123 d  
35 . . . . . 67 g  
40 . . . . . 58 k  
41 . . . . . 135 p  
15 15 . . . . . 161 c  
24 . . . . . 119 w  
29 . . . . . 143 c  
31 . . . . . 51 k  
35 . . . . . 113 g  
16 13 . . . . . 54 e  
15 . . . . . 117 d  
22 . . . . . 100 m, 150 m  
29 121 b, 159 c N.,  
159 g  
17 6 . . . . . 72 w  
10 . . . . . 67 t, 72 dd  
17 . . . . . 139 c  
20 . . . . . 72 ce  
25 . . . . . 128 v  
27 . . . . . 106 n  
28 67 e, 67 dd, 150 g  
N.  
18 8 . . . . . 143 e  
26 . . . . . 72 i  
19 12 . . . . . 74 b  
20 3 . . . . . 65 a, 154 b  
5 . . . . . 59 a, 152 a N.  
18 . . . . . 152 w  
21 . . . . . 66 i  
21 1 . . . . . 75 g  
5 . . . . . 59 a  
9 . . . . . 117 d  
14 . . . . . 127 f  
15 . . . . . 112 pp  
17 . . . . . 63 l  
20 . . . . . 112 ss  
23 . . . . . 157 b N.  
24 . . . . . 112 pp  
27 . . . . . 54 c, 75 h h  
30 . . . . . 67 g, 69 r, 76 f  
35 . . . . . 164 d  
22 1 . . . . . 125 h  
6 20 c, 53 u, 67 o,  
120 c, 138 e  
12 . . . . . 103 c  
13 . . . . . 69 x, 115 c  
17 . . . . . 67 o  
19 . . . . . 109 d, i  
29 . . . . . 151 e N.  
33 . . . . . 103 b, 117 e

## Numbers

22 38 . . . . . 114 m  
23 3 . . . . . 130 d, 137 c  
6 . . . . . 64 c, 67 o, 93 aa  
8 . . . . . 58 g  
10 . . . . . 151 a  
13 20 o, 48 i, 67 o N.,  
69 x, 100 o N.,  
152 b  
14 . . . . . 118 f  
15 . . . . . 51 p  
18 . . . . . 90 o, 96  
19 27 g, 64 d, 109 i,  
166 a  
20 . . . . . 159 g  
24 . . . . . 124 n  
25 . . . . . 10 h, 67 g  
24 1 . . . . . 123 c  
3 . . . . . 90 o, 96  
4 . . . . . 116 k  
5 . . . . . 148 b  
6 . . . . . 75 x  
7 . . . . . 54 c, 93 e  
10 . . . . . 113 r  
17 . . . . . 55 f  
22 . . . . . 29 f  
23 . . . . . 115 k  
24 . . . . . 93 y  
25 12 5 n, 128 d, 131 r N.  
28 62 . . . . . 54 l  
27 7 . . . . . 135 o  
29 39 . . . . . 93 m  
31 28 . . . . . 134 d  
32 6 . . . . . 150 m  
14 . . . . . 69 h  
17 . . . . . 72 p  
20 . . . . . 159 c N., 167 b  
23 . . . . . 47 m, 159 g  
30 . . . . . 68 i  
32 . . . . . 32 d  
42 . . . . . 103 g  
34 2 . . . . . 131 f  
7 . . . . . 75 bb N.  
14 . . . . . 23 c  
36 6 . . . . . 135 o

## Deuteronomy

1 1 . . . . . 101 a  
2 . . . . . 118 g, 134 f  
3 . . . . . 134 o  
5 . . . . . 120 g, 120 h  
7 . . . . . 119 s  
13 . . . . . 119 s  
16 . . . . . 75 t, 112 u  
17 47 m, 53 r, 133 c,  
161 c  
18 . . . . . 117 gg  
19 . . . . . 118 h, 126 w  
21 . . . . . 69 f  
23 . . . . . 134 f

**Deuteronomy**

|   |    |                                       |
|---|----|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | 24 | 120 h                                 |
|   | 27 | 115 c, 115 f                          |
|   | 28 | 124 q                                 |
|   | 33 | 53 q                                  |
|   | 34 | 65 e, 149 b                           |
|   | 40 | 119 s                                 |
|   | 41 | 135 n                                 |
|   | 44 | 67 g, 67 y, 107 g                     |
|   | 46 | 138 c                                 |
| 2 | 9  | 75 bb, 118 q                          |
|   | 13 | 119 s                                 |
|   | 14 | 134 h                                 |
|   | 23 | 126 w                                 |
|   | 24 | 23 g, 69 f, 75 cc,<br>110 h, 120 g, h |
|   | 27 | 108 c, 123 e, 133 k,<br>156 d         |
|   | 28 | 49 m                                  |
|   | 31 | 67 w, 69 f                            |
| 3 | 3  | 164 d                                 |
|   | 5  | 128 c                                 |
|   | 11 | 100 i                                 |
|   | 13 | 125 d N.                              |
|   | 21 | 126 k                                 |
|   | 26 | 69 v                                  |
| 4 | 1  | 44 d, 69 s                            |
|   | 8  | 128 p                                 |
|   | 10 | 115 d, 165 b                          |
|   | 15 | 52 o, 130 d                           |
|   | 20 | 74 l                                  |
|   | 21 | 54 k                                  |
|   | 26 | 51 k                                  |
|   | 36 | 61 d                                  |
|   | 39 | 72 w                                  |
|   | 41 | 90 c                                  |
| 5 | 3  | 135 g                                 |
|   | 6  | 15 p, 138 d                           |
|   | 9  | 60 b                                  |
|   | 12 | 113 bb                                |
|   | 19 | 120 d N.                              |
|   | 23 | 132 h                                 |
|   | 24 | 32 h                                  |
|   | 26 | 151 c                                 |
| 6 | 3  | 118 g, 165 b                          |
|   | 7  | 119 l                                 |
|   | 11 | 49 m, 96                              |
|   | 17 | 58 g                                  |
| 7 | 5  | 52 n                                  |
|   | 15 | 60 d                                  |
|   | 16 | 72 r, 109 d                           |
|   | 24 | 53 l                                  |
|   | 25 | 127 e                                 |
| 8 | 3  | 44 l, 72 o                            |
|   | 5  | 61 h                                  |
|   | 9  | 93 aa                                 |
|   | 13 | 75 u                                  |
|   | 14 | 116 f                                 |
|   | 15 | 127 i                                 |
|   | 16 | 44 l, 72 o                            |
|   | 19 | 106 i                                 |

**Deuteronomy**

|    |    |                            |
|----|----|----------------------------|
| 9  | 7  | 138 c                      |
|    | 8  | 54 k                       |
|    | 18 | 54 k                       |
| 10 | 5  | 29 g                       |
|    | 17 | 102 m, 126 v, 133 i        |
|    | 19 | 112 aa                     |
|    | 22 | 119 i                      |
| 11 | 2  | 117 l                      |
|    | 15 | 49 m                       |
|    | 30 | 150 e                      |
| 12 | 3  | 52 n                       |
|    | 14 | 61 h                       |
| 13 | 1  | 109 d                      |
|    | 3  | 60 b                       |
|    | 6  | 116 f                      |
|    | 9  | 109 d                      |
| 14 | 17 | 80 k                       |
| 15 | 2  | 113 gg                     |
|    | 7  | 119 w N., 139 d            |
|    | 14 | 93 k                       |
|    | 18 | 128 c, 133 k               |
| 16 | 6  | 119 g                      |
|    | 13 | 93 k                       |
|    | 20 | 133 k                      |
| 17 | 2  | 167 b                      |
|    | 5  | 124 o                      |
|    | 6  | 144 e                      |
|    | 8  | 102 h                      |
|    | 14 | 44 d, 49 m                 |
|    | 17 | 109 g                      |
| 18 | 1  | 68 c, 131 h                |
|    | 16 | 109 d                      |
| 20 | 2  | 61 d                       |
|    | 5  | 137 c                      |
|    | 8  | 121 b                      |
|    | 14 | 128 h                      |
| 21 | 3  | 121 a, 145 g               |
|    | 4  | 121 a                      |
|    | 7  | 44 m, 145 k                |
|    | 8  | 55 k                       |
|    | 10 | 135 p, 145 m               |
|    | 11 | 49 m, 96, 130 e            |
|    | 13 | 101 a                      |
| 22 | 1  | 159 gg                     |
|    | 19 | 17 c, 127 e                |
|    | 23 | 131 b                      |
| 23 | 5  | 61 d, 130 c N <sup>1</sup> |
|    | 11 | 20 h                       |
|    | 15 | 93 ss, 128 p               |
|    | 25 | 96                         |
| 24 | 1  | 167 b                      |
|    | 4  | 54 h                       |
|    | 8  | 51 n                       |
|    | 10 | 23 d                       |
|    | 13 | 58 i                       |
| 25 | 2  | 96, 128 v                  |
|    | 12 | 67 ee                      |
|    | 13 | 123 f                      |
| 26 | 5  | 119 i                      |
|    | 12 | 53 k                       |

**Deuteronomy**

|    |    |   |
|----|----|---|
| 27 | 2  | 72 w                                    |
|    | 6  | 117 hh                                  |
|    | 9  | 16 b                                    |
| 28 | 24 | 58 g                                    |
|    | 36 | 131 d                                   |
|    | 43 | 133 k                                   |
|    | 48 | 53 l, 145 m                             |
|    | 49 | 155 d                                   |
|    | 52 | 67 v                                    |
|    | 56 | 113 d, 142 f N.                         |
|    | 57 | 74 i                                    |
|    | 59 | 91 n                                    |
|    | 62 | 119 i                                   |
|    | 66 | 75 rr                                   |
|    | 67 | 151 b                                   |
| 29 | 14 | 100 o N.                                |
|    | 15 | 157 c                                   |
|    | 18 | 69 h N.                                 |
|    | 21 | 167 b                                   |
|    | 28 | 5 n                                     |
| 30 | 4  | 92 b N.                                 |
| 31 | 12 | 120 e                                   |
|    | 16 | 93 gg                                   |
|    | 21 | 164 d                                   |
|    | 29 | 74 g                                    |
| 32 | 1  | 2 r, 91 l, 117 b                        |
|    | 3  | 69 o                                    |
|    | 4  | 126 c                                   |
|    | 5  | 13 c, 152 e                             |
|    | 6  | 20 g, 75 ll, 100 i,<br>152 a N.         |
|    | 7  | 60 f, 87 n, 123 c                       |
|    | 8  | 53 k, 109 k                             |
|    | 10 | 58 i, 58 k                              |
|    | 11 | 52 n, 155 g                             |
|    | 15 | 20 g, 144 p, 154<br>N (a)               |
|    | 17 | 144 p, 152 a N.,<br>155 e, 155 f, 155 h |
|    | 18 | 75 s, 109 k                             |
|    | 20 | 108 a                                   |
|    | 21 | 152 a N.                                |
|    | 22 | 69 f                                    |
|    | 24 | 116 h, 116 l                            |
|    | 26 | 58 a N., 75 mm                          |
|    | 27 | 139 y                                   |
|    | 28 | 50 e, 93 aa, 124 e                      |
|    | 29 | 159 x                                   |
|    | 30 | 134 s                                   |
|    | 31 | 156 b N.                                |
|    | 32 | 20 h                                    |
|    | 35 | 52 o, 145 o, 155 l                      |
|    | 36 | 29 v, 44 f, 152 s                       |
|    | 37 | 29 t, 75 u                              |
|    | 39 | 141 h N <sup>2</sup>                    |
|    | 40 | 93 aa N.                                |
|    | 41 | 159 n                                   |
|    | 46 | 117 gg, 165 b                           |
|    | 50 | 110 c                                   |
| 33 | 2  | 112 pp                                  |

## Deuteronomy

|    |    |                     |
|----|----|---------------------|
| 83 | 3  | 116 s               |
|    | 4  | 131 s               |
|    | 9  | 19 c, 117 b N.      |
|    | 11 | 116 i, 117 u, 165 b |
|    | 12 | 44 c                |
|    | 16 | 48 d, 90 l, 90 m    |
|    | 19 | 130 f, 133 h        |
|    | 21 | 68 h, 76 d          |
|    | 23 | 48 i, 69 f          |
|    | 24 | 119 w, 126 m        |
|    | 26 | 91 l                |
|    | 27 | 131 s               |
| 34 | 8  | 67 g                |
|    | 9  | 116 f               |

## Joshua

|   |    |                           |
|---|----|---------------------------|
| 1 | 1  | 49 b N.                   |
|   | 2  | 131 n                     |
|   | 5  | 106 c                     |
|   | 7  | 107 p, 135 o N.           |
|   | 8  | 91 k                      |
|   | 12 | 125 d N.                  |
| 2 | 2  | 63 i                      |
|   | 4  | 60 d, 135 p               |
|   | 5  | 114 k                     |
|   | 6  | 59 g                      |
|   | 10 | 117 c, 157 c              |
|   | 13 | 63 q, 96                  |
|   | 15 | 126 r                     |
|   | 16 | 63 c, 72 q, 74 k          |
|   | 17 | 34 a N., 59 h             |
|   | 18 | 59 h                      |
|   | 20 | 126 y                     |
| 3 | 5  | 54 k                      |
|   | 7  | 115 c                     |
|   | 9  | 66 c                      |
|   | 11 | 128 c                     |
|   | 12 | 134 q                     |
|   | 14 | 127 g                     |
|   | 16 | 120 g                     |
| 4 | 3  | 72 s                      |
|   | 4  | 134 k                     |
|   | 6  | 47 m                      |
|   | 7  | 9 v                       |
|   | 14 | 52 l                      |
|   | 24 | 74 g                      |
| 5 | 2  | 120 g, 124 q              |
|   | 8  | 63 q                      |
| 6 | 8  | 134 l                     |
|   | 9  | 113 u                     |
|   | 13 | 112 i, 113 i              |
|   | 17 | 75 oo                     |
|   | 22 | 134 l                     |
| 7 | 7  | 63 p, 113 x, 126 e, 154 b |
|   | 9  | 75 h h                    |
|   | 15 | 121 b                     |
|   | 21 | 127 i, 134 g              |
|   | 24 | 154 a N.                  |

## Joshua

|    |    |                            |
|----|----|----------------------------|
| 7  | 25 | 117 ee                     |
| 8  | 11 | 127 g                      |
|    | 25 | 146 c                      |
|    | 28 | 20 g, 117 ii               |
|    | 33 | 127 f, 127 i               |
| 9  | 2  | 118 g                      |
|    | 8  | 137 a                      |
|    | 12 | 54 f, 72 m, 112 ss, 126 aa |
|    | 20 | 113 c                      |
|    | 24 | 75 h h                     |
| 10 | 13 | 107 c, 135 n, 150 e        |
|    | 17 | 93 oo                      |
|    | 24 | 23 i, 138 i                |
|    | 36 | 90 e                       |
| 11 | 8  | 126 y                      |
|    | 14 | 53 l                       |
|    | 12 | 9                          |
|    | 13 | 5                          |
|    | 7  | 127 f                      |
|    | 14 | 125 d N.                   |
|    | 14 | 145 u N.                   |
| 14 | 1  | 64 d                       |
|    | 7  | 72 aa, 115 i               |
|    | 8  | 75 ii                      |
|    | 11 | 115 k, 161 c               |
| 15 | 3  | 112 ss                     |
|    | 5  | 90 d                       |
|    | 12 | 90 f                       |
|    | 14 | 134 l                      |
|    | 18 | 16 f                       |
|    | 19 | 117 x, 117 ff, 126 y       |
|    | 21 | 90 e                       |
|    | 38 | 21 e N.                    |
|    | 56 | 21 e N.                    |
| 16 | 2  | 112 ss                     |
|    | 3  | 126 y                      |
| 17 | 11 | 97 c, 117 l                |
| 18 | 12 | 90 i, 112 ss               |
|    | 13 | 126 y                      |
|    | 20 | 47 f                       |
| 19 | 11 | 112 ss                     |
|    | 13 | 90 i                       |
|    | 21 | 91 k                       |
| 22 | 3  | 112 ss                     |
|    | 9  | 68 i                       |
|    | 17 | 117 aa                     |
|    | 20 | 150 m                      |
|    | 25 | 130 o N.                   |
| 23 | 5  | 60 a                       |
|    | 15 | 103 b                      |
| 24 | 7  | 145 m                      |
|    | 14 | 75 oo                      |
|    | 19 | 124 h, 145 i               |

## Judges

|   |   |         |
|---|---|---------|
| 1 | 1 | 49 b N. |
|   | 2 | 106 m   |
|   | 3 | 49 h    |
|   | 6 | 93 r    |

## Judges

|   |    |  |
|---|----|--|
| 1 | 7  | 116 k, 121 d, 141 i, 156 b             |
|   | 12 | 112 ii                                 |
|   | 15 | 59 h, 126 y                            |
|   | 19 | 114 l                                  |
|   | 22 | 145 c                                  |
|   | 28 | 113 n, 164 d                           |
| 2 | 1  | 107 b                                  |
|   | 18 | 112 h h                                |
|   | 19 | 112 e, 112 ee                          |
| 3 | 23 | 112 tt                                 |
|   | 24 | 67 v, 164 b                            |
|   | 25 | 116 d                                  |
|   | 28 | 129 e                                  |
| 4 | 4  | 131 b                                  |
|   | 6  | 150 e                                  |
|   | 8  | 49 m                                   |
|   | 18 | 72 s, 72 t, 126 r                      |
|   | 19 | 74 k                                   |
|   | 20 | 58 g, 64 f, 110 k, 147 c, 150 n, 152 k |
|   | 21 | 72 p, 72 t                             |
|   | 24 | 113 h N., 113 u                        |
| 5 | 1  | 2 r, 73 e, 117 b, 146 g                |
|   | 4  | 117 z                                  |
|   | 5  | 67 dd, 136 d N.                        |
|   | 7  | 20 i, 36, 44 h N.                      |
|   | 8  | 107 b, 149 e                           |
|   | 10 | 87 e, 130 a                            |
|   | 12 | 10 g, 72 s                             |
|   | 13 | 69 g                                   |
|   | 14 | 93 aa                                  |
|   | 15 | 10 g, 87 g, 93 bb                      |
|   | 17 | 117 bb                                 |
|   | 21 | 118 g                                  |
|   | 22 | 20 h, 123 e                            |
|   | 24 | 119 w                                  |
|   | 26 | 47 k                                   |
|   | 27 | 154 a N.                               |
|   | 28 | 64 h                                   |
|   | 29 | 75 w, 128 i, 133 h                     |
| 6 | 9  | 49 c, 49 e                             |
|   | 10 | 49 e                                   |
|   | 11 | 127 d                                  |
|   | 13 | 159 dd                                 |
|   | 14 | 126 y                                  |
|   | 16 | 49 l                                   |
|   | 17 | 36                                     |
|   | 18 | 114 g, 135 a                           |
|   | 19 | 53 n, 156 d                            |
|   | 20 | 34 f                                   |
|   | 25 | 126 w, 128 c                           |
|   | 28 | 63 p                                   |
|   | 31 | 73 e, 100 m                            |
|   | 36 | 116 g, 159 v                           |
|   | 39 | 109 a N.                               |
| 7 | 3  | 137 c                                  |
|   | 4  | 136 b                                  |
|   | 6  | 93 n                                   |



## Judges

|    |    |                          |
|----|----|--------------------------|
| 7  | 8  | 131 s                    |
| 12 |    | 36                       |
| 13 |    | 112 g                    |
| 19 |    | 113 s                    |
| 20 |    | 147 c                    |
| 23 |    | 102 b                    |
| 25 |    | 124 r                    |
| 8  | 1  | 74 h, 155 d, 155 h       |
|    | 2  | 20 m                     |
|    | 4  | 118 n                    |
|    | 10 | 97 e                     |
|    | 11 | 130 a N.                 |
|    | 18 | 126 o, 161 c             |
|    | 19 | 63 g, 159 x              |
|    | 32 | 125 h, 128 c             |
| 9  | 8  | 113 o                    |
|    | 9  | 63 k, 100 n, 106 n       |
|    | 10 | 46 d, 46 e               |
|    | 15 | 159 v                    |
|    | 16 | 167 a                    |
|    | 17 | 119 bb                   |
|    | 28 | 137 a                    |
|    | 29 | 48 l, 76 e, 151 b, 154 b |
|    | 39 | 69 p                     |
|    | 41 | 35 d                     |
|    | 45 | 117 ee                   |
|    | 48 | 157 a                    |
|    | 53 | 27 o, 67 p, 125 b        |
|    | 55 | 145 d                    |
| 10 | 4  | 96                       |
|    | 11 | 167 b                    |
|    | 18 | 137 c                    |
| 11 | 5  | 21 b                     |
|    | 10 | 159 n N.                 |
|    | 18 | 47 m                     |
|    | 20 | 157 b N.                 |
|    | 25 | 51 i, 133 a N.           |
|    | 29 | 118 f                    |
|    | 33 | 134 e                    |
|    | 34 | 135 o, 135 o N.          |
|    | 35 | 119 i                    |
|    | 36 | 124 e                    |
|    | 39 | 144 b                    |
| 12 | 5  | 100 m, 112 ee            |
|    | 6  | 2 w                      |
|    | 7  | 124 o                    |
| 13 | 2  | 125 b                    |
|    | 5  | 80 d                     |
|    | 6  | 44 d, 64 f, 127 e        |
|    | 8  | 52 s                     |
|    | 12 | 135 m                    |
|    | 16 | 119 m                    |
|    | 21 | 75 y                     |
|    | 23 | 90 h N.                  |
|    | 25 | 61 c                     |
| 14 | 2  | 90 e                     |
|    | 3  | 135 a                    |
|    | 4  | 122 q, 135 p             |
|    | 6  | 152 p                    |

## Judges

|    |    |                         |
|----|----|-------------------------|
| 14 | 15 | 9 v, 69 n, 150 g        |
|    |    | N.                      |
|    | 17 | 134 m                   |
|    | 18 | 37 d, 90 f, 93 x, 133 a |
| 15 | 1  | 119 n                   |
|    | 7  | 163 c, 163 d N.         |
|    | 12 | 152 w                   |
|    | 13 | 113 p                   |
|    | 14 | 164 b                   |
| 16 | 5  | 66 h                    |
|    | 9  | 126 o                   |
|    | 10 | 67 dd                   |
|    | 11 | 113 b                   |
|    | 13 | 28 c N.                 |
|    | 14 | 127 g                   |
|    | 15 | 141 e                   |
|    | 16 | 10 g, 52 d, 60 d, 164 d |
|    | 18 | 112 tt                  |
|    | 20 | 123 c                   |
|    | 25 | 52 n                    |
|    | 26 | 67 v                    |
|    | 27 | 126 x                   |
|    | 28 | 34 a N., 88 f, 97 b     |
|    |    | N.                      |
|    | 30 | 72 r                    |
| 17 | 2  | 32 h, 121 f             |
|    | 3  | 154 N.                  |
| 18 | 3  | 142 e                   |
|    | 19 | 20 g, 150 g             |
|    | 23 | 67 g, 67 y              |
|    | 29 | 52 q                    |
|    | 30 | 5 n                     |
| 19 | 1  | 131 b                   |
|    | 2  | 75 t                    |
|    | 5  | 9 u, 64 c N., 117 ff    |
|    | 6  | 110 h, 120 d            |
|    | 8  | 64 c                    |
|    | 9  | 91 k                    |
|    | 11 | 19 i                    |
|    | 13 | 69 x, 73 d              |
|    | 18 | 118 e N.                |
|    | 20 | 29 g, 73 e              |
|    | 22 | 54 c, 130 e             |
|    | 30 | 112 ee, oo, 116 w       |
| 20 | 2  | 29 f                    |
|    | 15 | 54 l, 155 d             |
|    | 16 | 90 i N.                 |
|    | 31 | 66 f                    |
|    | 32 | 20 h                    |
|    | 38 | 75 gg                   |
|    | 39 | 118 u                   |
|    | 43 | 22 s                    |
|    | 44 | 117 m                   |
| 21 | 7  | 131 n                   |
|    | 9  | 54 l                    |
|    | 16 | 123 b                   |
|    | 21 | 145 p                   |

## 1 Samuel

|   |    |   |
|---|----|---|
| 1 | 1  | 49 b N., 125 b, 125 h, 156 b                    |
|   | 2  | 134 l, 145 o                                    |
|   | 3  | 112 dd, 123 c                                   |
|   | 4  | 112 g, 126 s                                    |
|   | 6  | 20 h, 22 s, 59 g, 117 p                         |
|   | 7  | 107 e, 123 c                                    |
|   | 8  | 37 e, 102 l                                     |
|   | 9  | 91 e, 113 e N., 141 e                           |
|   | 10 | 128 y   |
|   | 11 | 113 o   |
|   | 12 | 112 uu, 114 n N., 164 d                         |
|   | 13 | 20 g  |
|   | 14 | 47 o  |
|   | 16 | 128 v   |
|   | 17 | 23 f, 95 h                                      |
|   | 20 | 44 d, 64 f                                      |
|   | 22 | 112 oo  |
|   | 24 | 135 i   |
|   | 27 | 95 h  |
|   | 28 | 64 f  |
| 2 | 1  | 2 r, 106 g                                      |
|   | 3  | 103 g, 120 g, 124 e, 133 k, 152 z               |
|   | 4  | 146 a   |
|   | 6  | 111 u, 116 x                                    |
|   | 8  | 107 g, 116 x, 135 p                             |
|   | 9  | 67 g  |
|   | 13 | 112 oo, 116 w, 131 c, 159 i, 164 a              |
|   | 14 | 131 h, 132 g                                    |
|   | 15 | 112 oo  |
|   | 16 | 23 e, 103 g, 106 m, 112 u, 113 w, 159 f, 159 dd |
|   | 18 | 116 k, 118 g, 121 d                             |
|   | 19 | 112 e   |
|   | 20 | 145 u   |
|   | 22 | 112 k   |
|   | 23 | 126 y   |
|   | 24 | 116 s   |
|   | 25 | 117 x   |
|   | 26 | 113 u   |
|   | 27 | 113 g, 114 e, 150 e                             |
|   | 28 | 49 e, 113 z, 119 w                              |
|   | 29 | 133 b   |
|   | 30 | 113 p, 116 g, 149 a                             |
|   | 31 | 112 x, 116 d                                    |
|   | 33 | 53 q, 118 q, 145 e                              |
| 3 | 2  | 107 b, 120 b                                    |
|   | 3  | 107 c, 152 r                                    |
|   | 5  | 46 c, 120 g, 120 h                              |
|   | 7  | 107 c   |
|   | 10 | 54 h, 118 u, 123 c                              |
|   | 11 | 67 g, 67 p, 116 w, 155 d                        |
|   | 12 | 113 h   |

## 1 Samuel

- 3 13 112 *qq*, 130 *c* N.,  
119 *p*  
14 . . . . . 149 *c*  
17 . . . . . 149 *d*  
21 . . . . . 75 *y*  
4 1 . . . . . 131 *c*, 145 *c*  
3 . . . . . 127 *g*  
5 . . . . . 72 *h*, 145 *c*  
6 . . . . . 37 *f*  
7 . . . . . 125 *e*  
8 132 *h*, 136 *d*, 147 *d*  
10 . . . . . 124 *b*, 145 *o*  
12 . . . . . 127 *e*  
15 44 *m*, 145 *k*, 145 *n*  
16 . . . . . 126 *k*  
19 . . . . . 69 *m*, 112 *tt*  
21 . . . . . 152 *q*  
5 3 . . . . . 116 *d*  
7 . . . . . 112 *rr*  
8 . . . . . 116 *w*  
9 67 *v*, 130 *d*, 164 *d*  
10 . . . . . 115 *c*, 145 *m*  
11 . . . . . 117 *e*  
6 4 . . . . . 118 *h*, 135 *r*  
7 . . . . . 135 *o*  
9 155 *d*, 155 *f*, 159 *q*  
10 . . . . . 60 *h*, 75 *qq*  
11 . . . . . 154 *a* N.  
12 47 *k*, 71, 75 *n*,  
113 *s*  
14 . . . . . 127 *d*  
18 . . . . . 126 *x*  
19 . . . . . 119 *k*  
7 9 . . . . . 131 *k*  
10 . . . . . 116 *u*  
11 . . . . . 119 *c*  
12 . . . . . 111 *d*  
14 . . . . . 72 *k*  
16 . . . . . 112 *f*  
17 . . . . . 29 *i* N.  
8 11 . . . . . 72 *l*  
12 . . . . . 114 *p*  
19 . . . . . 20 *g*, 163 *a*  
9 2 . . . . . 133 *a*  
3 . 96, 117 *d*, 130 *g*  
4 . . . . . 104 *g*, 152 *k*  
7 . . . . . 159 *w* N.  
9 . . . . . 107 *e*  
10 . . . . . 120 *g*  
11 . . . . . 116 *u*  
13 . . . . . 35 *n*, 47 *m*  
17 . . . . . 138 *b*  
20 73 *e*, 134 *m*, 143 *c*  
21 . . . . . 133 *g*  
24 . . . . . 138 *t*, 138 *k*  
10 3 . . . . . 97 *c*  
4 . . . . . 134 *n*  
5 29 *g*, 101 *a*, 109 *k*,  
112 *s*  
6 . . . . . 75 *qq*

## 1 Samuel

- 10 8 . . . . . 112 *v*  
9 . . . . . 112 *uu*  
11 20 *h*, 111 *g*, 116 *s*,  
116 *w*, 136 *c*  
12 . . . . . 154 *b*  
13 . . . . . 75 *qq*  
14 . . . . . 152 *k*  
16 . . . . . 113 *o*  
18 . . . . . 135 *a*  
23 . . . . . 133 *b*  
24 . . . . . 22 *s*, 100 *l*  
25 . . . . . 126 *s*  
27 . . . . . 136 *b*  
11 1 . . . . . 125 *h*  
2 . . . . . 135 *p*  
5 . . . . . 107 *v*  
11 . . . . . 111 *g*, 116 *w*  
12 . . . . . 150 *a*  
12 3 . . . . . 137 *b*  
7 . . . . . 51 *p*  
13 . . . . . 44 *d*, 64 *f*  
14 . . . . . 167 *a*  
17 . . . . . 114 *o*  
19 . . . . . 107 *p*  
20 . . . . . 135 *a*  
23 . . . . . 126 *x*, 135 *g*  
24 . . . . . 75 *oo*  
25 . . . . . 29 *o*, 113 *o*  
13 3 . . . . . 2 *b*  
6 . . . . . 93 *w*  
7 . . . . . 119 *gg*  
8 . . . . . 69 *t*  
11 . . . . . 67 *dd*  
12 . . . . . 54 *k*  
13 . . . . . 159 *dd*  
15 . . . . . 93 *oo*, 132 *g*  
17 118 *g*, 126 *l*, 126 *z*,  
134 *l*  
19 . . . . . 152 *w*  
20 . . . . . 118 *e*  
21 . 35 *n*, 96, 112 *dd*  
22 . . . . . 112 *cc*  
23 . . . . . 92 *g*  
14 1 . . . . . 126 *s*  
13 . . . . . 72 *m*  
14 . . . . . 118 *s* N.  
15 . . . . . 95 *g*  
16 . . . . . 129 *b*  
19 111 *h*, 113 *u*, 164 *d*  
21 . . . . . 2 *b*  
22 . . . . . 53 *n*  
24 . . . . . 76 *d*, 112 *w*  
27 . . . . . 72 *k*  
28 . . . . . 72 *t*  
29 . . . . . 126 *x*  
30 106 *p*, 113 *o*, 159 *x*  
33 . 23 *c*, 74 *t*, 75 *oo*  
34 . . . . . 96  
36 48 *g* N., 67 *dd*, 109 *d*  
38 . . . . . 66 *c*

## 1 Samuel

- 14 39 . . . . . 100 *o* N., 149 *c*  
43 . . . . . 113 *p*  
44 . . . . . 149 *d*  
45 . . . . . 119 *w* N.  
49 . . . . . 47 *b*  
52 . . . . . 112 *u*  
15 1 . . . . . 9 *v*  
2 . . . . . 106 *g*  
4 . . . . . 93 *x*  
5 . . . . . 68 *i*  
6 20 *g*, 22 *s*, 60 *f*,  
68 *h*, 154 *a* N.  
9 67 *t*, 75 *y*, 132 *d*,  
135 *c*  
13 . . . . . 121 *f*  
14 . . . . . 37 *f*, 154 *b*  
16 . . . . . 165 *a*  
19 . . . . . 72 *ff*  
20 . . . . . 157 *c*  
23 29 *g*, 53 *l*, 111 *h*,  
119 *x*  
32 . . . . . 118 *q*  
33 . . . . . 119 *w*  
16 1 . . . . . 65 *h*, 127 *d*  
2 . . . . . 114 *g*, 159 *g*  
3 . . . . . 138 *e*  
4 141 *n*, 145 *u*, 150 *a*  
7 . . . . . 35 *g*, 132 *c*  
8 . . . . . 125 *i*  
11 . . . . . 133 *g*  
12 . . . . . 128 *x*  
14 . . . . . 112 *h*  
16 120 *b* N., 124 *i*  
18 . . . . . 128 *t*, 129 *c*  
20 . . . . . 128 *q*  
23 112 *ee*, 112 *oo*,  
126 *x*  
17 5 . . . . . 121 *d*, 131 *q*  
12 . . . . . 126 *x*  
14 . . . . . 133 *g*, 134 *l*  
15 . . . . . 113 *u*, 118 *g*  
16 . . . . . 113 *k*  
17 . . . . . 126 *x*, 134 *n*  
20 . . . . . 112 *rr*  
21 . . . . . 122 *i*  
24 . . . . . 111 *h*  
25 22 *s*, 53 *n*, 60 *g*,  
100 *l*, 114 *g*, 116 *s*  
26 . . . . . 34 *f*, 132 *h*  
28 . . . . . 136 *c*  
32 . . . . . 112 *p*  
34 112 *kk*, 126 *r*,  
154 *a* N.  
38 . . . . . 112 *tt*  
40 . . . . . 132 *c*  
41 . . . . . 113 *u*  
43 . . . . . 124 *o*  
46 . . . . . 145 *e*  
47 . . . . . 53 *g*, 145 *c*  
48 . . . . . 112 *uu*

## 1 Samuel

17 50 . . . . . III k  
 55 . . . 126 aa, 136 c,  
     137 b  
 58 . . . 126 e, 126 f  
 18 1 . . . . . 60 d  
 9 . . . . . 55 c  
 10 . . . 54 e, 118 u  
 15 . . . . . 157 c  
 18 . . . . . 137 a  
 19 . . . 114 g, 115 e, N.  
 21 . . . . . 134 r  
 22 . . . . . 59 c  
 23 . . . . . 114 a  
 28 . . . 59 g, 59 i  
 29 . . . 68 h, 69 n  
 19 1 . . . . . 115 a  
 2 . . . . . 51 n, 63 c  
 3 . . . . . 119 l  
 10 . . . . . 126 y  
 13 . . . 124 h, 132 h N.  
 17 . . . 59 h, 150 e  
 22 . . . . . 126 x  
 23 . . . 113 t, 135 g  
 20 1 . . . 37 d, 116 s  
 2 . . . . . 103 p, 156 f  
 3 . . . 118 z, 149 a N.  
 6 51 e, 51 i, 113 n,  
     159 s  
 8 . . . . . 142 g  
 9 . . . . . 150 a  
 10 . . . 150 i, 151 a  
 11 . . . . . 118 f  
 13 . . . 117 l N., 149 d  
 16 . . . . . 117 g  
 19 . . . . . 120 c  
 20 . . . . . 127 e  
 23 . . . . . 143 a  
 26 . . . . . 152 d  
 27 . . . . . 80 g N.  
 31 . . . 128 v, 138 c  
 33 . . . . . 115 c  
 37 . . . . . 150 e  
 40 . . . . . 72 y  
 42 . . . 134 d, 135 f  
 21 2 90 i, 119 gg, 152 o  
 3 . . . . . 55 b, 137 c  
 5 . . . . . 119 e N.  
 6 . . . . . 123 b  
 8 . . . . . 129 h  
 9 . . . . . 150 c N.  
 10 . . . 102 g, 126 r  
 14 60 d, 75 bb, 131 m  
     N.  
 16 . . . . . 150 b  
 22 2 . . . . . 75 oo  
 5 . . . . . 119 s  
 7 117 n, 124 p, 153  
 9 . . . . . 90 i  
 13 . . . . . 113 e  
 15 . . . 67 w, 150 b

## 1 Samuel

23 1 . . . . . 93 r  
 7 . . . . . 128 a  
 10 . . . 113 o, 117 n  
 11 . . . 150 g N., 150 n  
 15 . . . . . 90 e  
 19 . . . . . 150 e  
 21 . . . . . 121 f  
 22 63 n, 135 b, 144 d  
     N<sup>2</sup>  
 23 . . . . . 100 o N.  
 28 . . . . . 22 s  
 24 5 . . . . . 138 b  
 6 . . . . . 117 d  
 11 9 v, 112 rr, 144 o  
 12 114 r, 154 N. (c)  
 18 . . . . . 117 ff  
 19 . . . 112 hh N., 117 c  
 25 1 . . . . . 21 d  
 2 . . . . . 67 cc  
 5 . . . . . 44 d, 64 f  
 7 . . . . . 53 p  
 8 . . . 72 o, 74 k, 76 g  
 10 . . . 67 ee, 126 w  
 11 . . . . . 112 cc  
 14 . . . . . 72 ff  
 15 . . . . . 130 d  
 18 . . . 24 b, 75 v, 132 g  
 20 . . . 47 k, 112 uu  
 22 . . . . . 149 b  
 24 . . . . . 135 g  
 25 . . . . . 107 p  
 26 65 f, 113 e, 113 gg,  
     144 l N<sup>3</sup>, 149 a N.  
 27 143 d, 145 o, 145 o  
     N<sup>1</sup>  
 28 . . . . . 119 w N.  
 29 . . . . . 143 c  
 31 . . . . . 114 p  
 33 . . . . . 75 qq  
 34 76 h, 106 p, 149 d  
 26 9 . . . 112 h, 151 a  
 12 . . . . . 87 s, 152 l  
 13 . . . . . 156 c  
 14 . . . . . 155 m  
 16 . . . 117 l, 117 m N.  
 19 . . . . . 72 aa  
 20 . . . . . 117 d  
 22 . . . . . 127 f  
 27 9 . . . 112 c, 112 dd  
 10 . . . . . 150 a N.  
 28 3 . . . 106 f, 154 a N.  
 7 52 d, 96, 128 u,  
     130 e  
 8 . . . . . 10 h, 46 e  
 10 . . . . . 20 h  
 13 . . . . . 132 h N. 1  
 15 48 d, 59 f, 75 ll,  
     102 l  
 24 . . . . . 68 h  
 29 6 . . . . . 149 c

## 1 Samuel

29 8 . . . . . 49 m, 130 c  
 10 . . . . . 144 c  
 30 2 . . . . . 146 f  
 6 . . . . . 144 b  
 8 . . . 150 a N<sup>1</sup>, 154 a  
 13 . . . 134 o N<sup>1</sup>  
 24 . . . . . 161 c  
 26 . . . . . 91 k  
 28 . . . . . 10 g  
 31 2 . . . . . 53 n  
 7 . . . . . 103 g  
 9 . . . . . 124 r

## 2 Samuel

1 4 . . . . . 157 c  
 6 . . . . . 75 rr, 113 o  
 9 . . . . . 72 m, 128 e  
 10 49 c, 61 b, 107 b N.  
 18 . . . . . 150 e  
 21 126 m, 130 a, 152 g  
 23 . . . 44 c, 154 a N.  
 24 . . . . . 116 f  
 25 . . . . . 148 b  
 26 . . . . . 75 oo  
 2 5 . . . . . 121 f  
 16 . . . . . 144 d  
 20 . . . . . 136 d  
 21 . . . . . 64 c, 119 s  
 22 . . . . . 102 l, 150 e  
 23 . . . 111 g, 116 w  
 26 . . . . . 44 g  
 27 . . . . . 159 ee  
 32 . . . . . 72 r, 118 g  
 3 1 . . . 113 v, 145 c  
 2 . . . . . 129 g  
 8 . . . . . 75 gg, 111 e  
 10 . . . . . 114 o  
 11 . . . . . 115 d  
 16 . . . . . 113 u  
 18 . . . . . 113 dd N.  
 25 . . . . . 117 h  
 27 . . . . . 117 ll  
 30 . . . . . 117 n  
 33 . . . . . 107 t  
 34 . . . 152 d, 152 e  
 39 . . . . . 141 e  
 4 1 . . . . . 145 p  
 2 . . . . . 128 c  
 4 . . . . . 128 h  
 7 . . . . . 141 e  
 10 . . . 111 h, 114 l N.  
 11 . . . . . 117 d  
 5 2 . . . . . 74 k  
 6 . . . . . 35 g, 106 m  
 8 . . . . . 35 g, 167 a  
 10 . . . . . 125 h  
 21 . . . . . 146 f  
 24 109 k, 112 z, 117 d  
 6 1 . . . . . 68 h

## 2 Samuel

|    |   |                        |
|----|---|------------------------|
| 6  | 2 | 125 c                  |
| 3  |   | 126 z                  |
| 6  |   | 117 g                  |
| 16 |   | 112 w                  |
| 20 |   | 75 y, 148 b            |
| 7  | 5 | 112 r, 150 d           |
| 14 |   | 112 mm                 |
| 29 |   | 120 d                  |
| 8  | 2 | 126 m                  |
| 3  |   | 17 b                   |
| 4  |   | 69 v                   |
| 8  |   | 131 e                  |
| 9  | 1 | 165 a                  |
| 3  |   | 128 y, 152 s           |
| 10 | 7 | 131 b                  |
| 9  |   | 145 h, 146 a           |
| 12 |   | 54 k                   |
| 11 | 1 | 23 g                   |
| 4  |   | 141 e                  |
| 11 |   | 149 a N.               |
| 19 |   | 142 f N <sup>2</sup>   |
| 20 |   | 157 c                  |
| 24 |   | 69 r, 75 rr            |
| 25 |   | 117 l                  |
| 27 |   | 60 d                   |
| 12 | 1 | 72 p                   |
| 2  |   | 126 d, 126 x, 146 f    |
| 3  |   | 152 p                  |
| 6  |   | 97 h                   |
| 9  |   | 144 n                  |
| 10 |   | 114 g                  |
| 14 |   | 52 o                   |
| 15 |   | 51 m                   |
| 16 |   | 112 f, 117 q           |
| 17 |   | 75 rr                  |
| 28 |   | 61 f, 135 a, 150 m N.  |
| 30 |   | 127 e                  |
| 13 | 4 | P. 457 N <sup>1</sup>  |
| 5  |   | 75 cc                  |
| 8  |   | 72 t                   |
| 12 |   | 75 hh, 107 g           |
| 14 |   | 117 u                  |
| 15 |   | 113 t                  |
| 17 |   | 64 c                   |
| 18 |   | 47 l, 112 tt N., 156 b |
| 19 |   | 113 t                  |
| 20 |   | 84 a s, 118 p, 154 a N |
| 23 |   | 131 d                  |
| 25 |   | 152 g, 165 a           |
| 26 |   | 159 dd                 |
| 28 |   | 72 w, 159 g            |
| 31 |   | 116 k                  |
| 32 |   | 73 f                   |
| 39 |   | 131 g, 144 o           |
| 14 | 2 | 75 m, 136 d            |
| 3  |   | 76 g                   |
| 4  |   | 126 e                  |
| 6  |   | 60 d                   |

## 2 Samuel

|    |   |                                |
|----|---|--------------------------------|
| 14 | 7 | 73 b                           |
| 10 |   | 116 w                          |
| 11 |   | 75 ff, 119 w N.                |
| 13 |   | 92 b, 115 i                    |
| 19 |   | 47 b N., 70 c                  |
| 21 |   | 106 m                          |
| 26 |   | 118 h, 134 g                   |
| 30 |   | 71                             |
| 31 |   | 102 l                          |
| 15 | 2 | 111 g, 127 b N.                |
| 4  |   | 112 p, 151 a                   |
| 5  |   | 10 g N <sup>3</sup>            |
| 7  |   | 10 g                           |
| 12 |   | 113 u                          |
| 16 |   | 117 d                          |
| 20 |   | 150 a                          |
| 21 |   | 93 aa N., 130 c, 163 d         |
| 23 |   | 117 t                          |
| 25 |   | 117 e                          |
| 27 |   | 72 s                           |
| 32 |   | 116 k, 121 d                   |
| 33 |   | 49 l, 75 w                     |
| 34 |   | 67 dd, 143 d                   |
| 37 |   | 93 ll                          |
| 16 | 1 | 134 n                          |
| 5  |   | 112 th, 113 t                  |
| 7  |   | 128 t                          |
| 13 |   | 93 gg, 112 f                   |
| 17 | 5 | 135 f                          |
| 8  |   | 117 h                          |
| 9  |   | 144 e                          |
| 10 |   | 67 t                           |
| 11 |   | 106 i                          |
| 12 |   | 109 d, 122 l                   |
| 13 |   | 106 o                          |
| 15 |   | 135 a                          |
| 16 |   | 121 a                          |
| 17 |   | 112 k, 126 r                   |
| 22 |   | 96, 130 g                      |
| 23 |   | 51 m                           |
| 26 |   | 118 g                          |
| 18 | 3 | 63 i, 97 g                     |
| 11 |   | 114 l, 119 aa, 154 b, 159 w N. |
| 12 |   | 137 c, 154 b                   |
| 13 |   | 159 cc                         |
| 14 |   | 108 c, 156 c                   |
| 16 |   | 22 s                           |
| 18 |   | 117 d                          |
| 19 |   | 119 ff                         |
| 22 |   | 74 i                           |
| 23 |   | 110 b                          |
| 29 |   | 114 f, 150 a                   |
| 33 |   | 133 l N.                       |
| 19 | 1 | 135 f, 151 b                   |
| 6  |   | 70 c, 128 a                    |
| 13 |   | 112 i                          |
| 14 |   | 68 h                           |
| 18 |   | 97 e, 112 tt                   |

## 2 Samuel

|    |    |                  |
|----|----|------------------|
| 19 | 19 | 53 g             |
| 20 |    | 115 g            |
| 25 |    | 52 l, 127 f      |
| 27 |    | 122 f            |
| 30 |    | 106 i            |
| 43 |    | 76 b             |
| 44 |    | 67 w             |
| 20 | 1  | 147 e            |
| 5  |    | 68 i             |
| 8  |    | 142 e            |
| 9  |    | 68 h, 141 c      |
| 11 |    | 137 e            |
| 12 |    | 112 oo, 116 e    |
| 13 |    | 69 w             |
| 14 |    | 125 h            |
| 18 |    | 113 w            |
| 19 |    | 130 f N.         |
| 20 |    | 149 a, 149 e     |
| 21 |    | 53 s, 155 e      |
| 23 |    | 16 b, 127 f      |
| 21 | 2  | 74 h             |
| 3  |    | 110 i            |
| 4  |    | 120 c            |
| 9  |    | 118 i            |
| 11 |    | 121 a            |
| 12 |    | 75 rr            |
| 15 |    | 72 t             |
| 20 |    | 35 n             |
| 22 |    | 121 b            |
| 22 | 1  | 2 s, 53 l, 130 d |
| 24 |    | 49 e             |
| 27 |    | 67 l             |
| 33 |    | 35 d, 131 r      |
| 37 |    | 103 d            |
| 38 |    | 108 e            |
| 40 |    | 68 k             |
| 41 |    | 19 i, 116 w      |
| 44 |    | 87 f             |
| 23 | 1  | 2 s, 29 g        |
| 3  |    | 116 m            |
| 4  |    | 152 u            |
| 5  |    | 135 m, 150 a N.  |
| 6  |    | 91 f, 143 a      |
| 7  |    | 113 w            |
| 8  |    | 47 b, 87 f       |
| 11 |    | 127 e            |
| 13 |    | 134 k            |
| 17 |    | 167 a            |
| 19 |    | 150 d            |
| 24 | 3  | 145 n, 154 b     |
| 6  |    | 90 i             |
| 11 |    | 93 rr            |
| 13 |    | 145 h            |
| 16 |    | 142 f            |
| 21 |    | 165 a            |
| 22 |    | 93 mp            |
| 23 |    | 106 m            |
| 24 |    | 75 n, 113 p      |

## 1 Kings

|   |    |                           |
|---|----|---------------------------|
| 1 | 1  | 49 b, 67 g                |
|   | 2  | 131 b, 144 f              |
|   | 5  | 116 o                     |
|   | 6  | 119 w N.                  |
|   | 12 | 117 p                     |
|   | 14 | 116 u                     |
|   | 15 | 80 d, 90 c                |
|   | 20 | 135 g                     |
|   | 21 | 146 d                     |
|   | 24 | 150 a, 150 b              |
|   | 26 | 135 g                     |
|   | 27 | 150 f                     |
|   | 31 | 156 c                     |
|   | 40 | 117 g, 145 c              |
|   | 41 | 146 a                     |
|   | 47 | 70 e                      |
|   | 52 | 119 w N.                  |
| 2 | 2  | 116 p                     |
|   | 3  | 114 o                     |
|   | 6  | 95 u, 109 d               |
|   | 7  | 116 h                     |
|   | 17 | 131 g                     |
|   | 18 | 135 a                     |
|   | 21 | 121 b                     |
|   | 22 | 110 a, 154 b              |
|   | 23 | 149 d                     |
|   | 26 | 75 z, 93 ss, 118 f, 128 t |
|   | 30 | 75 u                      |
|   | 31 | 128 w                     |
|   | 36 | 80 t, 90 i                |
|   | 40 | 90 i                      |
|   | 42 | 72 aa                     |
|   | 43 | 128 h                     |
| 3 | 4  | 107 b                     |
|   | 7  | 114 c                     |
|   | 8  | 166 b                     |
|   | 11 | 112 tt                    |
|   | 12 | 166 b                     |
|   | 15 | 71                        |
|   | 16 | 107 c                     |
|   | 18 | 128 f, 135 r              |
|   | 26 | 46 e                      |
| 4 | 5  | 93 u                      |
|   | 7  | 112 l                     |
|   | 12 | 90 i                      |
|   | 13 | 128 c                     |
|   | 14 | 90 d                      |
| 5 | 1  | 144 i                     |
|   | 3  | 131 c                     |
|   | 7  | 112 dd                    |
|   | 9  | 131 e                     |
|   | 12 | 134 g                     |
|   | 17 | 117 h                     |
|   | 20 | 68 c                      |
|   | 25 | 23 f, 107 e               |
|   | 29 | 131 b                     |
| 6 | 1  | 134 h, 134 o              |
|   | 6  | 63 i                      |
|   | 7  | 131 c                     |

## 1 Kings

|    |    |               |
|----|----|---------------|
| 6  | 16 | 117 d         |
|    | 19 | 66 i          |
| 7  | 6  | 92 g          |
|    | 7  | 118 p, 126 w  |
|    | 8  | 118 g         |
|    | 14 | 41 o, 131 b   |
|    | 15 | 117 hh        |
|    | 27 | 134 l         |
|    | 28 | 20 m          |
|    | 37 | 91 f          |
| 8  | 1  | 107 c, 109 h  |
|    | 5  | 119 z, 145 c  |
|    | 12 | 138 e         |
|    | 13 | 118 k         |
|    | 29 | 91 k          |
|    | 30 | 119 g, 159 g  |
|    | 31 | 145 o         |
|    | 32 | 118 g         |
|    | 33 | 158 d         |
|    | 44 | 75 w          |
|    | 46 | 49 m          |
|    | 48 | 44 i          |
|    | 64 | 133 c         |
| 9  | 3  | 75 w          |
|    | 8  | 67 g          |
|    | 11 | 75 oo         |
|    | 17 | 126 y         |
|    | 25 | 112 dd, 113 z |
|    | 26 | 122 t         |
| 10 | 9  | 115 d         |
|    | 11 | 35 m          |
|    | 12 | 117 ii        |
|    | 21 | 152 y N.      |
|    | 22 | 74 i          |
|    | 23 | 119 u         |
|    | 24 | 164 b N.      |
|    | 27 | 126 p         |
|    | 29 | 75 t          |
| 11 | 1  | 10 h          |
|    | 3  | 145 o, 145 p  |
|    | 5  | 122 f         |
|    | 8  | 131 h N.      |
|    | 9  | 138 k         |
|    | 12 | 135 p         |
|    | 15 | 52 f          |
|    | 16 | 53 l          |
|    | 19 | 54 k          |
|    | 21 | 165 a         |
|    | 25 | 117 m N.      |
|    | 30 | 117 ii        |
|    | 31 | 134 l         |
|    | 33 | 87 e          |
|    | 34 | 117 ii        |
|    | 39 | 23 d          |
|    | 41 | 150 e         |
| 12 | 2  | 138 d         |
|    | 6  | 64 b, 117 gg  |
|    | 8  | 116 g, 118 g  |
|    | 10 | 93 g          |
|    | 12 | 74 k          |

## 1 Kings

|    |    |                             |
|----|----|-----------------------------|
| 12 | 15 | 115 a                       |
|    | 28 | 133 c                       |
|    | 31 | 117 d                       |
|    | 32 | 21 d, 65 e, 122 pp          |
| 13 | 3  | 112 tt                      |
|    | 7  | 10 h                        |
|    | 11 | 125 b                       |
|    | 12 | 155 d                       |
|    | 14 | 126 r                       |
|    | 18 | 156 d                       |
|    | 30 | 147 d                       |
|    | 33 | 109 f, 109 g                |
| 14 | 2  | 32 h                        |
|    | 3  | 65 g                        |
|    | 5  | 94 d, 112 z                 |
|    | 6  | 118 p, 121 d N <sup>1</sup> |
|    | 10 | 64 d                        |
|    | 12 | 72 r N.                     |
|    | 13 | 129 g                       |
|    | 14 | 136 d N.                    |
|    | 15 | 91 n                        |
|    | 16 | 23 c                        |
|    | 17 | 116 u                       |
|    | 19 | 129 d, 150 e                |
|    | 21 | 10 g                        |
|    | 24 | 127 g                       |
| 15 | 13 | 119 w                       |
|    | 23 | 118 g                       |
|    | 25 | 134 p                       |
| 16 | 2  | 74 l                        |
|    | 10 | 134 o                       |
|    | 24 | 29 f, 88 b                  |
|    | 25 | 67 x                        |
|    | 31 | 150 d                       |
| 17 | 1  | 93 pp                       |
|    | 3  | 119 s                       |
|    | 9  | 90 i                        |
|    | 11 | 66 g                        |
|    | 13 | 75 m                        |
|    | 14 | 66 i, 75 rr                 |
|    | 15 | 32 l                        |
|    | 16 | 146 a                       |
| 18 | 5  | 119 w N.                    |
|    | 10 | 107 e                       |
|    | 27 | 53 g, 67 y                  |
|    | 32 | 117 ii, 117 kk              |
|    | 43 | 152 p                       |
|    | 44 | 58 g                        |
| 19 | 4  | 157 c                       |
|    | 9  | 126 r                       |
|    | 11 | 132 d                       |
|    | 15 | 26 h, 90 c, 90 i            |
|    | 19 | 134 o                       |
|    | 20 | 20 m                        |
|    | 21 | 131 m                       |
| 20 | 14 | 137 b                       |
|    | 20 | 145 c                       |
|    | 21 | 112 tt                      |
|    | 22 | 54 k                        |
|    | 25 | 103 b                       |

## 1 Kings

|    |        |                     |
|----|--------|---------------------|
| 20 | 27     | 54 l                |
| 33 |        | 53 n                |
| 35 | 75 mm, | 128 v               |
| 39 |        | 51 k                |
| 40 |        | 116 g N.            |
| 21 | 8      | 34 c                |
|    | 8      | 124 b N.            |
| 10 |        | 104 g               |
| 11 |        | 116 g, 118 g        |
| 12 |        | 112 qg              |
| 13 |        | 119 c               |
| 15 |        | 69 f                |
| 19 |        | 74 k, 132 f         |
| 21 |        | 74 k, 74 l          |
| 25 |        | 72 w                |
| 22 | 3      | 150 e               |
|    | 4      | 161 c               |
|    | 7      | 108 b               |
| 10 |        | 121 d               |
| 12 |        | 110 f               |
| 15 |        | 150 c               |
| 16 |        | 102 k, 134 r        |
| 23 |        | 126 y               |
| 25 |        | 75 pp               |
| 27 |        | 131 c               |
| 28 |        | 135 r, 144 p, 159 g |
| 30 |        | 104 g, 113 dd N.    |
| 35 |        | 71                  |
| 49 |        | 44 m                |

## 2 Kings

|   |    |                            |
|---|----|----------------------------|
| 1 | 1  | 49 b                       |
|   | 2  | 126 y                      |
|   | 3  | 152 y                      |
|   | 7  | 37 f                       |
|   | 9  | 97 i                       |
|   | 10 | 154 b                      |
|   | 11 | 120 d                      |
| 2 | 1  | 10 h, 114 g                |
|   | 9  | 107 c                      |
|   | 10 | 52 s, 114 n N.             |
|   | 16 | 93 u, 107 q N <sup>s</sup> |
|   | 20 | 72 aa                      |
|   | 21 | 75 oo                      |
|   | 22 | 75 ga                      |
|   | 24 | 122 e                      |
| 3 | 3  | 135 p                      |
|   | 4  | 2 d, 112 k, 131 k          |
|   | 8  | 155 d                      |
|   | 15 | 112 uu                     |
|   | 16 | 113 bb, 123 e              |
|   | 23 | 113 w                      |
|   | 24 | 75 ff                      |
|   | 25 | 112 e                      |
|   | 27 | 107 k                      |
| 4 | 1  | 125 b                      |
|   | 3  | 91 l, 133 c N.             |
|   | 8  | 126 s                      |
|   | 13 | 114 k, 117 r               |

## 2 Kings

|    |    |                            |
|----|----|----------------------------|
| 4  | 14 | 154 b                      |
|    | 16 | 32 h, 116 p                |
|    | 23 | 90 n                       |
|    | 24 | 66 c                       |
|    | 25 | 34 f                       |
|    | 27 | 63 e                       |
|    | 31 | 29 k                       |
|    | 41 | 69 f                       |
|    | 43 | 113 ee                     |
| 5  | 2  | 118 q                      |
|    | 3  | 151 e                      |
|    | 9  | 129 d                      |
|    | 10 | 110 i, 113 bb, 159 d       |
|    | 11 | 112 p                      |
|    | 12 | 107 t                      |
|    | 13 | 110 f, 142 f, 159 cc       |
|    | 17 | 104 g, 159 dd              |
|    | 18 | 75 kk                      |
|    | 20 | 112 gg, 163 d              |
|    | 22 | 136 d                      |
|    | 23 | 72 t, 88 b, 131 d          |
|    | 26 | 150 a N <sup>1</sup>       |
| 6  | 5  | 117 m N.                   |
|    | 8  | 91 n                       |
|    | 9  | 51 n                       |
|    | 10 | 134 r                      |
|    | 11 | 36                         |
|    | 19 | 34 b N <sup>s</sup> , 52 n |
|    | 22 | p. 457 N <sup>1</sup>      |
|    | 27 | 109 h, 150 g               |
|    | 29 | 74 l                       |
|    | 32 | 22 s, 100 l                |
| 7  | 1  | 131 d                      |
|    | 4  | 112 ff                     |
|    | 8  | 47 i                       |
|    | 10 | 135 p N <sup>1</sup>       |
|    | 13 | 127 f                      |
|    | 18 | 10 h                       |
| 8  | 1  | 32 h                       |
|    | 6  | 53 m, 72 y, 91 e           |
|    | 8  | 126 y                      |
|    | 16 | 52 l                       |
|    | 17 | 134 e                      |
|    | 21 | 50 e                       |
| 9  | 2  | 72 w, 76 h                 |
|    | 4  | 127 g                      |
|    | 17 | 80 f                       |
|    | 18 | 32 n, 103 o, 119 b         |
|    | 19 | 150 a N <sup>1</sup>       |
|    | 27 | 147 c                      |
|    | 31 | 144 p                      |
|    | 33 | 76 c                       |
|    | 35 | 119 m                      |
|    | 37 | 75 m                       |
| 10 | 1  | 124 b N., 127 f            |
|    | 6  | 131 h N.                   |
|    | 15 | 159 cc                     |
|    | 21 | 102 h                      |
|    | 23 | 152 w                      |
|    | 29 | 93 o                       |

## 2 Kings

|    |    |                              |
|----|----|------------------------------|
| 11 | 1  | 112 pp                       |
|    | 2  | 116 e                        |
|    | 4  | 75 gg, 75 q, 97 g            |
|    | 5  | 116 h                        |
|    | 12 | 74 l                         |
|    | 13 | 87 e                         |
|    | 15 | 113 cc, 119 e                |
| 12 | 9  | 72 h, 66 g, 93 h             |
|    | 12 | 112 pp N <sup>s</sup>        |
| 13 | 6  | 74 k                         |
|    | 17 | 69 r, 76 f                   |
|    | 19 | 114 k, 159 dd                |
|    | 21 | 111 g                        |
| 14 | 7  | 21 e, 112 tt                 |
|    | 8  | 156 o                        |
|    | 14 | 93 oo, 112 pp, 112 tt, 124 q |
| 15 | 16 | 76 c, 127 i                  |
|    | 29 | 80 k                         |
| 16 | 4  | 65 e                         |
|    | 7  | 72 p                         |
|    | 14 | 127 h                        |
|    | 17 | 127 h                        |
|    | 18 | 80 k                         |
| 17 | 4  | 118 u                        |
|    | 6  | 134 p                        |
|    | 11 | 53 p                         |
|    | 15 | 103 l                        |
|    | 29 | 124 r                        |
| 18 | 1  | 134 p                        |
|    | 4  | 112 tt                       |
|    | 17 | 128 w N.                     |
|    | 20 | 44 i                         |
|    | 26 | 2 a                          |
|    | 28 | 2 a                          |
|    | 29 | 74 l                         |
|    | 30 | 121 b N.                     |
|    | 36 | 112 tt                       |
| 19 | 2  | 131 h N.                     |
|    | 4  | 132 h                        |
|    | 14 | 124 b N.                     |
|    | 21 | 72 l                         |
|    | 25 | 23 f, 75 qq                  |
| 20 | 1  | 49 a                         |
|    | 19 | 126 x, 141 n                 |
| 21 | 11 | 74 l                         |
|    | 12 | 67 g                         |
|    | 13 | 113 h N.                     |
|    | 15 | 112 tt                       |
|    | 26 | 144 d N.                     |
| 22 | 1  | 134 e                        |
|    | 13 | 138 b                        |
|    | 20 | 61 h, 124 c                  |
| 23 | 3  | 127 c                        |
|    | 4  | 75 v, 112 pp, 112 pp N.      |
|    | 8  | 112 pp N.                    |
|    | 10 | 112 pp, 114 s                |
|    | 12 | 112 rr, 127 f                |
|    | 14 | 112 pp N.                    |

## 2 Kings

|    |    |           |              |
|----|----|-----------|--------------|
| 23 | 15 | . . . . . | 67 v         |
|    | 17 | . . . . . | 127 f, 127 g |
|    | 20 | . . . . . | 117 d        |
|    | 35 | . . . . . | 139 c        |
| 24 | 7  | . . . . . | 144 b        |
|    | 14 | . . . . . | 97 g, 124 tt |
| 25 | 9  | . . . . . | 117 d        |
|    | 15 | . . . . . | 123 e        |
|    | 16 | . . . . . | 126 z, 134 l |
|    | 17 | . . . . . | 134 e        |
|    | 18 | . . . . . | 131 b        |
|    | 19 | . . . . . | 127 f        |
|    | 28 | . . . . . | 122 g        |
|    | 29 | . . . . . | 75 rr        |

## Isaiah

|   |    |           |                                  |
|---|----|-----------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | 2  | . . . . . | 126 e                            |
|   | 3  | . . . . . | 124 i                            |
|   | 4  | . . . . . | 128 l, x, 147 d                  |
|   | 5  | . . . . . | 37 e, 127 c, 137 b, 156 d        |
|   | 6  | . . . . . | 67 m, 126 m, 144 b, 152 o        |
|   | 7  | . . . . . | 116 l, 116 n, 118 x, 143 a       |
|   | 9  | . . . . . | 106 p, 118 x, 159 x              |
|   | 11 | . . . . . | 106 g, 107 f, 117 z              |
|   | 12 | . . . . . | 51 l, 106 g, 164 d               |
|   | 14 | . . . . . | 66 b, 76 b, 102 h, 114 c, 119 aa |
|   | 15 | . . . . . | 60 f, 61 e, 117 z, 124 n, 145 n  |
|   | 16 | . . . . . | 54 d, 128 r                      |
|   | 17 | . . . . . | 113 d, 117 u                     |
|   | 18 | . . . . . | 126 o, 160 a                     |
|   | 19 | . . . . . | 120 e                            |
|   | 20 | . . . . . | 52 e, 121 c                      |
|   | 21 | . . . . . | 90 l, 95 h, 107 b, 148 b         |
|   | 22 | . . . . . | 126 m                            |
|   | 23 | . . . . . | 107 g, 124 f                     |
|   | 24 | . . . . . | 51 p                             |
|   | 25 | . . . . . | 118 w, 124 l                     |
|   | 26 | . . . . . | 118 s N., 135 m                  |
|   | 27 | . . . . . | 116 i                            |
|   | 28 | . . . . . | 147 c                            |
|   | 29 | . . . . . | 144 p                            |
|   | 30 | . . . . . | 91 d, 116 i, 152 o               |
|   | 31 | . . . . . | 93 g                             |
| 2 | 1  | . . . . . | 154 a N.                         |
|   | 2  | . . . . . | 116 r                            |
|   | 4  | . . . . . | 91 n                             |
|   | 6  | . . . . . | 44 g                             |
|   | 7  | . . . . . | 117 z                            |
|   | 8  | . . . . . | 145 m                            |
|   | 9  | . . . . . | 109 e, 117 g                     |
|   | 11 | . . . . . | 112 s, 146 a                     |
|   | 17 | . . . . . | 145 o                            |
|   | 18 | . . . . . | 15 f                             |

## Isaiah

|   |    |           |   |
|---|----|-----------|---|
| 2 | 20 | . . . . . | 63 i, 84 <sup>b</sup> n, 135 n, 145 m       |
|   | 22 | . . . . . | 116 e, 119 s                                |
| 3 | 1  | . . . . . | 116 p, 122 v                                |
|   | 3  | . . . . . | 116 k                                       |
|   | 6  | . . . . . | 103 g, 118 g                                |
|   | 7  | . . . . . | 117 g, 117 ii, 156 b                        |
|   | 8  | . . . . . | 53 g, 122 i                                 |
|   | 9  | . . . . . | 135 i, 156 g                                |
|   | 12 | . . . . . | 124 k, 145 l                                |
|   | 13 | . . . . . | 115 b                                       |
|   | 14 | . . . . . | 128 h, 154 b                                |
|   | 15 | . . . . . | 37 c  |
|   | 16 | . . . . . | 52 n, 75 v, 111 r, 112 m, 113 u, 135 o      |
|   | 17 | . . . . . | 91 c, 91 f, 142 f                           |
|   | 22 | . . . . . | 35 f  |
|   | 24 | . . . . . | 131 b                                       |
| 4 | 4  | . . . . . | 106 o, 107 l, 113 e, 159 n N.               |
| 5 | 1  | . . . . . | 87 f N., 108 b, 128 v                       |
|   | 2  | . . . . . | 114 m, 117 ee                               |
|   | 3  | . . . . . | 110 a                                       |
|   | 4  | . . . . . | 75 z, 114 k, 150 m                          |
|   | 5  | . . . . . | 112 u, 113 d, 113 f, 114 k N., 116 d, 116 p |
|   | 6  | . . . . . | 117 z, 117 ii, 119 y                        |
|   | 8  | . . . . . | 112 w, 116 x, 144 p, 147 d                  |
|   | 9  | . . . . . | 149 e, 152 y                                |
|   | 10 | . . . . . | 93 m  |
|   | 11 | . . . . . | 112 m, 120 c, 130 a, 156 d                  |
|   | 12 | . . . . . | 93 ss, 106 l, 141 d                         |
|   | 13 | . . . . . | 106 n, 128 t                                |
|   | 14 | . . . . . | 20 f, 112 s                                 |
|   | 15 | . . . . . | 111 w                                       |
|   | 17 | . . . . . | 118 t, 142 f                                |
|   | 19 | . . . . . | 48 d, 108 d                                 |
|   | 23 | . . . . . | 116 x, 145 m                                |
|   | 24 | . . . . . | 114 r, 115 k                                |
|   | 25 | . . . . . | 136 b                                       |
|   | 26 | . . . . . | 133 k N., 145 m                             |
|   | 28 | . . . . . | 20 h, 117 z                                 |
|   | 29 | . . . . . | 152 l                                       |
|   | 30 | . . . . . | 136 b                                       |
| 6 | 1  | . . . . . | 111 b                                       |
|   | 2  | . . . . . | 88 f, 119 cc, 134 g                         |
|   | 3  | . . . . . | 112 k, 133 k, 139 e N., 141 l               |
|   | 4  | . . . . . | 107 b, 107 d, 117 z                         |
|   | 5  | . . . . . | 106 n, 128 y, 147 d                         |
|   | 6  | . . . . . | 94 b, 155 h, 156 b                          |
|   | 7  | . . . . . | 112 x                                       |
|   | 8  | . . . . . | 61 g, 117 c, 124 g N., 137 b                |
|   | 9  | . . . . . | 75 n, 113 r                                 |
|   | 10 | . . . . . | 67 v, 136 b                                 |

## Isaiah

|    |    |           |  |
|----|----|-----------|--|
| 6  | 11 | . . . . . | 106 o, 121 d, 144 d, 152 y                 |
|    | 12 | . . . . . | 67 k                                       |
|    | 13 | . . . . . | 52 p, 112 mm, 114 k N., 120 d              |
| 7  | 2  | . . . . . | 72 g, 122 i                                |
|    | 3  | . . . . . | 95 s                                       |
|    | 4  | . . . . . | 113 bb                                     |
|    | 6  | . . . . . | 122 i                                      |
|    | 7  | . . . . . | 122 q, 144 b                               |
|    | 8  | . . . . . | 119 y                                      |
|    | 9  | . . . . . | 148 d, 159 ce                              |
|    | 11 | . . . . . | 29 u                                       |
|    | 13 | . . . . . | 114 a, 133 c                               |
|    | 14 | . . . . . | 74 g, 112 t, 113 k, 126 r, 135 a N., 135 c |
|    | 15 | . . . . . | 113 f                                      |
|    | 17 | . . . . . | 49 a                                       |
|    | 18 | . . . . . | 124 e                                      |
|    | 20 | . . . . . | 126 x                                      |
|    | 23 | . . . . . | 134 n                                      |
|    | 25 | . . . . . | 118 l, 144 h                               |
| 8  | 1  | . . . . . | 29 l, 52 s, 119 u                          |
|    | 2  | . . . . . | 49 e, 96                                   |
|    | 4  | . . . . . | 144 d                                      |
|    | 6  | . . . . . | 2 d N., 130 a                              |
|    | 7  | . . . . . | 154 b                                      |
|    | 8  | . . . . . | 145 o                                      |
|    | 9  | . . . . . | 110 f                                      |
|    | 11 | . . . . . | 45 d, 59 h                                 |
|    | 12 | . . . . . | 47 m, 117 r                                |
|    | 16 | . . . . . | 67 n                                       |
|    | 17 | . . . . . | 75 z                                       |
|    | 19 | . . . . . | 164 d                                      |
|    | 20 | . . . . . | 145 m                                      |
|    | 21 | . . . . . | 54 k, 118 n                                |
|    | 23 | . . . . . | 67 v, 90 f, 128 h                          |
| 9  | 1  | . . . . . | 106 n, 130 a, 132 g                        |
|    | 2  | . . . . . | 103 g, 130 a                               |
|    | 3  | . . . . . | 10 h, 20 h, 67 w, 93 g, 118 u, 135 n       |
|    | 4  | . . . . . | 112 mm, 124 n, 143 d, 146 e                |
|    | 5  | . . . . . | 93 k, 144 d                                |
|    | 6  | . . . . . | 5 n, 152 u                                 |
|    | 8  | . . . . . | 127 c, 145 c                               |
|    | 11 | . . . . . | 127 c                                      |
|    | 12 | . . . . . | 116 f                                      |
|    | 18 | . . . . . | 145 o                                      |
| 10 | 1  | . . . . . | 10 g, 93 bb                                |
|    | 2  | . . . . . | 114 r                                      |
|    | 4  | . . . . . | 163 c                                      |
|    | 5  | . . . . . | 152 a                                      |
|    | 9  | . . . . . | 21 d                                       |
|    | 10 | . . . . . | 133 e                                      |
|    | 12 | . . . . . | 47 b, 127 a                                |
|    | 13 | . . . . . | 23 d, 75 z, 107 b N.                       |
|    | 14 | . . . . . | 118 w, 126 o, 132 e                        |
|    | 15 | . . . . . | 115 i, 124 k, 150 h                        |

## Isaiah

|    |           |                             |                              |
|----|-----------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 10 | 16        | . . . . .                   | 69f                          |
| 17 | . . . . . | 93v                         |                              |
| 18 | . . . . . | 67cc                        |                              |
| 22 | . . . . . | 117z                        |                              |
| 24 | . . . . . | 58i, 119o, 156d             |                              |
| 30 | . . . . . | 132b, 144m                  |                              |
| 32 | . . . . . | 114k, 119o                  |                              |
| 33 | . . . . . | 23t                         |                              |
| 11 | 2         | . . . . .                   | 128a                         |
| 7  | . . . . . | 122e                        |                              |
| 8  | . . . . . | 142f                        |                              |
| 9  | . . . . . | 106u, 114c, 115d,           |                              |
|    | . . . . . | 116f N., 117n,              |                              |
|    | . . . . . | 126z                        |                              |
| 10 | . . . . . | 119gg                       |                              |
| 12 | . . . . . | 20m                         |                              |
| 14 | . . . . . | 93hh                        |                              |
| 12 | 1         | . . . . .                   | 109k                         |
| 2  | . . . . . | 80g                         |                              |
| 5  | . . . . . | 116e                        |                              |
| 6  | . . . . . | 122s                        |                              |
| 13 | 3         | . . . . .                   | 135n                         |
| 4  | . . . . . | 146b, 147c                  |                              |
| 6  | . . . . . | 118x                        |                              |
| 8  | . . . . . | 47m, 119gg                  |                              |
| 18 | . . . . . | 52n                         |                              |
| 19 | . . . . . | 115d                        |                              |
| 20 | . . . . . | 68k                         |                              |
| 22 | . . . . . | 145o                        |                              |
| 14 | 2         | . . . . .                   | 54f, 57N <sup>1</sup> , 117w |
| 3  | . . . . . | 22s, 102b, 115g,            |                              |
|    | . . . . . | 121b, 121f                  |                              |
| 4  | . . . . . | 49k, 49m, 148b              |                              |
| 6  | . . . . . | 117g, 130a                  |                              |
| 9  | . . . . . | 145t                        |                              |
| 11 | . . . . . | 93ss, 145o                  |                              |
| 14 | . . . . . | 87s                         |                              |
| 17 | . . . . . | 116x, 117o                  |                              |
| 19 | . . . . . | 29f, 126p, 130a             |                              |
| 23 | . . . . . | 55f, 113e                   |                              |
| 24 | . . . . . | 144b, 149b                  |                              |
| 27 | . . . . . | 116g, 126k                  |                              |
| 30 | . . . . . | 72w, 133h                   |                              |
| 31 | . . . . . | 72v, 113bb                  |                              |
| 15 | 2         | . . . . .                   | 70d, 96                      |
| 5  | . . . . . | 72cc                        |                              |
| 7  | . . . . . | 155h                        |                              |
| 8  | . . . . . | 119hh                       |                              |
| 18 | 2         | . . . . .                   | 126p                         |
| 4  | . . . . . | 145d                        |                              |
| 6  | . . . . . | 122v                        |                              |
| 7  | . . . . . | 70d                         |                              |
| 8  | . . . . . | 75m, 145u                   |                              |
| 9  | . . . . . | 75dd                        |                              |
| 10 | . . . . . | 72bb, 121a, b, 144e         |                              |
| 17 | 1         | . . . . .                   | 119g, 121b                   |
| 4  | . . . . . | 128r                        |                              |
| 5  | . . . . . | 122n                        |                              |
| 6  | . . . . . | 118u, 131n N <sup>1</sup> , |                              |
|    | . . . . . | 134s                        |                              |

## Isaiah

|    |           |                    |                  |
|----|-----------|--------------------|------------------|
| 17 | 8         | . . . . .          | 35f, 154a N. (b) |
| 10 | . . . . . | 20m N., 47k        |                  |
| 11 | . . . . . | 72n                |                  |
| 12 | . . . . . | 47m, 75u           |                  |
| 18 | 1         | . . . . .          | 124e             |
| 2  | . . . . . | 52s, 103m          |                  |
| 3  | . . . . . | 66b                |                  |
| 4  | . . . . . | 10h                |                  |
| 5  | . . . . . | 29g, 67v, 72dd,    |                  |
|    | . . . . . | 142f, 145q         |                  |
| 6  | . . . . . | 73b                |                  |
| 19 | 1         | . . . . .          | 72l              |
| 3  | . . . . . | 67dd               |                  |
| 4  | . . . . . | 124i, 132h         |                  |
| 6  | . . . . . | 53g, 53p, 124e     |                  |
| 9  | . . . . . | 86i                |                  |
| 10 | . . . . . | 128y               |                  |
| 11 | . . . . . | 133h               |                  |
| 12 | . . . . . | 109f               |                  |
| 13 | . . . . . | 142f               |                  |
| 17 | . . . . . | 80h, 95d, 143b     |                  |
| 18 | . . . . . | 2a                 |                  |
| 22 | . . . . . | 113s               |                  |
| 20 | 1         | . . . . .          | 115k             |
| 2  | . . . . . | 113t, 118n         |                  |
| 4  | . . . . . | 87g, 118o          |                  |
| 21 | 1         | . . . . .          | 114o             |
| 2  | . . . . . | 44o, 72s, 121b     |                  |
| 7  | . . . . . | 93dd, 117q         |                  |
| 8  | . . . . . | 118r               |                  |
| 9  | . . . . . | 136d               |                  |
| 11 | . . . . . | 90f, 93w, 116t     |                  |
| 12 | . . . . . | 29t, 75u, 75rr,    |                  |
|    | . . . . . | 76d                |                  |
| 14 | . . . . . | 76d                |                  |
| 17 | . . . . . | 127a, 128a,        |                  |
|    | . . . . . | 146a               |                  |
| 22 | 1         | . . . . .          | 91e, 150l        |
| 2  | . . . . . | 75v, 91e, 117z,    |                  |
|    | . . . . . | 126e, 128x, 152d   |                  |
| 3  | . . . . . | 119w               |                  |
| 5  | . . . . . | 128a, 133l         |                  |
| 7  | . . . . . | 128r               |                  |
| 10 | . . . . . | 20m                |                  |
| 11 | . . . . . | 95o, 124k          |                  |
| 13 | . . . . . | 75n, 113d, 113f,   |                  |
|    | . . . . . | 113dd              |                  |
| 14 | . . . . . | 107c, 112ss, 149b, |                  |
|    | . . . . . | 149e               |                  |
| 16 | . . . . . | 90m, 144p          |                  |
| 17 | . . . . . | 113r               |                  |
| 18 | . . . . . | 118r               |                  |
| 19 | . . . . . | 144p               |                  |
| 24 | . . . . . | 128w, 133h         |                  |
| 23 | 1         | . . . . .          | 110k, 119y       |
| 4  | . . . . . | 152z               |                  |
| 5  | . . . . . | 118u, 128h         |                  |
| 7  | . . . . . | 126z N.            |                  |
| 8  | . . . . . | 93zv               |                  |
| 11 | . . . . . | 20o, 53g           |                  |

## Isaiah

|    |           |                  |                   |
|----|-----------|------------------|-------------------|
| 23 | 12        | . . . . .        | 35b, 46e, 118f,   |
|    | . . . . . | 130e, 132b       |                   |
| 13 | . . . . . | 136d N.          |                   |
| 15 | . . . . . | 44f, 116p, 118t  |                   |
| 17 | . . . . . | 72l, 91e         |                   |
| 24 | 2         | . . . . .        | 35g, 116s, 127i   |
| 3  | . . . . . | 67t              |                   |
| 10 | . . . . . | 119x             |                   |
| 12 | . . . . . | 121d             |                   |
| 16 | . . . . . | 117q             |                   |
| 19 | . . . . . | 67o, 113w        |                   |
| 22 | . . . . . | 117q             |                   |
| 25 | 6         | . . . . .        | 75dd, 93ss        |
| 7  | . . . . . | 72p              |                   |
| 10 | . . . . . | 72v              |                   |
| 26 | 4         | . . . . .        | 119i N.           |
| 9  | . . . . . | 144m             |                   |
| 10 | . . . . . | 159e             |                   |
| 11 | . . . . . | 47m              |                   |
| 16 | . . . . . | 44t, 72o         |                   |
| 18 | . . . . . | 124e             |                   |
| 19 | . . . . . | 95h, 122s        |                   |
| 20 | . . . . . | 75qq             |                   |
| 27 | 3         | . . . . .        | 60a               |
| 4  | . . . . . | 10h, 65b, 71,    |                   |
|    | . . . . . | 117x, 151b       |                   |
| 5  | . . . . . | 162a             |                   |
| 8  | . . . . . | 55f              |                   |
| 9  | . . . . . | 156f             |                   |
| 11 | . . . . . | 70a N., 124e     |                   |
| 18 | . . . . . | 152x             |                   |
| 28 | 1         | . . . . .        | 124e, 128c        |
| 2  | . . . . . | 125c             |                   |
| 3  | . . . . . | 47k              |                   |
| 4  | . . . . . | 91e, 128w, 135n, |                   |
|    | . . . . . | 144e             |                   |
| 6  | . . . . . | 90i, 119hh       |                   |
| 7  | . . . . . | 72l, 118g        |                   |
| 8  | . . . . . | 127c             |                   |
| 9  | . . . . . | 130a             |                   |
| 10 | . . . . . | 102h, 147c       |                   |
| 11 | . . . . . | 116b             |                   |
| 12 | . . . . . | 23t, 114m N.     |                   |
| 16 | . . . . . | 71, 119t, 130f   |                   |
|    | . . . . . | N., 155f         |                   |
| 17 | . . . . . | 29u, 142f        |                   |
| 18 | . . . . . | 145o             |                   |
| 20 | . . . . . | 133c             |                   |
| 21 | . . . . . | 118t, 132b       |                   |
| 24 | . . . . . | 144e             |                   |
| 26 | . . . . . | 112rr            |                   |
| 27 | . . . . . | 152z             |                   |
| 28 | . . . . . | 112m, 113w N.    |                   |
|    | . . . . . | 150a             |                   |
| 29 | 1         | . . . . .        | 19c, 66f, 69h N., |
|    | . . . . . | 130d             |                   |
| 4  | . . . . . | 120g             |                   |
| 5  | . . . . . | 126p, 133k N.    |                   |
| 6  | . . . . . | 84s, 144b        |                   |
| 7  | . . . . . | 75qq, 116i, 118t |                   |



| Isaiah                     | Isaiah                        | Isaiah                           |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 29 8 . . . . . 116 s       | 34 6 . . . . . 54 h           | 41 3 . . . . . 118 g             |
| 9 . . . . . 55 g, 72 l     | 10 . . . . . 102 i            | 4 . . . . . 135 a N.             |
| 13 115 d, 127 a, 142 d     | 11 . . . . . 21 c, 80 g       | 5 . . . . . 75 u                 |
| 14 . 50 e, 113 w, 155 f    | 13 . . . . . 117 z            | 7 . . . . . 29 f                 |
| 15 . . . . . 53 q, 112 n   | 17 . . . . . 59 g             | 8 . . . . . 138 d                |
| 16 . . . . . 147 c, 150 f  | 35 1 . . . . . 47 n           | 10 . . . . . 75 bb               |
| 19 128 l, 132 c, 133 h     | 2 . . . . . 117 g, 130 b      | 12 . . . . . 135 n               |
| 23 . . . . . 131 o         | 4 . . . . . 65 f              | 15 . . . . . 96                  |
| 30 1 . . . . . 69 h N.     | 7 . . . . . 135 p             | 17 . . . . . 20 i                |
| 2 . . . . . 63 i, 72 q     | 9 . . . . . 84 b f, 132 c     | 23 48 g N., 75 l, 75 v,          |
| 5 . . . . . 78 b           | 36 2 . . . . . 128 w N.       | 109 d                            |
| 6 . . . . . 135 p          | 8 . . . . . 127 f             | 24 . . . . . 155 n               |
| 8 . . . . . 61 f, 135 p    | 9 . . . . . 119 s, 119 u      | 25 . . . . . 23 d, 76 d          |
| 11 . . . . . 102 b         | 11 . . . . . 2 a              | 28 . 109 h, cf. 159 d            |
| 12 61 d, 111 v, 114 d,     | 14 . . . . . 74 l             | 42 4 . . . . . 67 q              |
| 114 r                      | 16 . . . . . 110 f, 127 f     | 5 . 65 d, 93 ss, 124 k           |
| 13 . . . . . 116 d         | 17 . . . . . 114 r            | 6 . 107 b N., 109 k              |
| 14 . 63 i, 113 i, 156 g    | 37 3 . . . . . 69 m, 152 k    | 13 . . . . . 126 p               |
| 18 . . . . . 67 cc, 130 a  | 11 . . . . . 150 a            | 18 35 g, 126 e, 126 f            |
| 19 . 58 g, 67 n, 75 u      | 14 . . . . . 124 b N.         | 20 . . . . . 75 n, 144 p         |
| 20 . . . . . 131 c, 145 n  | 17 . . . . . 10 g             | 21 . . . . . 120 c               |
| 21 . . . . . 56            | 19 . . . . . 113 f, 113 z     | 22 29 g, 72 y, 119 hh,           |
| 22 . . . . . 135 n, 145 m  | 22 . . . . . 130 e            | 124 q                            |
| 23 . . . . . 93 ss         | 24 . . . . . 128 r            | 24 113 d, 114 m N.,              |
| 24 . . . . . 52 s          | 25 . . . . . 124 e            | 138 g                            |
| 25 . . . . . 74 i          | 26 75 gg, 114 k, 117 ii       | 25 . . . . . 131 k               |
| 26 . . . . . 114 r, 134 r  | 28 . . . . . 114 c            | 43 1 . 61 h, 74 e, 91 d          |
| 28 . . . . . 72 z          | 29 . . . . . 112 nn           | 2 . . 159 dd, 159 ff             |
| 31 . . . . . 156 d         | 30 113 z, 113 ee, 126 b       | 6 . . . . . 122 v                |
| 33 . . . . . 32 l          | 38 3 . . . . . 16 f N., 157 c | 8 . 53 m, 69 v, 74 l             |
| 31 2 . . . . . 141 f       | 5 50 e, 113 bb, 155 f         | 9 . 51 o, 106 n N <sup>2</sup>   |
| 3 . . . . . 75 u           | 9 . . . . . 114 r             | 10 . . . . . 135 a N.            |
| 5 . . . . . 67 p, 113 t    | 10 . . . . . 108 g, 121 d     | 25 . . . . . 141 h               |
| 6 . 138 f N., 144 p        | 14 . 48 i N., 61 f N.         | 44 3 . . . . . 71                |
| 8 . . . . . 125 c, 152 a   | 15 . . . . . 55 g             | 9 . . . . . 5 n                  |
| 32 1 . . . . . 143 e       | 16 75 mm, 103 g, 135 p        | 13 . . . . . 64 i                |
| 7 . . . . . 154 a N.       | 17 . . . . . 119 ff           | 15 . . 66 e, 103 f N.            |
| 9 . . . . . 44 o           | 18 . . . . . 116 h, 152 z     | 16 . . . . . 67 ee               |
| 11 . 48 i, 67 o, 110 k     | 20 . . . . . 86 i, 114 i      | 19 . . . . . 150 a               |
| 12 . . . . . 116 s, 144 i  | 39 1 . . . . . 124 b N.       | 21 20 f, 57 N., 117 x            |
| 13 . . . . . 128 c         | 2 . . . . . 15 e N., 126 x    | 24 . . . . . 65 d                |
| 17 . . . . . 113 c         | 40 1 . . . . . 107 f          | 28 . . . . . 53 n, 114 p         |
| 18 . . . . . 124 e         | 3 . . . . . 146 b             | 45 1 . . . . . 67 p              |
| 33 1 20 h, 53 g, 53 u,     | 4 . . . . . 93 v              | 2 . . . . . 70 b                 |
| 67 v, 120 b, 156 f         | 6 . . 112 gg, 127 c           | 4 . 111 b N., 131 g              |
| 3 . . . . . 67 dd          | 9 . . . . . 119 s             | 9 . . . . . 152 u                |
| 4 . . . . . 85 h           | 10 . . . . . 119 i            | 10 . . . . . 47 o                |
| 5 . . . . . 116 s          | 11 . . . . . 93 x             | 14 . . . . . 10 g                |
| 6 . . . . . 130 b          | 14 . . . . . 124 e            | 46 5 . . . . . 75 dd             |
| 7 . . . . . 75 u           | 18 . . . . . 15 c, 75 dd      | 47 1 . . . . . 120 c             |
| 9 . . . . . 29 q, 145 t    | 19 . . . . . 119 hh           | 2 . . . . . 46 d, 63 l           |
| 10 . . . . . 54 c, 133 l   | 20 . . . . . 155 f, 156 g     | 5 . 100 g N <sup>2</sup> , 118 o |
| 12 . . . . . 20 i          | 22 . . . . . 126 b            | 7 . . . . . 94 g                 |
| 14 . . 84 s, 117 bb        | 25 . . . . . 150 m            | 8 . . . . . 90 l, 144 p          |
| 15 117 r N., 119 z,        | 26 . . . . . 124 e            | 10 59 g, 61 h, 75 v,             |
| 124 e                      | 29 . . . . . 152 v            | 116 f                            |
| 16 . . . . . 124 b         | 30 . . . . . 69 q             | 12 . . . . . 138 f               |
| 20 . . . . . 152 t         | 31 . . . . . 8 k              | 14 . . . . . 28 b, 67 cc         |
| 34 4 . . . . . 67 t, 126 o | 41 1 . . . . . 119 gg         | 48 8 . . . . . 52 k, 157 a       |
| 5 . . . . . 52 k           | 2 35 n N., 75 gg, 155 n       | 9 . . . . . 119 hh               |

## Isaiah

|    |    |                     |                              |
|----|----|---------------------|------------------------------|
| 48 | 11 | . . . . .           | 67 t                         |
|    | 14 | . . . . .           | 119 hh                       |
|    | 17 | . . . . .           | 61 h, 93 q                   |
|    | 18 | . . . . .           | 111 x, 151 e                 |
| 49 | 6  | 67 t, 115 a, 142 f  |                              |
|    |    | N <sup>2</sup>      |                              |
|    | 7  | . . . . .           | 111 q                        |
|    | 11 | . . . . .           | 145 u                        |
|    | 13 | . . . . .           | 126 o                        |
|    | 15 | . . . . .           | 160 b                        |
|    | 18 | . . . . .           | 32 c                         |
|    | 19 | . . . . .           | 67 dd                        |
|    | 21 | . . . . .           | 72 p                         |
|    | 23 | . . . . .           | 122 f N., 156 c              |
|    | 26 | . . . . .           | 135 l                        |
| 50 | 2  | 133 c, 150 m, 152 y |                              |
|    | 8  | . . . . .           | 15 e, 20 f                   |
|    | 9  | . . . . .           | 136 c                        |
|    | 10 | . . . . .           | 137 c                        |
|    | 11 | . . . . .           | 20 n                         |
| 51 | 1  | . . . . .           | 155 k                        |
|    | 2  | . . . . .           | 107 b N.                     |
|    | 3  | . . . . .           | 146 e                        |
|    | 9  | 72 s, 118 u, 124 q  |                              |
|    | 10 | . . . . .           | 93 pp, 138 k                 |
|    | 12 | . . . . .           | 61 h, 111 m                  |
|    | 13 | . . . . .           | 52 k                         |
|    | 15 | . . . . .           | 65 d                         |
|    | 17 | . . . . .           | 128 q                        |
|    | 19 | . . . . .           | 47 b, 122 q                  |
|    | 21 | . . . . .           | 50 f, 130 b                  |
| 52 | 1  | . . . . .           | 120 c                        |
|    | 5  | . . . . .           | 55 b                         |
|    | 7  | . . . . .           | 75 x, 106 g                  |
|    | 8  | . . . . .           | 117 a N <sup>2</sup> , 146 b |
|    | 11 | . . . . .           | 67 t                         |
|    | 12 | . . . . .           | 61 h                         |
|    | 14 | . . . . .           | 93 q                         |
| 53 | 1  | . . . . .           | 151 a                        |
|    | 2  | . . . . .           | 166 a                        |
|    | 3  | . . . . .           | 96, 128 g                    |
|    | 4  | . . . . .           | 116 l, 117 ii                |
|    | 5  | . . . . .           | 121 a, 128 q                 |
|    | 8  | . . . . .           | 103 f N.                     |
|    | 9  | . . . . .           | 160 c                        |
|    | 10 | . . . . .           | 74 k, 75 ii                  |
|    | 11 | . . . . .           | 117 n, 120 h, 132 b          |
| 54 | 1  | 67 ff, 144 p, 155 f |                              |
|    | 4  | . . . . .           | 91 l                         |
|    | 5  | . . . . .           | 124 k, 124 k N.              |
|    | 6  | . . . . .           | 58 g                         |
|    | 10 | . . . . .           | 103 b                        |
|    | 11 | . . . . .           | 152 a N.                     |
|    | 12 | . . . . .           | 21 d                         |
|    | 14 | . . . . .           | 54 c, 119 c                  |
|    | 15 | . . . . .           | 137 c, 159 w                 |
| 55 | 2  | . . . . .           | 152 a N.                     |
|    | 3  | . . . . .           | 93 m                         |
|    | 9  | . . . . .           | 161 b                        |
| 56 | 3  | . . . . .           | 138 k                        |

## Isaiah

|    |    |                   |                   |
|----|----|-------------------|-------------------|
| 56 | 4  | . . . . .         | 138 f             |
|    | 5  | . . . . .         | 112 mm            |
|    | 8  | . . . . .         | 20 m              |
|    | 9  | . . . . .         | 29 t              |
|    | 12 | . . . . .         | 29 t              |
| 57 | 4  | . . . . .         | 93 m              |
|    | 5  | . . . . .         | 67 u              |
|    | 6  | . . . . .         | 20 h              |
|    | 8  | . . . . .         | 47 k              |
|    | 17 | . . . . .         | 113 h             |
|    | 20 | . . . . .         | 113 d             |
| 58 | 3  | 19 c, 20 h, 150 m |                   |
|    | 9  | . . . . .         | 115 b             |
|    | 13 | . . . . .         | 119 hh            |
| 59 | 3  | . . . . .         | 51 h              |
|    | 5  | . . . . .         | 73 d, 80 i        |
|    | 9  | . . . . .         | 93 r              |
|    | 10 | . . . . .         | 152 v             |
|    | 12 | . . . . .         | 67 k              |
|    | 13 | . . . . .         | 52 e, 75 n, 113 d |
|    | 14 | . . . . .         | 72 ee             |
|    | 21 | . . . . .         | 143 a             |
| 60 | 3  | . . . . .         | 107 b N.          |
|    | 4  | . . . . .         | 51 m, 122 v       |
|    | 7  | . . . . .         | 60 e              |
|    | 9  | . . . . .         | 58 g              |
|    | 14 | . . . . .         | 118 q, 125 h      |
| 61 | 1  | . . . . .         | 84 b n            |
|    | 7  | . . . . .         | 119 hh            |
| 62 | 2  | . . . . .         | 16 f              |
|    | 9  | . . . . .         | 20 m, 52 p        |
|    | 12 | . . . . .         | 152 a N.          |
| 63 | 3  | . . . . .         | 53 p, 76 c        |
|    | 11 | . . . . .         | 128 c             |
|    | 16 | . . . . .         | 60 d              |
|    | 19 | . . . . .         | 151 e, 155 m      |
| 64 | 3  | . . . . .         | 75 hh             |
|    | 6  | . . . . .         | 72 cc             |
| 65 | 1  | . . . . .         | 51 c, 155 n       |
|    | 2  | . . . . .         | 126 z             |
|    | 5  | . . . . .         | 117 x             |
|    | 11 | . . . . .         | 35 g              |
|    | 14 | . . . . .         | 70 d              |
|    | 17 | . . . . .         | 29 i N., 51 m     |
|    | 18 | . . . . .         | 110 c             |
|    | 20 | . . . . .         | 75 oo             |
|    | 24 | . . . . .         | 107 c             |
| 66 | 13 | . . . . .         | 155 d             |
|    | 15 | . . . . .         | 119 i             |
|    | 18 | . . . . .         | 167 b             |

## Jeremiah

|   |    |           |             |
|---|----|-----------|-------------|
| 1 | 10 | . . . . . | 45 g        |
|   | 13 | . . . . . | 90 e        |
| 2 | 2  | . . . . . | 49 k        |
|   | 8  | . . . . . | 155 n       |
|   | 11 | . . . . . | 72 e, 155 n |
|   | 12 | . . . . . | 46 d        |
|   | 15 | . . . . . | 44 m        |

## Jeremiah

|    |    |                    |                           |
|----|----|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 2  | 16 | . . . . .          | 117 u                     |
|    | 17 | . . . . .          | 116 g N.                  |
|    | 19 | . . . . .          | 60 a                      |
|    | 20 | . . . . .          | 44 h N.                   |
|    | 21 | . . . . .          | 126 z                     |
|    | 24 | . . . . .          | 60 e, 122 d               |
|    | 27 | . . . . .          | 59 h, 69 s                |
|    | 31 | . . . . .          | 85 h                      |
|    | 33 | . . . . .          | 44 h                      |
|    | 35 | . . . . .          | 114 d                     |
|    | 36 | . . . . .          | 68 h                      |
| 3  | 1  | . . . . .          | 113 ee, 159 w             |
|    | 5  | . . . . .          | 47 k, 66 f, 69 r          |
|    | 6  | . . . . .          | 75 ii, 132 b              |
|    | 7  | . . . . .          | 84 a k                    |
|    | 8  | . . . . .          | 91 l                      |
|    | 9  | . . . . .          | 112 ss                    |
|    | 15 | . . . . .          | 113 k                     |
|    | 22 | . . . . .          | 75 pp, 75 rr              |
| 4  | 1  | . . . . .          | 143 d                     |
|    | 2  | . . . . .          | 10 g                      |
|    | 5  | . . . . .          | 120 h                     |
|    | 7  | . . . . .          | 20 h, 93 t                |
|    | 11 | . . . . .          | 67 v                      |
|    | 13 | . . . . .          | 67 ee                     |
|    | 18 | . . . . .          | 75 n                      |
|    | 19 | 44 h, 108 g, 133 l |                           |
|    |    | N.                 |                           |
|    | 30 | . . . . .          | 145 t                     |
| 5  | 6  | . . . . .          | 20 b, 67 cc               |
|    | 7  | . . . . .          | 65 b                      |
|    | 13 | . . . . .          | 52 o, 138 i               |
|    | 23 | . . . . .          | 58 i, 58 k, 60 e          |
|    | 26 | . . . . .          | 67 p                      |
| 6  | 5  | . . . . .          | 10 g                      |
|    | 8  | . . . . .          | 51 e, 152 a N.            |
|    | 10 | . . . . .          | 108 g                     |
|    | 17 | . . . . .          | 112 dd                    |
|    | 20 | . . . . .          | 126 x                     |
|    | 28 | . . . . .          | 133 i                     |
|    | 29 | . . . . .          | 67 u                      |
| 7  | 4  | . . . . .          | 133 l N.                  |
|    | 9  | . . . . .          | 112 o, 113 ee             |
|    | 19 | . . . . .          | 57 N <sup>4</sup> , 135 k |
| 8  | 4  | . . . . .          | 150 m                     |
|    | 5  | . . . . .          | 128 c                     |
|    | 11 | . . . . .          | 75 qq, 133 l              |
|    | 13 | . . . . .          | 72 aa, 113 w              |
|    | 14 | . . . . .          | 67 dd                     |
|    | 19 | . . . . .          | 100 m, 102 m              |
| 9  | 1  | . . . . .          | 108 f, 151 b              |
|    | 2  | . . . . .          | 53 n, 119 u               |
|    | 3  | . . . . .          | 63 c                      |
|    | 4  | . . . . .          | 53 g, 113 d               |
|    | 11 | . . . . .          | 109 i                     |
|    | 12 | . . . . .          | 114 r                     |
|    | 17 | . . . . .          | 74 k                      |
|    | 23 | . . . . .          | 113 d, 113 g, 144 e       |
| 10 | 3  | . . . . .          | 145 u N <sup>8</sup>      |
|    | 4  | . . . . .          | 109 g                     |

## Jeremiah

10 5 23 t, 47 n, 75 oo,  
113 b  
11 . . . . . I c  
17 . . . . . 46 d, 90 m  
18 . . . . . 67 ce  
19 . . . . . 63 c, 126 y  
22 . . . . . 146 b  
23 . . . . . 72 z  
11 7 . . . . . 113 k  
15 . . . . . 53 n, 90 g, 91 e  
16 . . . . . 84 a a  
19 . . . . . 45 g  
12 4 . . . . . 145 k  
5 . . . . . 55 h  
9 . . . . . 68 i  
13 10 . . . . . 52 s  
14 . . . . . 127 e  
16 . . . . . 144 c  
17 . . . . . 69 p  
19 . . . . . 75 m, 118 q  
20 . . . . . 145 m  
21 . . . . . 64 a  
14 1 . . . . . 138 e N.  
16 . . . . . 103 g  
18 . . . . . 155 h, 159 p  
15 10 . . . . . 61 h, 91 c N.  
18 . . . . . 50 f, 102 l  
16 16 . . . . . 73 b, 132 b  
17 2 . . . . . 28 a, 45 g  
7 . . . . . 93 oo  
11 . . . . . 161 a  
17 . . . . . 75 hh  
18 . . . . . 53 m, 72 y, 74 l  
18 7 . . . . . 45 g  
16 . . . . . 119 q  
23 . . . . . 75 ii  
19 5 . . . . . 144 b  
11 . . . . . 75 qq  
15 . . . . . 74 k  
20 9 21 d, 112 kh, 132 d  
15 . . . . . 59 f  
17 . . . . . 111 l, 122 n N.  
21 1 . . . . . 115 t  
13 . . . . . 66 f  
22 14 . . . . . 87 g  
15 . . . . . 10 g, 55 h, 142 g  
16 . . . . . 144 p  
19 . . . . . 113 h  
20 . . . . . 10 h, 46 d  
22 . . . . . 22 s  
23 23 f N., 80 d, 90 n  
24 . . . . . 58 i  
26 . . . . . 72 k  
28 . . . . . 10 g  
29 . . . . . 133 i N.  
23 6 . . . . . 20 d, 60 c, 74 e  
9 . . . . . 126 p  
14 . . . . . 113 h N<sup>2</sup>, 152 x  
32 . . . . . 52 s  
33 . . . . . 117 m N.

## Jeremiah

23 37 . . . . . 58 g, 75 u  
39 . . . . . 23 l  
24 7 . . . . . 115 c  
25 3 . . . . . 53 k  
15 . . . . . 131 k  
26 . . . . . 127 g  
27 . . . . . 76 h  
34 . . . . . 91 l  
36 . . . . . 24 c  
26 5 . . . . . 113 k  
6 . . . . . 8 k, 37 b  
9 . . . . . 75 qq  
27 16 . . . . . 90 e  
18 . . . . . 72 o, 76 g  
20 . . . . . 53 q  
29 1 . . . . . 53 p  
8 . . . . . 53 o  
17 . . . . . 132 e  
23 . . . . . 64 e  
25 . . . . . 124 b N.  
30 11 . . . . . 113 n  
16 . . . . . 67 s  
26 . . . . . 134 m  
31 1 . . . . . 75 hh  
2 . . . . . 113 dd  
3 . . . . . 117 x  
8 . . . . . 119 q  
15 . . . . . 145 m  
18 . . . . . 51 c  
21 . . . . . 44 h, 126 y  
22 . . . . . 47 o  
28 . . . . . 45 g  
32 . . . . . 63 o, 138 b N.  
33 . . . . . 60 a  
38 . . . . . 17 b  
40 . . . . . 127 g  
32 4 . . . . . 51 k  
10 . . . . . 126 s  
12 . . . . . 127 h  
14 . . . . . 124 b N.  
35 . . . . . 74 k  
33 20 . . . . . 128 d, 131 r  
22 . . . . . 116 g  
34 9 . . . . . 132 d  
36 33 . . . . . 117 l  
37 3 . . . . . 53 q  
11 . . . . . 112 uu  
12 . . . . . 53 q  
15 . . . . . 112 tt  
16 . . . . . 87 i  
38 4 . . . . . 75 rr  
6 . . . . . 127 f  
9 . . . . . 111 l  
11 . . . . . 8 k  
12 . . . . . 93 x  
14 . . . . . 126 w  
16 . . . . . 17 b  
23 . . . . . 144 i  
26 . . . . . 115 a  
28 . . . . . 112 qq

## Jeremiah

39 7 . . . . . 53 q, 72 z  
12 . . . . . 22 s  
14 . . . . . 115 c  
40 3 . . . . . 12 qq  
4 . . . . . 35 d  
5 . . . . . 72 s  
16 . . . . . 75 hh  
41 6 . . . . . 113 u  
12 . . . . . 119 g  
42 2 . . . . . 75 f  
6 . . . . . 17 a, 32 d  
10 . . . . . 19 i  
16 . . . . . 112 y  
44 7 . . . . . 114 o  
8 . . . . . 8 k  
18 . . . . . 67 c  
19 . . . . . 53 k, 58 g, 144 u  
21 . . . . . 52 o  
23 . . . . . 74 g  
25 . . . . . 72 k, 146 g  
46 1 . . . . . 138 e N.  
5 . . . . . 117 q  
8 . . . . . 68 i  
16 . . . . . 126 w  
20 . . . . . 84 b n  
47 4 . . . . . 45 g, 67 cc  
48 2 . . . . . 67 t  
11 . . . . . 72 dd  
15 . . . . . 145 u  
31 . . . . . 70 d  
32 . . . . . 127 f  
36 . . . . . 80 g  
44 . . . . . 131 n N<sup>1</sup>  
45 . . . . . 119 w  
49 3 . . . . . 54 b  
8 . . . . . 46 a N<sup>2</sup>  
10 . . . . . 75 pp  
11 . . . . . 47 k, 60 a N.  
12 . . . . . 141 h  
16 . . . . . 90 l, 147 c  
25 . . . . . 80 g  
28 . . . . . 20 b, 67 cc  
30 . . . . . 20 g  
36 . . . . . 20 m  
37 . . . . . 67 aa  
50 5 . . . . . 51 o  
11 . . . . . 80 h  
34 . . . . . 53 l, 73 d  
51 3 . . . . . 17 b, 152 h N.  
9 . . . . . 75 qq  
13 . . . . . 90 n  
14 . . . . . 163 d  
29 . . . . . 111 w N.  
33 . . . . . 53 l  
56 . . . . . 20 h, 52 k  
58 . . . . . 20 i  
59 . . . . . 134 p  
52 12 . . . . . 155 d  
20 . . . . . 128 d

| Ezekiel                                    | Ezekiel                            | Ezekiel                              |
|--|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 6 . . . . . 87 t, 88 f                   | 16 50 . . . . . 47 l               | 26 2 . . . . . 67 t                  |
| 11 . . . . . 91 l                          | 51 . . . . . 96                    | 10 . . . . . 130 b                   |
| 14 . . . . . 113 s N.                      | 52 52 p, 91 n, 95 p, 96            | 14 . . . . . 47 k                    |
| 20 . . . . . 123 d N <sup>2</sup>          | 53 . . . . . 91 e, 91 f            | 15 . . . . . 51 l                    |
| 2 3 . . . . . 126 x                        | 54 . . . . . 103 b                 | 17 . . . . . 52 s, 138 k             |
| 19 . . . . . 19 h                          | 55 . . . . . 72 k                  | 21 . . . . . 10 g                    |
| 3 3 . . . . . 49 e                         | 57 . . . . . 72 p                  | 27 3 . . . . . 90 m                  |
| 15 67 cc, 154 a N. (b)                     | 59 . . . . . 44 i                  | 7 . . . . . 121 b                    |
| 4 9 . . . . . 87 e                         | 17 5 . . . . . 19 t, 66 g          | 19 . . . . . 20 i                    |
| 12 . . . . . 58 k, 95 e                    | 7 . . . . . 52 d                   | 31 . . . . . 80 h                    |
| 5 11 . . . . . 72 r, 109 d                 | 9 45 e, 93 m, 150 a                | 32 . . . . . 23 k                    |
| 12 . . . . . 52 n, 75 hh                   | N <sup>1</sup>                     | 34 . . . . . 116 g N.                |
| 13 . . . . . 54 c                          | 15 . . . . . 29 t, 93 rr           | 35 . . . . . 117 q                   |
| 16 . . . . . 109 d                         | 19 . . . . . 67 v                  | 28 4 . . . . . 32 g                  |
| 6 3 . . . . . 93 v                         | 21 . . . . . 117 m                 | 16 23 d, 68 k, 75 qq,                |
| 6 . . . . . 67 p N., 67 dd                 | 18 6 . . . . . 131 c               | III w N.                             |
| 8 . . . . . 91 l                           | 7 . . . . . 131 r                  | 17 . . . . . 75 n                    |
| 9 . . . . . 72 dd                          | 10 . . . . . 139 d                 | 23 . . . . . 55 d                    |
| 10 . . . . . 119 ii                        | 14 . . . . . 103 l                 | 24 . . . . . 72 p                    |
| 11 . . . . . 128 c                         | 28 . . . . . 75 t                  | 29 3 . . . . . 117 x, 124 e          |
| 12 . . . . . 91 e                          | 29 . . . . . 145 u                 | 7 . . . . . 127 c                    |
| 14 . . . . . 133 l                         | 32 . . . . . 139 d                 | 30 9 . . . . . 93 y                  |
| 7 7 . . . . . 127 g                        | 19 1 . . . . . 124 e               | 12 . . . . . 124 e                   |
| 14 . . . . . 72 z, 113 s N.                | 2 . . . . . 80 h                   | 16 . . . . . 73 d                    |
| 24 . . . . . 93 oo                         | 12 . . . . . 53 u                  | 31 3 . . . . . 67 v                  |
| 8 2 . . . . . 90 f                         | 20 9 . . . . . 67 t                | 5 . . . . . 44 f                     |
| 3 . . . . . 75 qq                          | 16 . . . . . 117 m                 | 7 . . . . . 76 f                     |
| 16 . . . . . 75 kk                         | 22 . . . . . 112 tt                | 16 . . . . . 128 a N <sup>1</sup>    |
| 9 2 . . . . . 116 k                        | 37 . . . . . 23 f                  | 32 12 . . . . . 51 n                 |
| 3 . . . . . 116 k, 121 d N <sup>1</sup>    | 38 . . . . . 145 u                 | 19 . . . . . 46 a N <sup>2</sup>     |
| 7 . . . . . 112 tt                         | 41 . . . . . 119 i                 | 30 . . . . . 20 m, 72 n              |
| 8 . . . . . 64 i                           | 21 12 . . . . . 67 t               | 32 . . . . . 53 s                    |
| 11 . . . . . 116 k                         | 15 . . . . . 75 n                  | 33 17 . . . . . 143 a N <sup>3</sup> |
| 10 3 . . . . . 131 n, 131 n N <sup>2</sup> | 18 . . . . . 64 d                  | 26 . . . . . 44 k                    |
| 15 . . . . . 72 dd                         | 21 . . . . . 73 a                  | 34 2 . . . . . 57 N <sup>4</sup>     |
| 17 . . . . . 72 q, 72 dd                   | 22 . . . . . 124 o                 | 8 . . . . . 57 N <sup>4</sup>        |
| 11 3 . . . . . 150 a N <sup>1</sup>        | 29 . . . . . 53 l                  | 10 57 N <sup>4</sup> , 149 c, 167 b  |
| 13 . . . . . 150 a N <sup>1</sup>          | 31 . . . . . 113 bb N <sup>3</sup> | 21 . . . . . 103 b                   |
| 24 . . . . . 90 c                          | 32 . . . . . 133 l                 | 31 . . . . . 32 i                    |
| 13 2 . . . . . 93 oo                       | 33 . . . . . 45 c, 68 i            | 35 6 . . . . . 10 h                  |
| 3 . . . . . 152 x, 155 n                   | 35 . . . . . 72 y                  | 9 . . . . . 72 k                     |
| 11 . . . . . 35 m                          | 22 4 . . . . . 47 k                | 10 . . . . . 117 m                   |
| 18 . . . . . 87 f, 103 f N <sup>2</sup>    | 20 . . . . . 66 f                  | 12 . . . . . 84 l e                  |
| 19 . . . . . 72 k, 93 r                    | 23 5 . . . . . 63 m                | 36 3 . . . . . 67 r, 75 y, 113 g     |
| 20 . . . . . 32 i, 91 l                    | 20 . . . . . 48 d                  | 5 . . . . . 91 e                     |
| 14 3 . . . . . 51 k, 51 p                  | 28 . . . . . 91 e, 138 e           | 11 . . . . . 70 e                    |
| 14 . . . . . 112 ll                        | 32 . . . . . 47 k                  | 12 . . . . . 69 s                    |
| 22 . . . . . 117 l, 126 w                  | 42 . . . . . 21 c                  | 25 . . . . . 34 f                    |
| 16 4 22 s, 52 q, 53 s,                     | 44 . . . . . 96                    | 32 . . . . . 152 d                   |
| 64 e, 71                                   | 45 . . . . . 103 b                 | 37 2 . . . . . 112 pp                |
| 5 . . . . . 71                             | 47 . . . . . 103 b                 | 7 . . . . . 60 a N.                  |
| 6 . . . . . 123 d N <sup>2</sup>           | 48 . . . . . 55 k, 91 f            | 8 . . . . . 9 u, 29 i                |
| 10 . . . . . 49 c                          | 49 . . . . . 74 k, 76 b, 144 a     | 11 . . . . . 116 t, 119 s            |
| 27 . . . . . 131 r                         | 24 11 . . . . . 67 q               | 16 . . . . . 66 g, 119 u             |
| 31 . . . . . 91 l                          | 19 . . . . . 75 m                  | 17 . . . . . 52 n, 64 h              |
| 32 . . . . . 117 d                         | 26 . . . . . 53 e, 54 k            | 19 . . . . . 117 m N.                |
| 33 . . . . . 20 l, 64 c                    | 25 3 . . . . . 67 u                | 38 21 . . . . . 49 l                 |
| 34 . . . . . 121 a                         | 4 . . . . . 91 e                   | 3 . . . . . 54 k                     |
| 45 . . . . . 96                            | 6 . . . . . 23 c, 74 e             | 29 2 . . . . . 55 f                  |
| 47 . . . . . 103 m                         | 15 . . . . . 117 q                 | 9 . . . . . 66 e                     |

## Ezekiel

|    |    |                             |
|----|----|-----------------------------|
| 39 | 26 | 75 <i>qq</i>                |
| 40 | 3  | 74 <i>l</i>                 |
|    | 4  | 74 <i>d</i>                 |
|    | 5  | 134 <i>n</i>                |
|    | 16 | 91 <i>l</i>                 |
|    | 17 | 121 <i>d</i>                |
|    | 19 | 80 <i>k</i>                 |
|    | 27 | 134 <i>g</i>                |
|    | 28 | 126 <i>w</i>                |
|    | 31 | 93 <i>ss</i>                |
|    | 43 | 20 <i>m</i>                 |
|    | 45 | 136 <i>d N.</i>             |
|    | 48 | 92 <i>g</i>                 |
| 41 | 7  | 67 <i>dd</i>                |
|    | 15 | 91 <i>l</i>                 |
|    | 18 | 121 <i>d</i>                |
|    | 20 | 5 <i>n</i>                  |
|    | 22 | 141 <i>b</i>                |
|    | 25 | 131 <i>n N.</i>             |
| 42 | 5  | 68 <i>h</i> , 131 <i>n</i>  |
| 43 | 7  | 117 <i>m</i>                |
|    | 17 | 103 <i>o</i>                |
|    | 27 | 75 <i>rr</i>                |
| 44 | 3  | 117 <i>m</i>                |
|    | 8  | 58 <i>g</i>                 |
|    | 9  | 93 <i>hh</i> , 143 <i>e</i> |
|    | 12 | 112 <i>e N.</i>             |
| 45 | 2  | 65 <i>d</i>                 |
|    | 12 | 97 <i>e</i>                 |
|    | 16 | 127 <i>g</i>                |
| 46 | 6  | 132 <i>g N.</i>             |
|    | 9  | 93 <i>q</i>                 |
|    | 17 | 72 <i>o</i>                 |
|    | 19 | 127 <i>f</i>                |
|    | 22 | 53 <i>q</i> , 53 <i>s</i>   |
|    | 23 | 121 <i>d</i>                |
|    | 24 | 124 <i>r</i>                |
| 47 | 3  | 128 <i>n</i>                |
|    | 4  | 131 <i>e</i>                |
|    | 7  | 91 <i>e</i>                 |
|    | 8  | 75 <i>oo</i>                |
|    | 15 | 127 <i>f</i> and <i>N.</i>  |
|    | 17 | 117 <i>m</i>                |
| 48 | 14 | 72 <i>dd</i>                |

## Hosea

|   |    |                                |
|---|----|--------------------------------|
| 1 | 2  | 52 <i>o</i> , 130 <i>d</i>     |
|   | 6  | 120 <i>c</i> , 152 <i>a N.</i> |
|   | 7  | 119 <i>o</i>                   |
| 2 | 1  | 130 <i>c</i>                   |
|   | 3  | 96                             |
|   | 5  | 72 <i>w</i>                    |
|   | 6  | 52 <i>n</i>                    |
|   | 11 | 120 <i>e</i>                   |
|   | 14 | 91 <i>e</i>                    |
|   | 21 | 133 <i>l</i>                   |
|   | 25 | 152 <i>a N.</i>                |
| 3 | 1  | 125 <i>c</i>                   |
|   | 2  | 20 <i>h</i>                    |

## Hosea

|    |    |  |
|----|----|--|
| 3  | 5  | 2 <i>v N.</i>  |
| 4  | 2  | 113 <i>f</i>   |
|    | 3  | 119 <i>i</i>   |
|    | 8  | 145 <i>m</i>   |
|    | 14 | 155 <i>f</i>   |
|    | 15 | 145 <i>m</i>   |
|    | 16 | 150 <i>a</i>   |
|    | 18 | 55 <i>e</i>  |
| 5  | 2  | 64 <i>a</i>  |
|    | 3  | 135 <i>a</i>   |
|    | 8  | 147 <i>c</i>   |
|    | 15 | 60 <i>e</i>  |
| 6  | 1  | 109 <i>k</i>   |
|    | 2  | 119 <i>y N.</i> , 134 <i>s</i>   |
|    | 3  | 155 <i>g</i>   |
|    | 4  | 120 <i>g</i>   |
|    | 6  | 119 <i>w</i> , 133 <i>b</i>  |
|    | 9  | 23 <i>l</i> , 75 <i>aa</i> , 93 <i>s</i>                               |
|    | 10 | 114 <i>l</i>   |
| 7  | 2  | 157 <i>a</i>   |
|    | 4  | 80 <i>k</i>  |
|    | 5  | 93 <i>ss</i>   |
|    | 6  | 91 <i>c</i>  |
|    | 12 | 24 <i>f</i> , 70 <i>b</i>  |
|    | 14 | 70 <i>d</i>  |
|    | 16 | 34 <i>b N.</i>   |
| 8  | 3  | 60 <i>d</i>  |
|    | 4  | 67 <i>v</i>  |
|    | 7  | 90 <i>f</i>  |
|    | 9  | 119 <i>s</i>   |
|    | 10 | 20 <i>g</i> , 111 <i>w N.</i>  |
| 9  | 6  | 130 <i>a</i>   |
|    | 9  | 120 <i>g</i>   |
|    | 11 | 69 <i>m</i>  |
|    | 12 | 159 <i>m</i>   |
|    | 15 | 109 <i>d</i>   |
| 10 | 4  | 75 <i>n</i>  |
|    | 6  | 121 <i>w</i>   |
|    | 10 | 60 <i>a</i> , 71   |
|    | 11 | 90 <i>l</i>  |
|    | 14 | 9 <i>b</i> , 23 <i>g</i> , 53 <i>u</i> ,<br>72 <i>p</i> , 156 <i>c</i> |
|    | 15 | 133 <i>i</i>   |
| 11 | 1  | 68 <i>f</i>  |
|    | 3  | 19 <i>i</i> , 55 <i>h</i> , 66 <i>g</i>                                |
|    | 4  | 68 <i>c</i>  |
|    | 7  | 75 <i>rr</i>   |
| 12 | 1  | 124 <i>h</i>   |
|    | 5  | 58 <i>k</i>  |
|    | 11 | 112 <i>dd</i>  |
|    | 14 | 118 <i>q</i>   |
| 13 | 2  | 91 <i>e</i> , 128 <i>l</i>   |
|    | 3  | 120 <i>g</i>   |
|    | 8  | 122 <i>e</i>   |
|    | 10 | 150 <i>l</i>   |
|    | 14 | 93 <i>q</i>  |
|    | 15 | 75 <i>rr</i>   |
| 14 | 1  | 84 <i>a</i> , 145 <i>u</i>   |
|    | 3  | 128 <i>e</i>   |
|    | 4  | 68 <i>f</i>  |

## Hosea

|    |    |                               |
|----|----|-------------------------------|
| 14 | 5  | 118 <i>q</i>                  |
|    | 10 | 69 <i>b</i> , 166 <i>a N.</i> |

## Joel

|   |    |  |
|---|----|--|
| 1 | 2  | 100 <i>n</i> , 126 <i>e</i> , 150 <i>g</i> |
|   | 4  | 49 <i>m</i>                                |
|   | 5  | 126 <i>e</i>                               |
|   | 6  | 152 <i>v</i>                               |
|   | 7  | 113 <i>n</i>                               |
|   | 8  | 63 <i>l</i> , 116 <i>k</i>                 |
|   | 12 | 102 <i>b</i>                               |
|   | 15 | 147 <i>d</i>                               |
|   | 17 | 20 <i>h</i>                                |
|   | 18 | 148 <i>a</i>                               |
|   | 20 | 145 <i>k</i>                               |
| 2 | 2  | 109 <i>d</i>                               |
|   | 4  | 72 <i>u</i> , 126 <i>p</i>                 |
|   | 6  | 23 <i>d</i>                                |
|   | 13 | 152 <i>g</i>                               |
|   | 16 | 128 <i>y</i>                               |
|   | 17 | 150 <i>e</i>                               |
|   | 21 | 46 <i>e</i>                                |
|   | 22 | 144 <i>a</i>                               |
|   | 24 | 93 <i>r</i>                                |
|   | 26 | 114 <i>o</i>                               |
| 4 | 1  | 125 <i>k</i>                               |
|   | 3  | 69 <i>u</i>                                |
|   | 4  | 133 <i>k</i>                               |
|   | 11 | 51 <i>o</i> , 64 <i>h</i>                  |
|   | 14 | 123 <i>e</i> , 147 <i>c</i>                |
|   | 18 | 117 <i>s</i>                               |
|   | 21 | 49 <i>k</i> , 75 <i>s</i>                  |

## Amos

|   |    |   |
|---|----|---|
| 1 | 3  | 134 <i>s</i> , 158 <i>c</i>               |
|   | 5  | 145 <i>c</i>                              |
|   | 8  | 145 <i>e</i>                              |
|   | 9  | 114 <i>r</i> , 158 <i>c</i>               |
|   | 11 | 58 <i>g</i> , 112 <i>i</i> , 114 <i>r</i> |
| 2 | 6  | 61 <i>b</i>                               |
|   | 7  | 126 <i>b</i>                              |
|   | 9  | 53 <i>n</i>                               |
|   | 10 | 69 <i>x</i>                               |
|   | 12 | 51 <i>n</i>                               |
|   | 16 | 118 <i>n</i>                              |
| 3 | 4  | 163 <i>c</i>                              |
|   | 5  | 113 <i>q</i>                              |
|   | 7  | 163 <i>c</i>                              |
|   | 8  | 159 <i>h</i>                              |
|   | 9  | 124 <i>e</i>                              |
|   | 11 | 67 <i>t</i> , 154 <i>a N.</i>             |
|   | 12 | 88 <i>f</i> , 126 <i>r</i>                |
|   | 13 | 125 <i>h</i>                              |
| 4 | 1  | 35 <i>o</i> , 144 <i>a</i>                |
|   | 2  | 75 <i>oo</i> , 112 <i>x</i>               |
|   | 3  | 44 <i>k</i>                               |
|   | 4  | 113 <i>s</i>                              |
|   | 7  | 112 <i>h N.</i> , 144 <i>c</i>            |

## Amos

|    |              |                      |
|----|--------------|----------------------|
| 4  | 8            | 134 s                |
| 9  |              | 126 n                |
| 10 |              | 154 a N.             |
| 11 |              | 115 d                |
| 13 | 29 e N.,     | 116 g N.             |
| 5  | 3            | 128 k                |
|    | 3            | 117 z, 129 g         |
|    | 4            | 110 f                |
|    | 5            | 122 h                |
|    | 7            | 126 b                |
|    | 8            | 111 u, 117 ii        |
|    | 11           | 61 e                 |
|    | 14           | 109 k, 152 g         |
|    | 15           | 67 ce                |
|    | 18           | 152 d                |
|    | 19           | 112 m, 126 r         |
| 21 | 20 h, 106 g, | 154 a N.             |
| 26 |              | 112 x, 112 rr        |
| 6* | 1            | 112 n                |
|    | 2            | 125 h, 126 y         |
|    | 6            | 63 c, 93 k, 119 m N. |
|    | 10           | 114 l, 145 m, 152 s  |
|    | 12           | 123 a N., 144 d      |
|    | 13           | 152 a N.             |
|    | 14           | 125 c                |
| 7  | 1            | 86 i, 147 b          |
|    | 2            | 112 uu               |
|    | 4            | 112 tt               |
|    | 7            | 156 b                |
|    | 14           | 128 v                |
|    | 15           | 119 b                |
| 8  | 4            | 53 q                 |
|    | 8            | 125 e                |
|    | 9            | 49 l                 |
|    | 10           | 128 h, 135 p         |
|    | 13           | 54 k, 146 g          |
| 9  | 1            | 61 g, 144 e          |
|    | 3            | 112 p                |
|    | 7            | 150 e                |
|    | 8            | 53 k, 113 n, 113 v   |
|    | 11           | 116 d, 118 u         |
|    | 13           | 54 k                 |

## Obadiah

|    |                 |
|----|-----------------|
| 3  | 90 l, 93 x      |
| 10 | 128 h           |
| 11 | 9 v, 61 f, 69 u |
| 13 | 47 k            |

## Jonah

|   |    |                     |
|---|----|---------------------|
| 1 | 3  | 116 d, 122 t, 135 p |
|   | 5  | 57 m                |
|   | 6  | 120 b               |
|   | 7  | 150 k               |
|   | 9  | 2 b                 |
|   | 10 | 117 q               |
|   | 11 | 113 u, 165 a        |

## Jonah

|   |    |                   |
|---|----|-------------------|
| 1 | 14 | 16 f              |
|   | 15 | 61 c              |
| 2 |    | 122 s             |
|   | 4  | 117 r             |
| 3 | 5  | 133 g             |
| 4 | 1  | 117 q             |
|   | 2  | 16 f, 114 n N.    |
|   | 6  | 117 q             |
|   | 9  | 113 k             |
|   | 10 | 96, 128 v         |
|   | 11 | 20 m, 97 b, 150 a |

## Micah

|   |    |                      |
|---|----|----------------------|
| 1 | 1  | 145 m                |
|   | 2  | 109 k, 135 r, 144 p  |
|   | 5  | 23 c, 137 a          |
|   | 7  | 52 l, 67 y, 117 ii   |
|   | 8  | 69 b N., 118 n       |
|   | 10 | 113 v                |
|   | 11 | 122 s, 131 c, 145 m  |
|   | 13 | 110 k                |
|   | 15 | 70 k                 |
| 2 | 3  | 118 g                |
|   | 4  | 67 u, 144 d, 148 b   |
|   | 6  | 72 dd, 145 o         |
|   | 7  | 100 n, 118 n         |
|   | 8  | 72 p, 116 h          |
|   | 12 | 72 k, 127 i          |
| 3 | 1  | 114 l, 150 e         |
|   | 4  | 109 k                |
|   | 6  | 119 w, 144 c         |
|   | 12 | 87 e, 121 d          |
| 4 | 3  | 91 n, 145 c          |
|   | 6  | 68 h, 84 s, 122 s    |
|   | 8  | 68 f                 |
|   | 9  | 117 q                |
|   | 10 | 10 k, 76 g, 145 n    |
|   | 11 | 119 dd               |
|   | 12 | 90 i                 |
|   | 13 | 44 h, 72 q, 117 ii   |
|   | 14 | 119 o                |
| 5 | 1  | 135 g, 142 g         |
|   | 2  | 106 o, 155 l         |
|   | 4  | 72 i, 128 l, 134 s   |
| 6 | 1  | 138 e                |
|   | 3  | 53 p, 75 ee, 163 b   |
|   | 5  | 117 gg               |
|   | 8  | 163 d                |
|   | 9  | 146 b                |
|   | 10 | 47 b, 118 g          |
|   | 11 | 47 b                 |
|   | 13 | 115 c                |
| 7 | 1  | 93 p                 |
|   | 2  | 117 ff, 119 i, 152 k |
|   | 3  | 135 f                |
|   | 4  | 133 e, 133 g         |
|   | 8  | 122 s                |
|   | 10 | 75 p, 75 w, 75 hh    |
|   |    | 145 n                |

## Micah

|   |    |        |
|---|----|--------|
| 7 | 11 | 126 x  |
|   | 12 | 126 aa |
|   | 14 | 90 m   |
|   | 17 | 116 h  |
|   | 18 | 148 c  |
|   | 19 | 129 g  |

## Nahum

|   |    |              |
|---|----|--------------|
| 1 | 2  | 5 h, 128 u   |
|   | 3  | 75 hh, 143 a |
|   | 4  | 69 u         |
|   | 5  | 126 k        |
|   | 12 | 67 t         |
| 2 | 4  | 52 q         |
|   | 5  | 55 g, 93 ss  |
|   | 8  | 63 p, 91 c   |
|   | 9  | 130 d N.     |
|   | 11 | 67 t, 133 l  |
|   | 14 | 91 l         |
| 3 | 5  | 53 p         |
|   | 7  | 52 q, 67 ce  |
|   | 8  | 70 e, 133 b  |
|   | 9  | 91 e         |
|   | 10 | 69 u         |
|   | 11 | 145 p        |
|   | 15 | 110 a, 110 k |
|   | 17 | 20 h         |

## Habakkuk

|   |    |                          |
|---|----|--------------------------|
| 1 | 5  | 116 s                    |
|   | 6  | 13 c, 155 e              |
|   | 8  | 67 ee                    |
|   | 11 | 138 h                    |
|   | 14 | 152 u                    |
|   | 15 | 63 p                     |
|   | 16 | 103 g                    |
|   | 17 | 114 k, 156 g             |
| 2 | 1  | 37 b                     |
|   | 3  | 72 dd                    |
|   | 6  | 147 c                    |
|   | 10 | 116 s, 118 p             |
|   | 12 | 112 n                    |
|   | 14 | 90 n, 116 f N., 155 g    |
|   | 15 | 90 m, 113 z              |
|   | 17 | 20 n, 60 d, 67 v         |
|   | 19 | 100 g N., 152 p          |
| 3 | 2  | 75 mm                    |
|   | 6  | 67 k, 67 ee              |
|   | 8  | 131 r                    |
|   | 9  | 117 q                    |
|   | 10 | 91 l                     |
|   | 13 | 22 s, 75 aa, 75 n, 113 h |
|   | 15 | 144 m                    |
|   | 17 | 95 f, 145 u              |
|   | 19 | 86 i                     |

## Zephaniah

- 1 2. 72 aa, 113 w N.  
 14. . . . . 52 s  
 2 2. . . . . 152 y  
 7. . . . . 135 p  
 9. . . . . 8 k  
 15. . . . . 152 s  
 3 1. . . . . 75 rr  
 7. . . . . 120 g  
 11. . . . . 135 n  
 16. . . . . 145 p  
 18. . . . . 69 t  
 20. . . . . 91 l

## Haggai

- 1 1. . . . . 129 f  
 4 126 z, 131 h N.,  
 135 g  
 6. . . . . 113 z  
 9. . . . . 37 f  
 2 5. . . . . 44 o, 117 l  
 7. . . . . 145 e  
 12. . . . . 159 w  
 17 72 v, 117 m N.,  
 152 n

## Zechariah

- 1 2. . . . . 117 q  
 8. . . . . 132 d  
 13. . . . . 131 c  
 14. . . . . 117 q  
 17. . . . . 72 k  
 2 8. . . . . 118 r  
 10. . . . . 154 b  
 11. . . . . 29 o N.  
 17. . . . . 72 v, 72 ee  
 3 1. . . . . 61 b, 115 c  
 4. . . . . 113 z  
 7. . . . . 53 o  
 8. . . . . 126 e  
 9. 88 f, 97 c, 122 n  
 4 2. . . . . 91 e, 97 c  
 7. . . . . 126 x  
 10 72 dd, 126 w, 127 h  
 12. . . . . 10 g, 145 m  
 5 2. . . . . 134 n  
 3. . . . . 75 mm  
 4. . . . . 73 d, 80 i  
 7. . . . . 74 i  
 9. . . . . 74 k  
 10. . . . . 32 n  
 11. 23 k, 72 ee, 103 g  
 6 7. . . . . 54 k  
 10. . . . . 49 l  
 12. . . . . 155 e  
 7 1. . . . . 134 p  
 5 59 a, 113 z, 117 x,  
 135 e, 136 d N.  
 7. . . . . 117 l

## Zechariah

- 7 10. . . . . 139 c  
 14. . . . . 52 n  
 8 2. . . . . 117 q  
 5. . . . . 132 d  
 6. . . . . 150 a  
 17. . . . . 117 l  
 23. . . . . 157 a  
 9 5. . . . . 75 p, 75 hh  
 9 72 s, 124 o, 154 a  
 N.  
 11. . . . . 135 f, 152 u  
 12. . . . . 116 s  
 10 2. . . . . 124 h  
 5. . . . . 72 p  
 6. . . . . 72 x  
 11 2. . . . . 126 w  
 5. . . . . 19 k  
 7 96, 130 g, 132 c,  
 133 h  
 10. . . . . 67 w  
 17. . . . . 90 l  
 12 10. . . . . 138 e N1  
 12. . . . . 123 d  
 13 7. 72 s, 110 k, 144 a  
 14 4. 93 v, 128 w N.  
 10. . . . . 72 p  
 12. . . . . 67 dd

## Malachi

- 1 2. . . . . 68 f  
 6. . . . . 32 c  
 10. . . . . 151 a, 153  
 13. . . . . 37 c, 147 c  
 14. . . . . 80 d N.  
 2 5. . . . . 67 u  
 14. . . . . 95 k  
 15. . . . . 144 p  
 16. . . . . 116 s, 155 n  
 3 1. . . . . 150 g  
 2. . . . . 126 k  
 9. . . . . 67 u, 144 p  
 14. . . . . 100 g  
 20. . . . . 44 d

## Psalms

- 1 2. . . . . 119 dd, 163 a  
 3 16 g, 107 g, 119 cc  
 6. . . . . 68 c  
 2 1. . . . . 106 l  
 2. . . . . 126 h  
 3. . . . . 91 l, 108 b  
 4. . . . . 126 h  
 6 135 a, 135 n, 154 b  
 7. . . . . 44 d, 69 s  
 10. . . . . 126 h, 154 b  
 12. . . . . 118 g N., 130 a  
 3 1. . . . . 129 c  
 2. . . . . 67 ee

## Psalms

- 3 3. . . . . 90 g, 152 n N.  
 5. . . . . 144 m  
 6. . . . . 49 e  
 8. . . . . 72 s, 117 u  
 4 1. . . . . 124 f  
 3. 37 e, 47 m, 156 d  
 4. . . . . 154 b  
 7. . . . . 70 b  
 8. . . . . 133 e N., 155 l  
 5 4. . . . . 118 i  
 5. . . . . 116 f, 117 bb  
 7. . . . . 128 a, 128 t  
 8. . . . . 107 s  
 9. . . . . 24 f, 70 b  
 10 122 g, 124 e, 145 m,  
 152 o  
 11. . . . . 29 e  
 12. . . . . 116 g, 156 d  
 13. . . . . 117 ee  
 8 2. . . . . 152 h  
 4. . . . . 147 c  
 6. . . . . 152 o  
 7. . . . . 106 g  
 10. . . . . 142 f  
 7 3. . . . . 152 l  
 4. . . . . 159 m  
 5. . . . . 49 e  
 6. . . . . 63 n  
 7 72 s, 119 gg, 156 d  
 10 124 g, 132 h, 158 a  
 12. . . . . 127 b  
 13. . . . . 120 g  
 16. . . . . 155 h  
 17. . . . . 10 k  
 8 2. . . . . 66 h  
 3. . . . . 128 a  
 4. . . . . 159 dd  
 5 107 v, 111 m, 150 h  
 6. . . . . 117 cc  
 9 1. . . . . 5 h  
 2. . . . . 13 c  
 7. . . . . 135 f  
 11. . . . . 106 k  
 14. . . . . 20 b, 63 l  
 15. . . . . 91 l  
 16. . . . . 138 g  
 19. . . . . 152 z  
 21. . . . . 157 a  
 10 1. . . . . 5 h  
 5. . . . . 141 c  
 9. . . . . 91 e  
 10. . . . . 93 x, 154 N.  
 11. . . . . 106 g  
 12. . . . . 66 c, 76 b  
 11. 1 118 r, 129 c, 148 b  
 2. . . . . 47 m  
 4. . . . . 145 u, 155 e  
 6. . . . . 109 k  
 7. . . . . 103 f  
 12 2. . . . . 123 b

| Psalms |                                    | Psalms |                              | Psalms |                           |
|--------|------------------------------------|--------|------------------------------|--------|---------------------------|
| 12     | 3 . . . 117 t, 123 f               | 21     | 4 . . . 117 ff               | 34     | 2 . . . 21 d              |
|        | 4 . . . 122 g                      |        | 7 . . . 117 ii, 124 e        |        | 6 . . . 109 e             |
|        | 7 . . . 109, 97 h                  |        | 13 . . . 117 ti N., 156 d    |        | 9 . . . 155 f             |
|        | 8 . . . 126 y                      | 22     | 2 . . . 59 h                 | 12     | . . . 60 f, 126 o         |
|        | 9 . . . 54 k                       |        | 3 . . . 152 d                | 35     | 1 . . . 73 d              |
| 13     | 4 . . . 117 r N.                   |        | 4 . . . 117 bb               |        | 8 . . . 156 g             |
|        | 5 . . . 44 e, 59 t, 152 z          |        | 6 . . . 112 h                |        | 10 . . . 9 u              |
| 14     | 1 . . . 154 a N.                   |        | 7 . . . 116 l                | 14     | . . . 93 hh               |
|        | 3 . . . 152 o                      |        | 8 . . . 119 q                | 16     | . . . 113 h               |
|        | 5 . . . 117 p                      |        | 9 . . . 144 p                | 19     | . . . 131 q N.            |
|        | 7 . . . 151 b                      | 14     | . . . 118 r                  | 36     | 6 . . . 35 n              |
| 15     | 2 . . . 118 n                      | 15     | . . . 67 t                   |        | 8 . . . 75 u              |
| 16     | 1 . . . 48 i, 61 f N.              | 16     | . . . 121 c, 122 n           |        | 9 . . . 75 u              |
|        | 2 . . . 44 i, 152 t                | 18     | . . . 107 s                  | 13     | . . . 64 d                |
|        | 3 . . . 130 d, 143 e               | 22     | . . . 23 f, 119 ff           | 37     | 1 . . . 5 h, 35 b, 75 bb  |
|        | 4 93 m, 145 p, 155 f               | 29     | . . . 116 s                  |        | 5 . . . 67 n              |
|        | 5 . . . 50 e                       | 32     | . . . 116 e                  |        | 9 . . . 20 f              |
|        | 6 . . . 80 g, 122 q                | 23     | 2 . . . 124 e, 128 p         | 14     | . . . 45 g                |
|        | 8 . . . 116 s                      |        | 4 . . . 107 x, 159 bb        | 15     | . . . 20 h                |
|        | 9 . . . 111 r                      |        | 5 126 m, 141 c, 141 d        | 16     | . . . 129 b               |
|        | 10 . . . 114 m                     |        | 6 . . . 69 m N.              | 20     | . . . 29 o, 75 m          |
|        | 11 . . . 122 q, 124 e              | 24     | 1 . . . 129 c, 130 a         | 23     | . . . 121 f               |
| 17     | 3 . . . 59 h                       |        | 2 . . . 107 b, 124 c         | 24     | . . . 159 bb              |
|        | 4 . . . 143 e                      |        | 4 . . . 128 y                | 31     | . . . 145 k               |
|        | 5 . . . 113 gg                     | 10     | . . . 136 c                  | 38     | 11 . . . 55 e             |
|        | 9 . . . 138 g                      | 25     | 1 . . . 5 h                  | 13     | . . . 124 e               |
|        | 10 . . . 91 f                      |        | 10 . . . 141 c               | 21     | . . . 61 c                |
|        | 12 . . . 126 p                     | 11     | . . . 112 nm                 | 39     | 13 . . . 10 h             |
|        | 13 . . . 144 m                     | 14     | . . . 114 i                  | 14     | . . . 75 gg               |
| 18     | 1 2 s, 53 l, 130 d,                | 26     | 2 . . . 48 i                 | 40     | 2 . . . 75 aa             |
|        | 154 a N.                           |        | 3 . . . 112 gg               |        | 5 . . . 93 oo             |
|        | 3 . . . 93 mm, 155 i               |        | 4 . . . 128 t                | 6      | . . . 108 f               |
|        | 4 . . . 116 e, 132 b               |        | 7 . . . 53 q                 | 15     | . . . 29 o N.             |
|        | 7 . . . 109 N <sup>s</sup> , 107 b | 10     | . . . 20 f                   | 18     | . . . 29 q                |
|        | 10 . . . 69 p                      | 12     | . . . 93 qq                  | 41     | 3 . . . 109 e             |
|        | 12 . . . 109 k                     | 27     | 7 . . . 144 m                |        | 5 . . . 74 h              |
|        | 17 . . . 117 g                     | 13     | 5 n, 159 dd, 167 a           | 6      | . . . 111 t               |
|        | 18 . . . 126 z                     | 28     | 1 . . . 119 ff               | 8      | . . . 54 f                |
|        | 22 . . . 119 ff                    |        | 7 . . . 53 q                 | 42     | 2 . . . 122 f, 155 g      |
|        | 26 . . . 93 h, 93 s                |        | 9 . . . 10 g                 | 4      | . . . 115 e N.            |
|        | 28 . . . 132 f                     | 29     | 1 . . . 124 q, 128 v         | 5      | . . . 117 x               |
|        | 30 . . . 67 q, 119 o               |        | 4 . . . 141 c N <sup>2</sup> | 10     | . . . 68 g, 102 l         |
|        | 31 126 c, 140 d, 143 a             | 10     | . . . 111 r                  | 43     | 1 . . . 72 s              |
|        | 33 116 f, 116 x, 117 cc            | 30     | 2 . . . 60 f                 | 2      | . . . 102 l               |
|        | 35 . . . 145 k                     |        | 4 . . . 69 m                 | 3      | . . . 124 b               |
|        | 38 . . . 107 c                     |        | 8 . . . 90 n, 93 aa          | 44     | 3 . . . 144 m             |
|        | 40 . . . 116 i                     | 31     | 2 . . . 108 c                | 6      | . . . 119 o               |
|        | 41 . . . 117 ii N.                 | 21     | . . . 93 r                   | 18     | . . . 156 f               |
|        | 49 . . . 116 i                     | 32     | 1 . . . 75 qq, 116 k         | 20     | . . . 119 q               |
| 19     | 3 . . . 20 f                       |        | 2 . . . 155 i                | 23     | . . . 128 g               |
|        | 4 . . . 49 k                       |        | 6 . . . 143 e, 153           | 26     | . . . 67 k                |
|        | 5 . . . 135 p                      |        | 8 107 q, 138 g, 150 c        | 27     | . . . 72 s                |
|        | 6 . . . 122 o                      |        | 9 114 a, 114 k, 114 s        | 45     | 1 . . . 124 e             |
|        | 8 . . . 114 i                      | 33     | 5 . . . 116 s                |        | 3 . . . 55 e              |
|        | 10 . . . 126 b, 141 c              |        | 7 . . . 118 w                | 5      | . . . 131 c, 154 a N.     |
|        | 11 . . . 116 e                     |        | 8 . . . 145 e                | 6      | . . . 15 o, 29 o N.       |
|        | 14 . . . 67 p                      |        | 10 . . . 67 v                | 7      | . . . 128 d               |
| 20     | 3 . . . 135 m                      |        | 12 . . . 155 h               | 8      | . . . 117 ee              |
|        | 4 . . . 48 d                       | 15     | . . . 126 b                  | 9      | . . . 87 f, 141 d         |
| 21     | 2 109 k, 126 h, 148 b              | 34     | 1 . . . 5 h                  | 10     | . . . 20 h N <sup>2</sup> |



**Psalms**

|    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 45 | 12  | 75 <i>bb</i> , 109 <i>h</i> , 124 <i>i</i> |
| 16 |   | . . . . . 76 <i>g</i>                      |
| 18 |   | . . . . . 53 <i>a</i> , 123 <i>c</i>       |
| 46 | 3   | . . . . . 115 <i>g</i>                     |
| 4  |   | . . . . . 132 <i>h</i> <i>N</i>            |
| 5  |   | . . . . . 124 <i>b</i> , 132 <i>c</i>      |
| 7  |   | . . . . . 119 <i>g</i>                     |
| 6  |   | . . . . . 164 <i>b</i> <i>N</i>            |
| 11 |   | . . . . . 93 <i>g</i> , 93 <i>a</i>        |
| 15 |   | . . . . . 120 <i>aa</i>                    |
| 49 | 6   | . . . . . 102 <i>l</i>                     |
| 7  |   | . . . . . 126 <i>b</i>                     |
| 8  |   | . . . . . 113 <i>v</i>                     |
| 14 |   | . . . . . 155 <i>e</i>                     |
| 15 | 10 <i>g</i> , 67 <i>ee</i> , 114 <i>k</i>   | <i>N</i>                                   |
| 50 | 3   | . . . . . 109 <i>e</i> , 144 <i>c</i>      |
| 4  |   | . . . . . 115 <i>b</i>                     |
| 10 |   | . . . . . 90 <i>n</i>                      |
| 12 |   | . . . . . 159 <i>m</i> , 159 <i>r</i>      |
| 17 |   | . . . . . 142 <i>d</i>                     |
| 21 | 112 <i>cc</i> , 113 <i>x</i> , 157 <i>a</i> |  |
| 22 |   | . . . . . 116 <i>b</i>                     |
| 23 |   | . . . . . 58 <i>i</i>                      |
| 51 | 4   | . . . . . 75 <i>gg</i> , 120 <i>g</i>      |
| 5  |   | . . . . . 142 <i>f</i>                     |
| 7  |   | . . . . . 64 <i>h</i>                      |
| 9  |   | . . . . . 165 <i>a</i>                     |
| 10 |   | . . . . . 155 <i>h</i>                     |
| 14 |   | . . . . . 117 <i>ff</i>                    |
| 18 |   | . . . . . 108 <i>f</i>                     |
| 19 |   | . . . . . 128 <i>h</i>                     |
| 52 | 5   | . . . . . 119 <i>w</i>                     |
| 15 |   | . . . . . 58 <i>i</i>                      |
| 53 | 6   | . . . . . 91 <i>e</i> , 116 <i>i</i>       |
| 54 | 6   | . . . . . 119 <i>i</i>                     |
| 55 | 3   | . . . . . 108 <i>g</i>                     |
| 10 |   | . . . . . 52 <i>n</i>                      |
| 16 |   | . . . . . 74 <i>k</i>                      |
| 18 |   | . . . . . 108 <i>g</i>                     |
| 19 |   | . . . . . 119 <i>gg</i>                    |
| 22 |   | . . . . . 10 <i>g</i>                      |
| 23 |   | . . . . . 117 <i>x</i>                     |
| 56 | 4   | . . . . . 155 <i>l</i>                     |
| 57 | 2   | . . . . . 75 <i>u</i>                      |
| 5  |   | . . . . . 117 <i>bb</i> , 144 <i>m</i>     |
| 58 | 2   | . . . . . 52 <i>n</i>                      |
| 5  |   | . . . . . 63 <i>n</i>                      |
| 9  |   | . . . . . 69 <i>x</i> , 96, 118 <i>r</i>   |
| 59 | 6   | 125 <i>h</i> , 128 <i>x</i> , 131 <i>s</i> |
| 8  |   | . . . . . 151 <i>a</i>                     |
| 16 |   | . . . . . 159 <i>s</i>                     |
| 60 | 4   | . . . . . 75 <i>pp</i>                     |
| 5  |   | . . . . . 131 <i>c</i>                     |
| 13 |   | . . . . . 80 <i>g</i> , 158 <i>a</i>       |
| 61 | 1   | . . . . . 80 <i>f</i>                      |
| 8  |   | . . . . . 75 <i>cc</i>                     |
| 62 | 4   | . . . . . 52 <i>q</i>                      |
| 5  |   | . . . . . 145 <i>m</i>                     |
| 8  |   | . . . . . 13 <i>c</i>                      |

**Psalms**

|    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 63 | 2 | . . . . . 132 <i>d</i>                              |
| 4  |   | . . . . . 60 <i>e</i>                               |
| 6  |   | . . . . . 117 <i>t</i>                              |
| 64 | 5 | . . . . . 69 <i>r</i>                               |
| 7  |   | . . . . . 67 <i>e</i>                               |
| 8  |   | . . . . . 117 <i>ff</i>                             |
| 9  |   | . . . . . 130 <i>a</i>                              |
| 65 | 6 | . . . . . 92 <i>g</i>                               |
| 10 |   | . . . . . 53 <i>n</i> , 60 <i>g</i>                 |
| 11 |   | . . . . . 117 <i>y</i>                              |
| 66 | 6 | . . . . . 108 <i>g</i>                              |
| 13 |   | . . . . . 119 <i>n</i>                              |
| 17 |   | . . . . . 144 <i>m</i>                              |
| 68 | 3 | . 19 <i>c</i> , 51 <i>k</i> , 67 <i>t</i>           |
| 5  |   | . 119 <i>i</i> <i>N</i> <sup>3</sup> , 122 <i>t</i> |
| 7  |   | . . . . . 117 <i>bb</i> , 124 <i>e</i>              |
| 9  |   | . . . . . 136 <i>d</i> <i>N</i>                     |
| 17 |   | . . . . . 131 <i>c</i>                              |
| 18 |   | . . . . . 21 <i>c</i> , 97 <i>h</i>                 |
| 19 |   | . . . . . 20 <i>f</i> , 117 <i>bb</i>               |
| 22 |   | . . . . . 128 <i>c</i>                              |
| 23 |   | . . . . . 75 <i>u</i>                               |
| 24 |   | . . . . . 10 <i>g</i> , 103 <i>m</i>                |
| 34 |   | . . . . . 119 <i>g</i>                              |
| 69 | 4 | . . . . . 118 <i>p</i>                              |
| 5  |   | . . . . . 131 <i>q</i> <i>N</i>                     |
| 9  |   | . . . . . 48 <i>i</i>                               |
| 10 |   | . . . . . 95 <i>b</i> <i>N</i>                      |
| 11 |   | . . . . . 144 <i>l</i> <i>N</i> <sup>3</sup>        |
| 24 |   | . . . . . 64 <i>h</i>                               |
| 33 |   | . . . . . 69 <i>s</i>                               |
| 71 | 1 | . . . . . 108 <i>c</i>                              |
| 7  |   | . . . . . 131 <i>r</i>                              |
| 23 |   | . . . . . 44 <i>o</i>                               |
| 72 | 2 | . . . . . 107 <i>n</i>                              |
| 13 |   | . . . . . 72 <i>r</i>                               |
| 14 |   | . . . . . 69 <i>f</i>                               |
| 17 |   | . . . . . 10 <i>g</i>                               |
| 20 |   | . . . . . 52 <i>q</i>                               |
| 73 | 2 | . . . . . 75 <i>u</i>                               |
| 7  |   | . . . . . 145 <i>o</i>                              |
| 9  |   | . . . . . 63 <i>n</i> , 69 <i>x</i>                 |
| 14 |   | . . . . . 123 <i>c</i>                              |
| 16 |   | . . . . . 49 <i>e</i> , 108 <i>e</i>                |
| 17 |   | . . . . . 108 <i>h</i>                              |
| 20 |   | . . . . . 53 <i>a</i> , 119 <i>y</i> <i>N</i>       |
| 27 |   | . . . . . 119 <i>ff</i>                             |
| 28 |   | . . . . . 73 <i>d</i>                               |
| 74 | 7 | . . . . . 119 <i>gg</i>                             |
| 8  |   | . . . . . 76 <i>f</i>                               |
| 10 |   | . . . . . 64 <i>e</i>                               |
| 19 |   | . . . . . 80 <i>f</i>                               |
| 75 | 4 | . . . . . 116 <i>w</i> , 146 <i>g</i>               |
| 76 | 6 | . . . . . 54 <i>a</i> <i>N</i> <sup>2</sup>         |
| 11 |   | . . . . . 124 <i>e</i>                              |
| 77 | 2 | . . . . . 63 <i>o</i>                               |
| 4  |   | . . . . . 75 <i>l</i> , 75 <i>u</i>                 |
| 10 |   | . . . . . 67 <i>r</i>                               |
| 11 |   | . . . . . 67 <i>r</i>                               |
| 16 |   | . . . . . 20 <i>g</i> , 125 <i>c</i>                |

**Psalms**

|     |    |  |
|-----|----|--|
| 77  | 18 | . . . . . 55 <i>b</i> , 93 <i>bb</i>                     |
| 20  |    | . . . . . 20 <i>h</i>                                    |
| 78  | 6  | . . . . . 107 <i>k</i>                                   |
| 15  |    | . . . . . 132 <i>h</i> <i>N</i>                          |
| 16  |    | . . . . . 74 <i>l</i>                                    |
| 21  |    | . . . . . 66 <i>e</i>                                    |
| 44  |    | . . . . . 75 <i>u</i> , 124 <i>e</i>                     |
| 54  |    | . . . . . 138 <i>g</i>                                   |
| 80  | 8  | . . . . . 131 <i>s</i>                                   |
| 11  |    | . . . . . 52 <i>q</i> , 121 <i>d</i>                     |
| 14  |    | . . . . . 5 <i>n</i> , 56                                |
| 15  |    | . . . . . 125 <i>h</i>                                   |
| 19  |    | . . . . . 72 <i>t</i>                                    |
| 81  | 9  | . . . . . 109 <i>b</i>                                   |
| 11  |    | . . . . . 116 <i>f</i>                                   |
| 83  | 12 | . . . . . 131 <i>o</i>                                   |
| 19  |    | . . . . . 144 <i>l</i> <i>N</i> <sup>2</sup>             |
| 84  | 9  | . . . . . 125 <i>h</i>                                   |
| 86  | 2  | 9 <i>v</i> , 48 <i>i</i> <i>N</i> , 61 <i>f</i> <i>N</i> |
| 9   |    | . . . . . 117 <i>n</i>                                   |
| 87  | 3  | 121 <i>d</i> <i>N</i> <sup>1</sup> , 145 <i>u</i>        |
| 5   |    | . . . . . 123 <i>c</i>                                   |
| 88  | 5  | . . . . . 152 <i>u</i>                                   |
| 6   |    | . . . . . 116 <i>h</i>                                   |
| 17  |    | . . . . . 55 <i>d</i>                                    |
| 89  | 7  | . . . . . 124 <i>g</i> , 128 <i>v</i>                    |
| 10  |    | . . . . . 76 <i>b</i>                                    |
| 40  |    | . . . . . 64 <i>e</i>                                    |
| 48  |    | . . . . . 135 <i>f</i>                                   |
| 51  |    | . . . . . 132 <i>b</i>                                   |
| 52  |    | . . . . . 20 <i>h</i>                                    |
| 90  | 2  | . . . . . 107 <i>c</i> , 152 <i>r</i>                    |
| 3   |    | . . . . . 109 <i>k</i> , 111 <i>t</i>                    |
| 4   |    | . . . . . 118 <i>r</i>                                   |
| 5   |    | . . . . . 155 <i>g</i>                                   |
| 6   |    | . . . . . 112 <i>m</i>                                   |
| 8   |    | . . . . . 73 <i>d</i>                                    |
| 10  |    | . . . . . 49 <i>e</i>                                    |
| 13  |    | . . . . . 147 <i>c</i>                                   |
| 15  |    | . . . . . 87 <i>n</i> , 130 <i>d</i>                     |
| 91  | 4  | . . . . . 67 <i>p</i> , 109 <i>k</i>                     |
| 6   |    | . . . . . 67 <i>g</i> , 118 <i>t</i>                     |
| 9   |    | . . . . . 117 <i>ii</i>                                  |
| 11  |    | . . . . . 20 <i>c</i>                                    |
| 12  |    | . . . . . 60 <i>e</i>                                    |
| 92  | 12 | . . . . . 132 <i>b</i>                                   |
| 93  | 5  | . . . . . 75 <i>x</i>                                    |
| 94  | 1  | . . . . . 53 <i>m</i> , 69 <i>v</i>                      |
| 9   |    | . . . . . 93 <i>gg</i>                                   |
| 12  |    | . . . . . 20 <i>g</i>                                    |
| 20  |    | . . . . . 60 <i>b</i> , 63 <i>m</i>                      |
| 99  | 6  | 74 <i>i</i> , 75 <i>oo</i> , 119 <i>t</i>                |
| 100 | 3  | . . . . . 103 <i>g</i>                                   |
| 101 | 5  | 55 <i>b</i> , 64 <i>i</i> , 90 <i>m</i>                  |
| 102 | 4  | . . . . . 67 <i>u</i>                                    |
| 9   |    | . . . . . 116 <i>i</i>                                   |
| 14  |    | . . . . . 67 <i>cc</i>                                   |
| 19  |    | . . . . . 106 <i>e</i>                                   |
| 28  |    | 67 <i>g</i> , 135 <i>a</i> <i>N</i> <sup>1</sup>         |
| 103 | 1  | . . . . . 10 <i>g</i>                                    |

| Psalms |                                | Psalms |                                   | Psalms |                    |
|--------|--------------------------------|--------|-----------------------------------|--------|--------------------|
| 103    | 3 . . . . 91 e, 91 l           | 119    | 128 . . . . 130 f N.              | 145    | 1 . . . . . 5 h    |
|        | 4 . . . . . 58 g               |        | 136 . . . . . 155 n               |        | 7 . . . . . 132 b  |
|        | 5 . . . . 145 k, 156 d         |        | 137 . . . . . 145 r               |        | 13 . . . . . 123 c |
|        | 9 . . . . . 117 g              | 120    | 1 . . . . . 90 g, 127 e           | 147    | 1 . . . . . 52 p   |
| 104    | 1 . . . . . 106 g              |        | 5 . . . . . 117 bb                |        | 2 . . . . . 20 m   |
|        | 20 m N <sup>2</sup> , 35 h,    |        | 6 . . . . . 119 s                 | 149    | 2 . . . . . 124 k  |
|        | 126 b                          |        | 7 . . . . . 141 c N <sup>3</sup>  |        |                    |
|        | 8 . . . . . 138 g              | 121    | 1 . . . . . 127 e                 |        |                    |
|        | 11 . . . . . 90 n              |        | 3 . . . . . 107 p, 109 e          |        |                    |
|        | 12 . . . . . 93 s              |        | 5 . . . . . 124 k                 |        |                    |
|        | 18 . . . . 20 m, 126 x         | 122    | 6 . . . . . 75 u                  |        |                    |
|        | 20 . . . . 109 h, 159 d        | 123    | 1 . . . . . 90 m                  |        |                    |
|        | 21 . . . . . 114 p             |        | 4 . . . . . 119 s, 127 g          |        |                    |
|        | 25 . . . . . 136 d             | 124    | 4 . . . . . 90 f                  |        |                    |
|        | 26 . . . . . 138 g             | 125    | 1 . . . . . 155 g                 |        |                    |
|        | 28 . . . . 47 m, 159 c         | 126    | 6 . . . . . 113 p, 113 u          |        |                    |
| 105    | 12 . . . . . 118 x             | 127    | 1 . . . . . 118 i                 |        |                    |
|        | 28 . . . . . 53 n              |        | 2 . . . . . 23 l, 80 h, 114 n     |        |                    |
|        | 43 . . . . . 78 l              | 128    | 3 . . . . . 75 v, 96              |        |                    |
| 107    | 23 . . . . 5 n, 17 e           |        | 5 . . . . . 110 i                 |        |                    |
|        | 43 . . . . . 93 m              | 131    | 1 . . . . . 72 l                  |        |                    |
| 108    | 7 . . . . . 144 m              | 132    | 1 . . . . . 52 r                  |        |                    |
| 109    | 2 . . . . . 117 t              |        | 3 . . . . . 128 m                 |        |                    |
|        | 3 . . . . . 57 N <sup>2</sup>  |        | 4 . . . . . 80 g                  |        |                    |
|        | 10 . . . . . 64 e              | 12     | 34 b, 91 n, 138 g                 |        |                    |
|        | 13 . . . . . 75 v              | 133    | 2 . . . . . 126 x                 |        |                    |
| 110    | 1 . . . . . 104 f              | 135    | 7 . . . . . 53 o                  |        |                    |
|        | 2 . . . . . 110 c              | 136    | 1 . . . . . 2 r                   |        |                    |
|        | 3 . . . . . 141 c              |        | 3 . . . . . 102 m                 |        |                    |
|        | 4 . . . . . 90 l               |        | 6 . . . . . 65 d                  |        |                    |
| 111    | 1 . . . . . 5 h                | 137    | 1 . . . . . 124 c                 |        |                    |
| 112    | 1 . . . . . 5 h                |        | 3 . . . . . 117 gg                |        |                    |
|        | 8 . . . . . 164 f              |        | 5 . . . . . 159 m                 |        |                    |
|        | 9 . . . . . 120 g              |        | 6 . . . . . 58 g                  |        |                    |
| 113    | 5 . . . . . 90 m               |        | 7 . . . . . 75 cc, 116 d          |        |                    |
|        | 7 . . . . . 90 m               | 138    | 2 . . . . . 16 f                  |        |                    |
|        | 8 . . . . . 90 n               |        | 6 . . . . . 69 b N., 69 p         |        |                    |
|        | 9 . . . . . 90 n               | 139    | 1 . . . . . 59 h                  |        |                    |
| 114    | 1 . . . . 128 a N <sup>2</sup> |        | 2 . . . . . 73 a N.               |        |                    |
|        | 8 . . . . . 90 m, 90 n         |        | 5 . . . . . 91 e                  |        |                    |
| 115    | 7 . . . . 143 d, 147 e         |        | 8 . . . . . 66 e, 159 m           |        |                    |
| 116    | 1 . . . . . 90 n               | 11     | 103 d, 111 x, 159 f               |        |                    |
|        | 4 . . . . . 16 f               |        | 12 . . . . . 133 b N <sup>2</sup> |        |                    |
|        | 6 . . . . . 53 g               |        | 14 . . . . . 75 qd, 118 p         |        |                    |
|        | 7 . . . . . 72 s, 91 l         |        | 18 . . . . . 159 c N.             |        |                    |
|        | 12 . . . . . 91 l              |        | 20 . . . . 23 i, 68 h, 75 oo      |        |                    |
|        | 15 . . . . . 90 f              |        | 21 . . . . . 72 cc                |        |                    |
| 118    | 5 20 g, 59 f, 119 gg           |        | 22 . . . . 117 q, 128 r           |        |                    |
|        | 7 . . . . . 119 i              | 140    | 4 . . . . . 91 l                  |        |                    |
|        | 10 . . . . . 60 d              |        | 10 . . . . . 75 mn                |        |                    |
|        | 13 . . . . . 113 p             |        | 13 . . . . . 44 i                 |        |                    |
|        | 14 . . . . . 80 g              | 141    | 3 . . . . . 20 h, 48 i            |        |                    |
|        | 18 . . . . 20 g, 59 f          |        | 4 . . . . . 96                    |        |                    |
|        | 23 . . . . . 74 g              |        | 5 . . . . . 74 k                  |        |                    |
|        | 25 . . . . . 53 m              |        | 8 . . . . . 75 bb                 |        |                    |
|        | 26 . . . . . 59 e              |        | 10 . . . . . 145 m                |        |                    |
| 119    | 1 . . . . . 5 n, 75 oo         | 142    | 5 . . . . . 113 bb                |        |                    |
|        | 18 . . . . . 75 cc             | 143    | 6 . . . . . 106 g                 |        |                    |
|        | 28 . . . . . 91 n              | 144    | 2 . . . . . 87 f                  |        |                    |
| 117    | 1 . . . . . 75 l               |        | 14 . . . . . 122 e                |        |                    |

## Proverbs

|   |                             |
|---|-----------------------------|
| 1 | 9 . . . . . 91 n            |
|   | 10 . . . . 68 h, 75 hh      |
|   | 16 . . . . . 145 u          |
|   | 19 . . . . . 29 f           |
|   | 20 . . . . 47 k, 48 d, 86 l |
|   | 21 . . . . . 75 v           |
|   | 22 . . . . 63 m, 93 t N.    |
|   | 23 . . . . . 159 d          |
|   | 28 . . . . . 60 e           |
| 2 | 8 . . . . . 114 i N.        |
|   | 10 . . . . . 145 u          |
|   | 11 . . . . . 58 i           |
|   | 14 . . . . . 128 w          |
|   | 19 . . . . . 116 i          |
|   | 22 . . . . . 144 g          |
| 3 | 3 . . . . . 110 f           |
|   | 8 . . . . . 22 s            |
|   | 12 . . . . . 16 b           |
|   | 25 . . . . . 109 e          |
|   | 26 . . . . . 119 i          |
| 4 | 4 . . . . . 75 n            |
|   | 8 . . . . . 60 f, 67 l      |
|   | 13 . . . . . 20 h           |
|   | 21 . . . . . 72 cc          |
|   | 25 . . . . . 70 b           |
| 5 | 2 . . . . . 145 u           |
|   | 4 . . . . . 96              |
|   | 6 . . . . . 72 l            |
|   | 13 . . . . . 75 cc          |
|   | 16 . . . . . 150 a          |
|   | 17 . . . . . 152 o          |
|   | 22 . . . . 60 e, 131 m N.   |
| 6 | 24 . . . . 114 i N., 128 w  |
| 7 | 2 . . . . . 75 n            |
|   | 5 . . . . . 114 i N.        |
|   | 7 . . . . . 108 h           |
|   | 8 . . . . . 91 e            |
|   | 11 . . . . . 94 d           |
|   | 13 . . . . . 67 ad, 68 e    |
|   | 26 . . . . . 116 l          |
| 8 | 3 . . . . . 47 k            |
|   | 4 . . . . . 96              |
|   | 12 . . . . . 117 bb         |
|   | 13 . . . . . 122 v          |
|   | 17 . . . . . 68 f           |
|   | 22 . . . . . 59 f           |
|   | 25 . . . . 107 e, 152 r     |
|   | 26 . . . . . 124 l          |
|   | 27 . . . . . 67 r           |
|   | 28 . . . . . 93 v           |
|   | 30 . . . . . 122 f          |

Proverbs

|    |    |                          |
|----|----|--------------------------|
| 8  | 32 | 130 d, 155 n             |
| 9  | 1  | 86 l                     |
|    | 5  | 119 m                    |
|    | 9  | 109 h                    |
| 10 |    | 124 h                    |
| 12 |    | 159 f                    |
| 13 |    | 137 c, 152 u N.          |
| 18 |    | 116 l                    |
| 10 | 4  | 23 g, 72 p, 117 t        |
|    | 26 | 124 k                    |
|    | 31 | 117 z                    |
| 11 | 3  | 67 n                     |
|    | 14 | 123 b                    |
|    | 15 | 67 t                     |
|    | 21 | 22 s                     |
|    | 25 | 69 w                     |
| 12 | 1  | 16 f                     |
|    | 10 | 145 h                    |
|    | 17 | 159 c                    |
|    | 18 | 75 q q                   |
|    | 19 | 108 h                    |
|    | 28 | 152 g                    |
| 13 | 4  | 131 n                    |
|    | 6  | 142 f                    |
|    | 10 | 153                      |
|    | 21 | 117 c                    |
|    | 23 | 23 g                     |
|    | 24 | 117 f                    |
| 14 | 1  | 86 l, 145 k N.           |
|    | 2  | 116 k                    |
|    | 3  | 47 g                     |
|    | 7  | 152 u N.                 |
|    | 10 | 22 s                     |
|    | 13 | 131 n N <sup>1</sup>     |
|    | 14 | 72 p                     |
|    | 20 | 121 f                    |
|    | 30 | 124 d                    |
|    | 34 | 72 b b                   |
|    | 35 | 114 i N.                 |
| 15 | 1  | 20 c, 22 s               |
|    | 5  | 63 n                     |
|    | 20 | 107 f                    |
| 16 | 3  | 124 e                    |
|    | 4  | 127 i                    |
|    | 11 | 128 a N.                 |
|    | 30 | 141 i N.                 |
|    | 33 | 121 b                    |
| 17 | 4  | 68 i                     |
|    | 10 | 66 f                     |
|    | 12 | 113 c c, 133 b N., 152 g |
|    | 15 | 154 a N. (c)             |
|    | 21 | 114 i N.                 |
|    | 26 | 153                      |
| 18 | 6  | 145 u                    |
|    | 16 | 92 g                     |
|    | 22 | 159 h                    |
|    | 24 | 47 b                     |
| 19 | 7  | 9 u                      |
|    | 8  | 114 i                    |

Proverbs

|    |    |                    |
|----|----|--------------------|
| 19 | 25 | 63 n, 144 h        |
| 20 | 2  | 128 h              |
|    | 9  | 107 t              |
|    | 10 | 123 f              |
|    | 13 | 110 h              |
|    | 16 | 63 l               |
|    | 22 | 22 s               |
|    | 25 | 114 i              |
| 21 | 6  | 128 c              |
|    | 12 | 125 c              |
| 22 | 21 | 10 k, 124 k, 131 c |
| 23 | 1  | 73 a, 73 d         |
|    | 7  | 152 t              |
|    | 22 | 138 g              |
|    | 24 | 159 i              |
|    | 29 | 131 q              |
|    | 35 | 120 c              |
| 24 | 1  | 5 h                |
|    | 4  | 29 o               |
|    | 14 | 48 l               |
|    | 17 | 51 l               |
|    | 22 | 151 a              |
|    | 31 | 117 z              |
| 25 | 2  | 53 k               |
|    | 3  | 29 i N.            |
|    | 5  | 126 n              |
|    | 9  | 75 b b             |
|    | 11 | 93 r               |
|    | 12 | 161 a N.           |
|    | 13 | 124 k              |
|    | 16 | 76 h, 91 d         |
|    | 17 | 69 v               |
|    | 19 | 52 s, 67 s, 92 g   |
|    | 23 | 72 b b             |
|    | 26 | 53 s               |
|    | 27 | 113 b              |
| 28 | 7  | 75 u               |
|    | 8  | 67 c c             |
|    | 17 | 155 e              |
|    | 23 | 145 u              |
|    | 28 | 122 n              |
| 27 | 6  | 63 c               |
|    | 7  | 143 a              |
|    | 9  | 146 e              |
|    | 15 | 75 x               |
|    | 24 | 150 g N.           |
|    | 25 | 20 h               |
| 28 | 6  | 88 e N.            |
|    | 22 | 10 h               |
| 29 | 6  | 67 g               |
| 30 | 1  | 96                 |
|    | 3  | 124 h, 166 a       |
|    | 6  | 10 h, 69 v         |
|    | 13 | 72 l               |
|    | 14 | 114 i N.           |
|    | 17 | 10 g N., 20 h N.   |
|    | 18 | 134 s              |
|    | 24 | 133 g              |
|    | 28 | 144 h              |
|    | 30 | 152 b              |

Proverbs

|    |    |            |
|----|----|------------|
| 30 | 31 | 35 m       |
| 31 | 1  | 128 h      |
|    | 2  | 37 f       |
|    | 3  | 53 g, 87 e |
|    | 4  | 75 n       |
|    | 10 | 2 r, 5 h   |
|    | 30 | 54 g       |

Job

|   |    |  |
|---|----|--|
| 1 | 1  | 155 e, 156 b                               |
|   | 3  | 123 a                                      |
|   | 4  | 97 c, 112 d d                              |
|   | 5  | 107 e, 112 f, 118 h                        |
|   | 6  | 164 d                                      |
|   | 6  | 119 c c, 126 s, 128 v                      |
|   | 7  | 107 h                                      |
|   | 12 | 136 d                                      |
|   | 14 | 116 r, 119 c c, 122 c, 135 o, 141 i, 145 c |
|   | 15 | 49 e, 122 i, 135 o                         |
|   | 16 | 116 u, 164 a                               |
|   | 18 | 116 u                                      |
|   | 19 | 122 g                                      |
|   | 21 | 23 f, 74 k, 118 n                          |
| 2 | 1  | 128 v                                      |
|   | 3  | 111 l                                      |
|   | 9  | 110 f, 150 b                               |
|   | 10 | 150 a, 153                                 |
| 3 | 2  | 68 e                                       |
|   | 3  | 29 e, 68 d, 107 k, 155 f, 155 i            |
|   | 4  | 141 c N.                                   |
|   | 6  | 75 r                                       |
|   | 8  | 114 m                                      |
|   | 9  | 109 a N., 152 k                            |
|   | 11 | 152 z                                      |
|   | 13 | 106 p, 159 d d                             |
|   | 15 | 155 e                                      |
|   | 17 | 106 l                                      |
|   | 19 | 135 a N.                                   |
|   | 20 | 128 y                                      |
|   | 24 | 145 p                                      |
|   | 25 | 75 u                                       |
| 4 | 2  | 28 b, 87 e, 150 m                          |
|   | 3  | 107 e, 132 f                               |
|   | 5  | 111 i, 144 b                               |
|   | 6  | 143 d                                      |
|   | 7  | 136 c                                      |
|   | 17 | 107 f, 133 b N., 150 h                     |
|   | 19 | 144 g                                      |
|   | 20 | 29 l, 67 g, 67 y                           |
|   | 21 | 150 m                                      |
| 5 | 1  | 61 h, 91 d                                 |
|   | 2  | 117 n                                      |
|   | 3  | 135 a                                      |
|   | 5  | 119 e                                      |
|   | 7  | 128 v, 161 a                               |
|   | 8  | 107 x                                      |

| Job |                            | Job |                             | Job   |                             |
|-----|----------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|
| 5   | 10 . . . . . 126 b         | 9   | 29 . . . . . 107 n          | 15    | 6 . . . . . 145 u           |
| 12  | . . . . . 166 a            | 31  | . . . . . 126 r             | 7     | . . . . . 121 d             |
| 13  | . . . . . 91 e             | 32  | 116 s, 152 d, 166 a         | 10    | . . . . . 131 q             |
| 14  | . . . . . 118 u            | 33  | . . . . . 109 i, 152 d      | 11    | . . . . . 133 c             |
| 16  | . . . . . 90 g             | 34  | . . . . . 60 d              | 13    | . . . . . 125 c             |
| 18  | . . . . . 75 q             | 10  | 1 . . . . . 72 d            | 15    | . . . . . 67 ee             |
| 19  | . . . . . 134 s            | 7   | . . . . . 119 aa N.         | 16    | . . . . . 116 e             |
| 22  | . . . . . 109 e            | 8   | . . . . . 111 e             | 17    | 75 bb, 138 h, 143 d         |
| 24  | . . . . . 159 g            | 15  | . . . . . 159 ff            | 20    | . . . . . 146 a             |
| 27  | . . . . . 20 g             | 16  | . . . . . 109 h, 120 g      | 21    | . . . . . 118 f             |
| 6   | 2 . . . . . 113 w, 144 g   | 17  | . . . . . 154 a N.          | 22    | . . . . . 75 v              |
| 5   | . . . . . 150 h            | 18  | . . . . . 107 n             | 23    | . . . . . 147 c             |
| 7   | . . . . . 66 b, 106 g      | 19  | . . . . . 17 n              | 26    | . . . . . 128 r             |
| 8   | . . . . . 95 h, 151 d      | 21  | . . . . . 107 c             | 16    | 3 . . . . . 150 g           |
| 9   | . . . . . 120 d            | 22  | . . . . . 90 g, 152 a N.    | 4     | 103 l, 108 f, 119 g         |
| 10  | . . . . . 108 f            | 11  | 2 . . . . . 128 t           | 5     | . . . . . 60 f              |
| 12  | . . . . . 141 d, 150 f     | 3   | . . . . . 111 t             | 6     | . 63 f, 108 e, 159 ff       |
| 13  | . . . . . 150 g N.         | 5   | . . . . . 151 b             | 7     | . 53 p, 75 ee, 144 p        |
| 16  | . . . . . 126 b            | 6   | . . . . . 110 i, 134 r N.   | 8     | . . . . . 120 c             |
| 17  | . . . . . 130 d, 155 l     | 9   | . . . . . 91 e              | 9     | . . . . . 118 q, 119 q      |
| 19  | . . . . . 119 s            | 11  | . . . . . 128 t             | 10    | . . . . . 54 k, 119 g       |
| 20  | . . . . . 135 p, 145 u     | 12  | . . . . . 51 g, 131 c N.    | 12    | . . . . . 112 tt            |
| 21  | . . . . . 75 t, 152 a      | 15  | . . . . . 119 w, 159 ee     | 13    | . . . . . 95 h              |
| 22  | . . . . . 22 p, 64 a, 69 o | 17  | . 48 d, 108 e, 133 e        | 14    | . . . . . 126 p             |
| 25  | . . . . . 154 a            | 14  | . . . . . 144 c             | 16    | . . . . . 44 m, 55 e        |
| 26  | . . . . . 65 f, 69 v       | 20  | . . . . . 103 m             | 17    | . 152 a N., 160 a           |
| 28  | . . . . . 120 g            | 12  | 3 . . . . . 152 d           | 19    | . . . . . 124 b             |
| 7   | 2 . . . . . 155 g          | 4   | . . . . . 111 u             | 22    | . 69 x, 75 u, 145 u         |
| 3   | . . . . . 121 c, 144 g     | 6   | . . . . . 29 t, 75 u, 124 e | 17    | 1 . . . . . 124 c           |
| 4   | . . . . . 124 f            | 7   | . . . . . 145 k             | 2     | . . . . . 20 h, 73 e, 75 ff |
| 6   | . . . . . 133 b            | 11  | . . . . . 135 i, 161 a      | 4     | . . . . . 72 cc             |
| 13  | . . . . . 112 hh, 119 m    | 12  | . . . . . 141 d             | 5     | . . . . . 75 w              |
| 14  | . . . . . 58 i, 60 d       | 14  | . . . . . 159 w             | 7     | . . . . . 75 p              |
| 15  | . . . . . 133 b            | 15  | . . . . . 15 c              | 9     | . . . . . 10 h              |
| 18  | . . . . . 123 c            | 17  | 116 s, 116 x, 118 o         | 10    | . . . . . 120 e, 135 r      |
| 20  | . 102 l, 119 aa, 159 h     | 23  | . . . . . 117 n             | 13    | . . . . . 124 b             |
| 21  | . . . . . 37 f             | 24  | . . . . . 128 a, 152 u      | 16    | . . . . . 47 k              |
| 8   | 5 . . . . . 159 r          | 13  | 3 . . . . . 53 k, 113 d     | 18    | 2 . . . . . 130 a           |
| 7   | . . . . . 145 u            | 7   | . . . . . 150 h             | 3     | . . . . . 75 q              |
| 9   | . . . . . 141 d            | 9   | . . . . . 53 k              | 4     | . . . . . 51 n, 139 f       |
| 10  | . . . . . 125 c            | 13  | . . . . . 119 ff, 137 c     | 7     | . . . . . 67 dd, 135 n      |
| 11  | . 75 rr, 150 h, 152 a N.   | 15  | . . . . . 153               | 8     | . . . . . 54 k              |
| 14  | . . . . . 72 r, 93 oo      | 16  | . . . . . 152 e             | 12    | . . . . . 109 k             |
| 18  | . . . . . 29 g, 64 g       | 17  | . . . . . 113 r             | 18    | . . . . . 144 g             |
| 19  | . . . . . 145 d            | 21  | . 29 d, 60 d, 64 h          | 21    | . . . . . 130 d             |
| 21  | . . . . . 23 e, 75 pp      | 25  | . . . . . 117 c             | 19    | 2 21 d, 60 e, 75 gg,        |
| 6   | . . . . . 54 k             | 26  | . . . . . 124 e             | 75 oo |                             |
| 7   | . . . . . 109 g, 165 a     | 27  | . . . . . 54 f, 93 r        | 3     | . . . . . 53 n, 120 c       |
| 8   | . . . . . 87 s             | 28  | . . . . . 144 p, 155 h      | 7     | . . . . . 63 h N., 159 w    |
| 11  | . . . . . 117 n, 159 w     | 14  | 1 . . . . . 116 l           | 10    | . . . . . 69 p, x           |
| 15  | . 55 b, 159 n, 160 a       | 2   | . . . . . 111 s             | 15    | . . . . . 60 a              |
| 16  | . . . . . 111 x            | 3   | . . . . . 150 b, 153        | 17    | . . . . . 67 ee             |
| 18  | . . . . . 20 h, 114 m      | 4   | . . . . . 151 b             | 18    | . . . . . 159 e             |
| 19  | . . . . . 147 b            | 6   | . . . . . 109 f, 156 g      | 19    | . . . . . 138 h             |
| 20  | . . . . . 33 n, 107 x      | 9   | . . . . . 65 e, 112 m       | 23    | . 53 u, 67 y, 126 s,        |
| 22  | . . . . . 106 i            | 10  | . . . . . 111 t             | 151 d |                             |
| 24  | . . . . . 150 l N.         | 11  | . . . . . 161 a             | 24    | . . . . . 51 m              |
| 26  | . . . . . 155 g, 161 a N.  | 19  | . . . . . 145 k             | 25    | . . . . . 118 n             |
| 27  | . . . . . 159 u            | 22  | . . . . . 153               | 26    | . . . . . 119 w, 144 g      |
|     |                            | 15  | 3 . . . . . 113 h, 119 hh   | 28    | . . . . . 117 n             |

|     |                                  |
|-----|----------------------------------|
| Job |                                  |
| 20  | 4 . . . . . 150 e                |
|     | 9 . . . . . 122 l                |
|     | 10 . . . . . 72 k                |
|     | 12 . . . . . 159 q               |
|     | 17 . . . . . 109 e, 130 e        |
|     | 19 . . . . . 154 a N.            |
|     | 22 . . . . . 74 h, 118 e         |
|     | 23 . . . . . 103 f N.            |
|     | 24 . . . . . 159 c               |
|     | 26 . 68 f, 145 u, 156 f          |
|     | 29 . . . . . 131 c, 135 m        |
| 21  | 4 100 n, 135 f, 143 a,           |
|     | 150 g                            |
|     | 5 . . . . . 67 v                 |
|     | 7 . . . . . 117 z                |
|     | 9 . 119 w, 141 c N <sup>s</sup>  |
|     | 11 . . . . . 52 n                |
|     | 13 . . . . . 20 i, 66 f          |
|     | 16 . 20 f, 106 n N <sup>2</sup>  |
|     | 17 . . . . . 150 h               |
|     | 21 . . . . . 37 d, 146 a         |
|     | 22 . . . . . 142 d               |
|     | 23 . . . . . 139 g               |
|     | 25 . . . . . 119 m               |
|     | 27 . . . . . 155 k               |
|     | 29 . . . . . 44 d, 64 f          |
|     | 32 . . . . . 124 c               |
| 22  | 2 . . . . . 103 f N <sup>s</sup> |
|     | 3 . . . . . 67 y                 |
|     | 7 . . . . . 152 e                |
|     | 9 . . . . . 121 b                |
|     | 12 20 i, 117 h, 141 c,           |
|     | 158 a                            |
|     | 16 . . . . . 121 d, 149 a        |
|     | 18 . . . . . 106 n N.            |
|     | 20 . . . . . 91 f, 149 e         |
|     | 21 48 d, 110 f, 135 p            |
|     | 23 . . . . . 159 ff              |
|     | 29 . . . . . 23 f                |
|     | 30 . . . . . 152 q               |
| 23  | 2 . . . . . 119 aa               |
|     | 3 . . . . . 120 e                |
|     | 6 . . . . . 100 l                |
|     | 9 . . . . . 109 k                |
|     | 11 . . . . . 76 c                |
|     | 12 . . . . . 143 d               |
|     | 13 . . . . . 119 i               |
|     | 16 . . . . . 67 v                |
| 24  | 1 . . . . . 75 m, 121 f          |
|     | 5 . . . . . 118 r, 145 m         |
|     | 7 . . . . . 118 o                |
|     | 10 . . . . . 118 o, 152 u        |
|     | 14 109 k, 118 x, 120 c           |
|     | 19 . . . . . 161 a               |
|     | 21 . . . . . 70 d                |
|     | 22 . . . . . 87 e, 156 f         |
|     | 23 . . . . . 91 l                |
|     | 24 . 51 m, 67 m, 67 y            |
|     | 25 . 150 l N., 152 a             |
| 25  | 2 . . . . . 116 z                |

|     |                           |
|-----|---------------------------|
| Job |                           |
| 25  | 3 . . . . . 91 d          |
|     | 5 . . . . . 67 ee         |
| 26  | 2 152 a N., 152 u,        |
|     | 152 v                     |
|     | 4 . . . . . 117 gg        |
|     | 5 . . . . . 119 c         |
|     | 7 . . . . . 116 s         |
|     | 9 . . . . . 56            |
|     | 14 . . . . . 119 m        |
| 27  | 3 . . . . . 128 e         |
|     | 5 . . . . . 149 a         |
|     | 6 . . . . . 119 w N.      |
|     | 7 . . . . . 118 x         |
|     | 12 . . . . . 117 q        |
|     | 19 . 68 h, 120 d N.       |
|     | 23 . . . . . 103 f N.     |
| 28  | 1 . . . . . 155 h         |
|     | 2 . . . . . 121 d, 127 ii |
|     | 4 . . . . . 126 b         |
|     | 5 . . . . . 118 w         |
|     | 6 . . . . . 124 l         |
|     | 11 . . . . . 119 x        |
|     | 12 . . . . . 119 ff       |
|     | 17 . . . . . 152 z        |
|     | 25 . . . . . 114 r        |
|     | 27 . . . . . 60 d         |
| 29  | 2 118 u, 130 d, 151 b     |
|     | 3 67 p, 118 h, 131 o      |
|     | 6 . . . . . 23 f          |
|     | 8 . . . . . 120 g N.      |
|     | 10 . . . . . 44 c, 146 a  |
|     | 12 . . . . . 152 u, 155 n |
|     | 15 . . . . . 141 d        |
|     | 16 . . . . . 130 d, 155 n |
|     | 21 . 20 i, 24 e, 67 g     |
|     | 23 . . . . . 118 w        |
|     | 25 . . . . . 10 g, 126 p  |
| 30  | 3 . . . . . 126 b, 133 l  |
|     | 6 . . . . . 114 k, 133 h  |
|     | 10 . . . . . 106 g        |
|     | 13 . . . . . 152 u, 155 n |
|     | 14 . . . . . 75 u         |
|     | 15 . . . . . 121 b        |
|     | 19 . . . . . 59 f, 75 ll  |
|     | 20 . . . . . 72 bb        |
|     | 26 . . . . . 49 e, 108 e  |
|     | 28 . . . . . 118 n, 120 c |
| 31  | 1 . . . . . 148 a         |
|     | 5 . . . . . 72 ff         |
|     | 7 . . . . . 23 c, 108 f   |
|     | 9 . . . . . 159 m         |
|     | 10 . . . . . 87 e         |
|     | 11 . . . . . 32 l, 131 s  |
|     | 12 . . . . . 155 f        |
|     | 15 . . . . . 58 k, 72 cc  |
|     | 18 117 x, 126 p, 163 b    |
|     | 22 . . . . . 91 e         |
|     | 26 67 p, 111 q, 118 n,    |
|     | 118 q                     |
|     | 27 . . . . . 75 q         |

|     |                           |
|-----|---------------------------|
| Job |                           |
| 31  | 28 . . . . . 159 dd       |
|     | 29 . . . . . 112 e        |
|     | 31 . . . . . 151 b        |
|     | 34 . . . . . 156 f        |
|     | 35 . . . . . 151 b        |
| 32  | 6 . . . . . 68 e, 69 m    |
|     | 7 . . . . . 146 a         |
|     | 11 . . . . . 68 i         |
|     | 12 . . . . . 103 o        |
|     | 17 . . . . . 63 f         |
|     | 18 . . . . . 23 f, 74 k   |
|     | 22 . . . . . 120 c        |
| 33  | 4 . . . . . 16 h, 75 mm   |
|     | 5 . . . . . 48 i, 54 k    |
|     | 21 . . . . . 14 d, 64 e   |
|     | 25 . . . . . 56           |
|     | 30 . . . . . 51 l, 72 v   |
|     | 32 . . . . . 61 d         |
| 34  | 13 . . . . . 90 f         |
|     | 18 . . . . . 113 ee N.    |
|     | 22 . . . . . 115 g        |
|     | 36 . . . . . 159 cc       |
| 35  | 10 . . . . . 124 k        |
|     | 11 . . . . . 68 k         |
|     | 15 . . . . . 152 k        |
| 36  | 2 . . . . . 65 e          |
|     | 7 . . . . . 111 b N.      |
|     | 18 . . . . . 145 u        |
|     | 32 . . . . . 122 o        |
|     | 36 . . . . . 143 d        |
| 37  | 5 . . . . . 118 p         |
|     | 6 . . . . . 75 hh         |
|     | 12 . . . . . 90 f         |
|     | 14 . . . . . 117 w        |
|     | 16 . . . . . 124 e        |
|     | 18 . . . . . 150 b        |
|     | 24 . . . . . 59 i         |
| 38  | 2 . . . . . 136 c         |
|     | 3 . . . . . 126 p         |
|     | 5 . . . . . 159 dd        |
|     | 6 . . . . . 137 b         |
|     | 7 . . . . . 67 n, 128 v   |
|     | 12 . . . . . 119 w N.     |
|     | 13 . . . . . 5 n, 114 r   |
|     | 14 . . . . . 118 w, 134 r |
|     | 16 . . . . . 150 h        |
|     | 18 . . . . . 122 q, 150 b |
|     | 19 . . . . . 155 k        |
|     | 21 . . . . . 107 c, 146 a |
|     | 24 . . . . . 105 a        |
|     | 26 . . . . . 152 u, 155 e |
|     | 27 . . . . . 133 l        |
|     | 28 . . . . . 150 g        |
|     | 30 . . . . . 118 w        |
|     | 32 . . . . . 145 m        |
| 39  | 1 . . . . . 64 d          |
|     | 2 . . . . . 91 f, 150 b   |
|     | 3 . . . . . 135 o         |
|     | 9 . . . . . 22 s          |
|     | 13 . . . . . 150 f        |

## Job

|    |    |                             |
|----|----|-----------------------------|
| 39 | 15 | 135 p                       |
|    | 17 | 119 m                       |
|    | 24 | 75 oo                       |
|    | 25 | 53 n                        |
|    | 30 | 55 f                        |
| 40 | 2  | 113 ee, 113 gg              |
|    | 5  | 134 r, 134 s                |
|    | 8  | 150 g                       |
|    | 19 | 116 g N., 127 l             |
|    | 22 | 67 n                        |
|    | 23 | 159 w                       |
|    | 24 | 66 f                        |
|    | 25 | 150 a N <sup>1</sup>        |
|    | 30 | 150 b                       |
|    | 32 | 69 v                        |
| 41 | 1  | 93 ss, 150 a N <sup>1</sup> |
|    | 2  | 72 ee                       |
|    | 4  | 103 g, 124 e                |
|    | 7  | 118 r                       |
|    | 12 | 154 a N.                    |
|    | 15 | 156 g                       |
|    | 17 | 76 b                        |
|    | 20 | 128 v                       |
|    | 22 | 133 h                       |
|    | 25 | 24 b, 75 v, 126 b           |
|    | 26 | 16 f, 117 a N <sup>4</sup>  |
| 42 | 2  | 44 i                        |
|    | 3  | 133 d, 156 f                |
|    | 5  | 75 mm                       |
|    | 7  | 164 d                       |
|    | 8  | 163 d                       |
|    | 10 | 91 k                        |
|    | 13 | 97 c                        |
|    | 15 | 135 o, 145 o                |
|    | 16 | 75 t                        |

## Canticle

|   |    |                |
|---|----|----------------|
| 1 | 1  | 133 i          |
|   | 6  | 60 a, 75 w     |
|   | 7  | 36, 75 v       |
|   | 8  | 20 h           |
|   | 10 | 75 x, 141 c    |
|   | 15 | 141 d          |
| 2 | 7  | 144 a          |
|   | 12 | 85 u N.        |
|   | 13 | 141 d          |
|   | 14 | 69 v, 93 ss    |
|   | 17 | 119 s          |
| 3 | 7  | 131 n          |
|   | 8  | 50 f           |
|   | 11 | 75 n           |
| 5 | 5  | 135 b          |
|   | 8  | 137 b N.       |
|   | 9  | 59 h           |
|   | 16 | 85 g N., 141 c |
| 6 | 8  | 32 n           |
|   | 11 | 67 dd          |
| 7 | 1  | 137 b N.       |
|   | 2  | 93 x           |

## Canticle

|   |    |                |
|---|----|----------------|
| 7 | 10 | 126 x, 133 h   |
| 8 | 2  | 87 f, 131 c N. |
|   | 4  | 137 b N.       |
|   | 5  | 59 g N.        |
|   | 6  | 93 m           |
|   | 10 | 74 i           |
|   | 14 | 119 s          |

## Ruth

|   |    |                         |
|---|----|-------------------------|
| 1 | 1  | 49 b N.                 |
|   | 8  | 135 o, 144 a            |
|   | 9  | 46 f, 74 h, 74 k        |
|   |    | 110 i                   |
|   | 12 | 106 p, 107 x            |
|   | 13 | 51 m, 103 f N., 152 g   |
|   | 14 | 76 b                    |
|   | 16 | 138 e                   |
|   | 19 | 91 f                    |
|   | 20 | 46 f, 80 h              |
|   | 21 | 118 n                   |
|   | 22 | 32 n, 138 k             |
| 2 | 2  | 10 h, 64 i              |
|   | 3  | 129 d                   |
|   | 6  | 138 k                   |
|   | 8  | 47 a, 47 o              |
|   | 9  | 75 q, 112 k k           |
|   | 14 | 53 n, 66 c, 69 v, 103 g |
|   | 15 | 35 k                    |
|   | 16 | 67 o                    |
|   | 20 | 121 f                   |
|   | 21 | 47 o, 122 g             |
| 3 | 2  | 91 f, 141 c             |
|   | 3  | 44 h, 104 g             |
|   | 4  | 47 o, 109 k, 112 z      |
|   | 6  | 59 g                    |
|   | 12 | 163 d                   |
|   | 14 | 107 c                   |
|   | 15 | 64 c, 69 o, 134 n       |
|   | 18 | 163 c and N.            |
| 4 | 1  | 69 p, 72 t              |
|   | 3  | 129 h, 138 k            |
|   | 4  | 29 i N., 152 o          |
|   | 7  | 112 h                   |
|   | 15 | 59 g                    |

## Lamentations

|   |    |                    |
|---|----|--------------------|
| 1 | 1  | 5 h, 90 l          |
|   | 4  | 69 i, 87 c         |
|   | 8  | 67 y, 72 ee, 117 p |
|   | 10 | 120 c, 155 f       |
|   | 14 | 130 d, 155 n       |
|   | 16 | 75 v, 117 z        |
|   | 19 | 107 q, 165 a       |
| 2 | 7  | 64 e               |
|   | 11 | 51 l               |
|   | 16 | 15 c               |

## Lamentations

|   |    |                   |
|---|----|-------------------|
| 2 | 18 | 80 f              |
| 3 | 1  | 144 p             |
|   | 5  | 53 n              |
|   | 12 | 80 h              |
|   | 14 | 87 f              |
|   | 22 | 20 o              |
|   | 26 | 100 g N., 107 q   |
|   | 33 | 69 u              |
|   | 48 | 29 q, 69 p, 117 z |
|   | 50 | 109 k             |
|   | 53 | 69 u              |
| 4 | 1  | 54 k, 75 rr       |
|   | 2  | 75 rr             |
|   | 5  | 117 n             |
|   | 14 | 51 h, 120 g       |
|   | 17 | 100 o             |
|   | 21 | 90 n              |
| 5 | 5  | 72 ee N., 121 a   |
|   | 10 | 145 u             |

## Ecclesiastes

|   |    |                 |
|---|----|-----------------|
| 1 | 1  | 122 r           |
|   | 4  | 116 l           |
|   | 6  | 113 u           |
|   | 9  | 137 c           |
|   | 12 | 133 i           |
|   | 13 | 112 pp N.       |
|   | 16 | 135 b           |
|   | 17 | 86 l            |
| 2 | 1  | 135 b           |
|   | 5  | 112 pp N.       |
|   | 7  | 145 u           |
|   | 8  | 122 v           |
|   | 13 | 24 c, 133 b     |
|   | 15 | 93 rr, 135 c    |
|   | 19 | 150 g           |
|   | 20 | 64 e            |
|   | 21 | 131 m           |
|   | 22 | 36              |
|   | 26 | 75 oo           |
| 3 | 2  | 2 s             |
|   | 4  | 114 b           |
|   | 10 | 131 n           |
|   | 11 | 152 y           |
|   | 14 | 105 b           |
|   | 15 | 114 i           |
|   | 18 | 36, 67 p        |
|   | 19 | 93 rr           |
|   | 21 | 100 m, 150 i N. |
|   | 22 | 102 k           |
| 4 | 2  | 113 gg          |
|   | 3  | 117 l           |
|   | 10 | 124 o           |
|   | 14 | 35 d            |
|   | 17 | 133 e           |
| 5 | 5  | 53 q            |
|   | 6  | 143 d           |
|   | 7  | 124 h           |
|   | 8  | 32 l            |

Ecclesiastes

|    |    |                 |              |
|----|----|-----------------|--------------|
| 5  | 11 | . . . . .       | 69 n         |
|    | 14 | . . . . .       | 109 i        |
|    | 15 | . . . . .       | 161 b        |
|    | 16 | . . . . .       | 147 e        |
|    | 18 | . 112 pp N.,    | 141 h        |
| 7  | 7  | . . . . .       | 117 c        |
|    | 16 | . 54 c, 54 k,   | 131 q        |
|    | 24 | . . . . .       | 133 k        |
|    | 26 | . . . . .       | 75 oo        |
|    | 27 | . . . . .       | 122 r        |
| 8  | 1  | . . . . .       | 35 n, 75 rr  |
|    | 10 | . 54 g, 119 ii, | 128 w N.     |
| 9  | 1  | . . . . .       | 93 ww        |
|    | 4  | . . . . .       | 143 e        |
|    | 12 | . . . . .       | 52 s         |
|    | 14 | . . . . .       | 112 pp N.    |
| 10 | 5  | . . . . .       | 75 qq, 155 h |
|    | 15 | . . . . .       | 145 m        |
|    | 17 | . . . . .       | 91 l         |
|    | 18 | . . . . .       | 88 b         |
|    | 20 | . . . . .       | 53 n         |
| 11 | 2  | . . . . .       | 134 s        |
|    | 3  | . . . . .       | 23 i, 75 s   |
| 12 | 1  | . . . . .       | 124 k        |
|    | 4  | . . . . .       | 72 t, 128 v  |
|    | 5  | . . . . .       | 73 g         |
|    | 6  | . . . . .       | 67 q, 67 t   |
|    | 7  | . . . . .       | 109 k        |
|    | 10 | . . . . .       | 145 h        |

Esther

|   |    |           |                 |
|---|----|-----------|-----------------|
| 1 | 4  | . . . . . | 93 ww           |
|   | 5  | . . . . . | 74 h            |
|   | 8  | . . . . . | 123 c           |
|   | 17 | . . . . . | 93 m            |
| 2 | 9  | . . . . . | 75 v            |
|   | 11 | . . . . . | 123 c           |
| 3 | 4  | . . . . . | 157 c           |
|   | 8  | . . . . . | 100 o N.        |
| 4 | 2  | . . . . . | 114 l           |
|   | 8  | . . . . . | 93 ww           |
| 6 | 13 | . . . . . | 20 g            |
| 7 | 2  | . . . . . | 109 f           |
|   | 5  | . . . . . | 74 g, 137 a     |
|   | 8  | . . . . . | 114 i           |
| 8 | 1  | . . . . . | 137 c           |
|   | 8  | . . . . . | 63 c            |
| 9 | 1  | . . . . . | 135 a N.        |
|   | 6  | . . . . . | 113 z           |
|   | 7  | . . . . . | 2 s             |
|   | 23 | . . . . . | 124 e, 145 o N. |

Daniel

|   |    |           |                |
|---|----|-----------|----------------|
| 1 | 4  | . . . . . | 23 c, 128 a N. |
|   | 5  | . . . . . | 135 o          |
|   | 10 | . . . . . | 93 ss          |
|   | 12 | . . . . . | 75 cc          |
|   | 13 | . . . . . | 75 hh          |

Daniel

|    |    |                 |              |
|----|----|-----------------|--------------|
| 1  | 15 | . . . . .       | 93 ss        |
| 2  | 1  | . . . . .       | 124 o        |
|    | 4  | . . . . .       | 1 c          |
| 3  | 15 | . . . . .       | 167 a        |
| 8  | 3  | . . . . .       | 93 n         |
|    | 9  | . . . . .       | 135 o        |
|    | 11 | . . . . .       | 72 ee        |
|    | 13 | . 125 b, 126 z, | 127 f        |
|    | 22 | . 47 k, 87 i,   | 95 u,        |
|    |    | . 116 w         |              |
| 9  | 5  | . . . . .       | 91 n         |
|    | 13 | . . . . .       | 117 m        |
|    | 19 | . . . . .       | 48 i         |
| 11 | 6  | . 116 f, 127 i, | 139 h        |
|    | 11 | . . . . .       | 131 n        |
|    | 20 | . . . . .       | 93 dd        |
|    | 23 | . . . . .       | 53 l, 54 k   |
|    | 35 | . . . . .       | 53 q         |
| 12 | 2  | . . . . .       | 102 b, 124 e |
|    | 7  | . . . . .       | 93 aa N.     |
|    | 11 | . . . . .       | 134 g        |
|    | 13 | . . . . .       | 87 e         |

Ezra

|    |    |           |              |
|----|----|-----------|--------------|
| 2  | 62 | . . . . . | 131 r        |
|    | 69 | . . . . . | 97 g         |
| 3  | 3  | . . . . . | 124 g, 147 a |
|    | 6  | . . . . . | 134 p        |
|    | 12 | . . . . . | 126 au       |
| 4  | 7  | . . . . . | 55 h         |
|    | 8  | . . . . . | 1 c          |
| 6  | 21 | . . . . . | 8 k          |
| 7  | 12 | . . . . . | 1 c          |
|    | 28 | . . . . . | 49 e         |
| 8  | 1  | . . . . . | 64 i         |
|    | 18 | . . . . . | 14 d         |
|    | 23 | . . . . . | 51 n         |
|    | 25 | . . . . . | 93 oo, 138 i |
|    | 29 | . . . . . | 127 g        |
|    | 30 | . . . . . | 92 g         |
|    | 36 | . . . . . | 112 rr       |
| 9  | 6  | . . . . . | 22 s         |
| 10 | 13 | . . . . . | 141 d        |
|    | 14 | . . . . . | 127 i, 138 i |
|    | 16 | . . . . . | 45 g         |
|    | 17 | . . . . . | 127 e N.     |

Nehemiah

|   |    |           |               |
|---|----|-----------|---------------|
| 2 | 3  | . . . . . | 67 dd         |
|   | 7  | . . . . . | 68 g          |
|   | 12 | . . . . . | 131 e, 137 c  |
|   | 13 | . . . . . | 5 n           |
| 3 | 8  | . . . . . | 124 o, 128 v  |
|   | 13 | . . . . . | 35 d          |
|   | 31 | . . . . . | 128 v         |
| 4 | 3  | . . . . . | 49 e N., 53 n |
|   | 4  | . . . . . | 119 m         |
|   | 7  | . . . . . | 20 h          |

Nehemiah

|    |    |           |                 |
|----|----|-----------|-----------------|
| 4  | 9  | . . . . . | 49 e N., 67 x   |
|    | 12 | . . . . . | 116 k N.        |
|    | 17 | . . . . . | 152 n           |
| 5  | 14 | . . . . . | 91 e            |
| 6  | 6  | . . . . . | 90 k            |
|    | 8  | . . . . . | 23 a, 74 i      |
|    | 10 | . . . . . | 144 i           |
|    | 11 | . . . . . | 100 m           |
| 7  | 2  | . . . . . | 118 x           |
|    | 64 | . . . . . | 64 i            |
|    | 66 | . . . . . | 23 i            |
| 8  | 2  | . . . . . | 74 l            |
|    | 8  | . . . . . | 2 t             |
|    | 10 | . . . . . | 85 g N., 128 p, |
|    |    | . . . . . | 152 v, 155 n    |
|    | 11 | . . . . . | 105 a           |
| 9  | 13 | . . . . . | 132 d           |
|    | 35 | . . . . . | 126 x           |
| 10 | 37 | . . . . . | 123 r N.        |
|    | 39 | . . . . . | 53 k            |
| 11 | 17 | . . . . . | 53 q            |
| 12 | 44 | . . . . . | 95 n            |
|    | 47 | . . . . . | 95 n            |
| 13 | 9  | . . . . . | 165 a           |
|    | 13 | . . . . . | 53 g, 53 n      |
|    | 16 | . . . . . | 9 b             |
|    | 21 | . . . . . | 73 f            |
|    | 24 | . . . . . | 2 a, 2 w        |

1 Chronicles

|    |    |           |                 |
|----|----|-----------|-----------------|
| 2  | 13 | . . . . . | 47 b            |
|    | 30 | . . . . . | 152 u           |
|    | 48 | . . . . . | 145 u           |
| 3  | 5  | . . . . . | 69 t            |
| 4  | 10 | . . . . . | 61 a, 167 a     |
|    | 42 | . . . . . | 131 n           |
| 5  | 1  | . . . . . | 114 k           |
|    | 2  | . . . . . | 141 a           |
|    | 20 | . . . . . | 63 c            |
| 6  | 63 | . . . . . | 90 f            |
| 7  | 5  | . . . . . | 124 q           |
| 8  | 8  | . . . . . | 52 o            |
|    | 38 | . . . . . | 29 q            |
| 9  | 13 | . . . . . | 128 c           |
|    | 22 | . . . . . | 135 a N., 155 d |
|    | 25 | . . . . . | 134 m           |
|    | 27 | . . . . . | 123 c           |
|    | 33 | . . . . . | 147 a           |
| 10 | 2  | . . . . . | 53 r            |
|    | 13 | . . . . . | 114 k           |
| 11 | 6  | . . . . . | 116 w           |
|    | 39 | . . . . . | 23 f            |
| 12 | 2  | . . . . . | 24 f N., 70 b   |
|    | 8  | . . . . . | 114 b           |
|    | 17 | . . . . . | 61 c            |
|    | 23 | . . . . . | 155 d           |
|    | 33 | . . . . . | 123 f           |
|    | 38 | . . . . . | 23 f            |
| 15 | 8  | . . . . . | 127 f           |

## 1 Chronicles

|    |    |   |   |            |          |
|----|----|---|---|------------|----------|
| 15 | 12 | . | . | .          | 155 n    |
|    | 19 | . | . | .          | 131 a    |
|    | 24 | . | . | 53 o, 55 e |          |
|    | 26 | . | . | .          | 63 i     |
|    | 27 | . | . | 56, 127 g  |          |
| 16 | 8  | . | . | .          | 2 s      |
| 19 | 8  | . | . | .          | 131 b    |
| 20 | 8  | . | . | .          | 69 t     |
| 21 | 1  | . | . | .          | 125 f    |
|    | 17 | . | . | .          | 141 h N. |
| 22 | 7  | . | . | .          | 143 a N. |
| 23 | 6  | . | . | .          | 63 n     |
|    | 26 | . | . | .          | 114 k    |
| 24 | 3  | . | . | .          | 63 n     |
| 26 | 28 | . | . | .          | 138 i    |
| 27 | 12 | . | . | .          | 127 d    |
| 28 | 2  | . | . | .          | 143 a N. |
|    | 11 | . | . | .          | 96       |
| 29 | 1  | . | . | .          | 155 d    |
|    | 3  | . | . | .          | 155 n    |
|    | 8  | . | . | .          | 138 i    |
|    | 33 | . | . | .          | 65 f     |

## 2 Chronicles

|   |    |   |   |              |
|---|----|---|---|--------------|
| 1 | 4  | . | . | 138 i, 155 n |
| 2 | 12 | . | . | 117 n        |
| 3 | 17 | . | . | 126 k        |

## 2 Chronicles

|    |    |   |   |              |          |
|----|----|---|---|--------------|----------|
| 4  | 3  | . | . | .            | 123 a N. |
| 5  | 11 | . | . | .            | 114 k    |
| 8  | 18 | . | . | .            | 93 r     |
| 11 | 22 | . | . | 114 k, 147 a |          |
| 15 | 3  | . | . | .            | 147 a    |
| 16 | 4  | . | . | .            | 125 h    |
|    | 9  | . | . | .            | 155 n    |
|    | 10 | . | . | .            | 147 a    |
|    | 12 | . | . | 75 rr, 147 a |          |
|    | 14 | . | . | .            | 124 c    |
| 17 | 11 | . | . | .            | 93 x     |
| 18 | 3  | . | . | .            | 147 a    |
|    | 23 | . | . | .            | 155 d    |
|    | 26 | . | . | .            | 131 c    |
| 19 | 2  | . | . | .            | 114 k    |
|    | 6  | . | . | .            | 147 a    |
| 20 | 1  | . | . | .            | 102 b    |
|    | 19 | . | . | .            | 128 v    |
|    | 22 | . | . | .            | 155 l    |
|    | 34 | . | . | .            | 63 p     |
|    | 35 | . | . | .            | 54 a N.  |
| 21 | 4  | . | . | .            | 119 w N. |
|    | 17 | . | . | .            | 133 g    |
| 22 | 5  | . | . | .            | 35 d     |
| 23 | 1  | . | . | .            | 117 n    |
| 25 | 17 | . | . | .            | 156 c N. |
| 26 | 5  | . | . | .            | 114 c    |
|    | 10 | . | . | .            | 22 s     |

## 2 Chronicles

|    |    |                                |                      |
|----|----|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| 26 | 15 | 75 rr, 114 n, 126 z            |                      |
|    | 18 | .                              | 114 l                |
| 28 | 10 | .                              | 142 f N.             |
|    | 21 | .                              | 147 a                |
|    | 23 | .                              | 53 o                 |
| 29 | 6  | .                              | 67 y                 |
|    | 10 | .                              | 165 a                |
|    | 17 | .                              | 134 p                |
|    | 18 | .                              | 117 n                |
|    | 27 | .                              | 155 l                |
| 30 | 9  | 114 p, 147 a                   |                      |
|    | 17 | .                              | 155 d                |
|    | 18 | .                              | 130 d N <sup>2</sup> |
|    | 19 | .                              | 155 n                |
| 31 | 7  | 69 n, 71, 142 f N <sup>2</sup> |                      |
|    | 10 | .                              | 121 d N <sup>1</sup> |
|    | 17 | .                              | 117 m                |
| 32 | 9  | .                              | 101 a                |
|    | 13 | .                              | 8 k                  |
|    | 30 | .                              | 69 u                 |
| 34 | 10 | .                              | 45 g                 |
|    | 11 | .                              | 16 f                 |
|    | 12 | .                              | 10 h                 |
| 35 | 4  | .                              | 93 wo                |
|    | 21 | 109 g, 135 g, 147 a            |                      |
|    | 23 | .                              | 69 r                 |
| 36 | 23 | .                              | 137 c                |



76